Fitz-Harys's *Laſt Sham detected*: Or, *A Vindication of His Sacred Majeſty from thoſe foul Aſperſions caſt upon him by that impudent Libel called*, Fitz-Harys's laſt Confeſſion, left under his own Hand, and publiſhed by Dr. *Hawkins*.

By a truly Loyal Subject.

Hora mortis, hora veritatis, is an uſual Saying, and the Product of a Chriſtian Charity, preſuming all Men to be Men, and to have knowledge of an Eternal State, and ſome dread of God upon their Souls: but it faileth in ſeveral Caſes. 1. Where Perſons in that hour have no juſt uſe of their Reaſon, and ſo ſpeak they know not what. 2. Where the Perſon is not ſure of his Death, but is muzzled up in an hope of Life, if he will ſpeak to ſuch a ſenſe. 3. Where the Perſon is ignorant, or Atheiſtical; either not knowing, or not believing an Eternal State. Or, 4. Where the Party, though believing an Eternal State, yet is perſuaded, that the neareſt way to it is by ſpeaking falſe, to ſave the Repute of a *Sham-Religion*, into which he hath been Baptized, and in which he hath lived. In the firſt Caſe, the ſame Reaſon that alloweth no great Credit to be given to one *mad* or *drunk*, in his Fits, while he liveth, will alſo diſcharge our Charity for giving their Dying Words no more credit. The Reaſon for the ſecond is as plain, becauſe the onely Reaſon of Mens charitable Preſumption in that Caſe, is our fancy of the Perſons Apprehenſion, that he is preſently going before the Tribunal of the juſt Judge of the whole Earth, who hath told us, that all *Liars ſhall go into the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimſtone*. Now he who hath no ſuch Apprehenſion, hath no more credit due to his Words dying, than when he was living; nay, ſo much leſs, as he valueth Life, which he hopes may be prolonged by Lying. For the third, whoſo conſidereth, that the Reaſon why Charity directs more credit to the Words of a dying than of a living Man, is, becauſe it preſumes a Chriſtian, poſſeſſed with the belief of an Immortal State, and Eternity, and of the truth of Holy Writ, will without difficulty underſtand why the Words of a dying Man, that either doth not know, or, though he hath heard ſuch things, yet accounteth them *Romantique*, deſerve no more credit than they had due to them when the Perſon was at furtheſt diſtance from his Latter-end; eſpecially if he ſuffereth as a Malefactor: for though it may be he either knoweth not or believeth not that he hath an Immortal Soul, capable of eternal Happineſs or Miſery, yet he cannot but know that his Repute will out-live him, and when he is dead he will be yet ſpoken of, and his Relations alſo will be a little concerned in the Worlds Diſcourſes of him, may juſtly be preſumed, not knowing of any inconvenience from falſe Diſcourſes tending to that end, to lie for his and his Families and Friends Reputation. And in the fourth Caſe it is as plain, admitting a Man to believe an Eternity, and the Immortallity of the Soul in Bliſs or Miſery; yet if he believeth that the neareſt way in his State to that Bliſs, is to *tell Lies* for the Glory of God (as he is perſuaded), to uphold the Reputation of the Church (the onely true Apoſtolick Church), and the true *Catholick Religion*, he hath all the reaſon in the World, and it is a great piece of his Religion, to die with a Lie in his Mouth; that is, an highly *officious Lie*; and ſo far from guilt, that it becometh meritorious. The third of theſe is the Caſe of too many who are no profeſt *Papiſts*. Some ſcores die by the Hand of the Executioner every year, boldly denying what muſt be true, or double the number of them (not tainted with any ill Repute) muſt be perjured; and an eaſie Judgment will determine, That a double or treble number of Perſons, of known Integrity, are rather to be believed upon their Oaths, than half or a third part of that number are, who have been ignorant and Atheiſtical Perſons (of no repute) during the time of their Lives, dying without any ſenſe of their other Sins, or due knowledge of the Principles of Religion; which hath put me into ſome admiration of the Credulity of ſome amongſt us, who will ſo often ſay of Perſons profeſſing our own Religion, (though they have died denying the Fact for which they have died) *Doubtleſs they were guilty, whatever they ſaid at the Gallows*; that they ſhould ſo eaſily credit *Papiſts dying Words*, contrary to the moſt evident proof; eſpecially conſidering, that by the Principles of *Popery*, and the Determination of the generality of their *Directors of Conſciences*, Papiſts may tell Lies in an hundred Caſes, and in ſome Caſes ought to do it; which is directly contrary to all the Principles of that Religion which *Proteſtants* profeſs. The fourth is the *Caſe of Papiſts*, who do not onely judge that *jocoſe Lies* are no Sins, and *officious Lies* (to ſave themſelves, without wronging others) but *venial Sins*; but *pernicious Lies* alſo, ſuch as are *to the injury of others*, and the *violation of Juſtice*, in many Caſes, either *not Sins*, or *very little ones*, attoned preſently by Confeſſion; as, in caſe they do not tend to *ſome notable damage of others*; of which I hope their Prieſts muſt be *Judges*. He who will read in *Engliſh* what their Divines ſay in this Caſe, may find it in a Book called *The Practical Divinity of Papiſts*, p. 248, 249, &c. And if any deſire to have it from the Pens of their Divines themſelves, he ſhall find them there quoted to his full ſatisfaction. And if it be *meritorious to lie for the Catholick Cauſe*, *Lying* with them *in their hour of death*, for the *Credit of their Church* or *pretended Religion*, is plainly the neareſt way the Malefactors of that Religion can take to go to Heaven. But yet when any of theſe Perſons tell or write Lies, at ſuch a diſtance from the hour of their Death, that they have time to *make Confeſſion* and take *Abſolution*, according to their Religious Principles, *they are as innocent as the Child unborn*. So that I confeſs I have not been much affected with the Writings, or pretended Writings, or Speeches of Men of this Religion, ſome ſhort time before their Death, or in their dying hour; and have had a great temptation upon me to think, that thoſe *Proteſtants* who have been moved at them, have been very ignorant of their Principles, or at beſt too much inclinable to their Religion; they would never elſe at that rate *defame their own Religion*, by denying or

queſtioning the truth of what hath been ſaid by thoſe who have been bred and lived in the Profeſſion of it, and credited the *Romiſh Religion*, by a credulity of any thing the Profeſſors of that ſay, becauſe (forſooth) they are Dying Words; as if *Proteſtants* might (I am ſure by their Principles they may not) die with Lies in their Mouths; but Papiſts (who by their Principles may, and perhaps ought) may not do the ſame. But amongſt all the moſt notorious *Shams* of this nature, there hath been none ſo *foul* and *impudent* as that which we have in a late Pamphlet entituled, *The Confeſſion of* Edward Fitz-Harys *Eſq; written with his own Hand, and delivered to Dr.* Hawkins *Miniſter in the* Tower, 1. July, 1681. *being the day of his Execution.*

I muſt confeſs, I have often wondred that the *Magiſtrates* of this *Noble City*, being Men of ſo great *Loyalty* and *Integrity*, and who have lately been reflected on for ſuffering *Pamphlets* with ill Reflexions to His Majeſty to be printed and ſold, have not before this time bound over to the Seſſions the *Publiſhers* of that impudent Pamphlet, which reflects upon His Majeſty to a degree beyond any Pamphlet that I have met with, and ſuch a one as no *good Subject* ought to have patience for. For, conſidering that the *Trial* and *Execution* of that wretched *Villain* were both directed by His Majeſty, he muſt have entertained moſt vile Thoughts of His Majeſty, that can believe *Fitz-Harys*, ſaying,——*As to the Crimes for which I die, I was no further concerned in the Libel, than as* EMPLOYED *to give the King notice of what Libels and other Accuſations were againſt him; and to this intent, and no other, I endeavoured to get this Libel.* This he repeats again in his Speech at his Execution; and he further tells the Reader, Mrs. *Wall* was ſhe by whoſe Hands he conveyed ſuch Libels, and he was taken with this Libel while he was going to my Lord *Clarendon* or *Hyde*. Can any who hath one dram in him either of *Loyalty* or *Reaſon*, believe this? And will not all the World both admire the *Loyalty*, *Reaſon*, or *Policy* of him who was the *Man-Midwife* to this *ſpurious Pamphlet*, and the *Sponſor* for it too?

After ſuch an avowed Piece of Villany and Falſhood as this, is it at all to be admired, that he ſaith againſt my Lord *Howard*, or indeed any other? All which may be reaſonably preſumed as true, as that *he had no other concern in the Libel* than what he mentioneth: for, if he had *no concern* in the firſt compoſing of it, or adding to it, or diſperſing of it, they muſt have ſtrange Apprehenſions of their Sovereign, that will think he ſhould for a Piece of *Loyalty* and *Service*, direct this Man's *Tryal* and *Execution*. He who can believe this, may eaſily believe what he ſaith elſe, which cannot reaſonably be thought to be more true than this idle and ſcandalous Story, having as much, yea more, the *Emphaſis* of *Dying Words* (for it is repeated at his Execution again) than any thing elſe he ſaid. But it is evident, that he who drew up that Paper, had a thouſand times more regard to the *Reputation* of a *Roman Catholick*, and the Reputation of the Church and Religion of *Rome*, than to the Reputation and *Honour* of His *Sacred Majeſty*, His moſt *Honourable Council*, and the *Reverend Judges*: And thoſe that publiſh or vouch it, fall not much leſs under the ſame ſuſpicion.

What *Everard* is, or what Parts he hath to fit him to draw Libels, I cannot tell; but it is not probable that the *King*, or His *Honourable Council*, or His *Judges*, believed a word of what he ſaith, *That he had the Libel from Everard*; for then *Everard*, inſtead of being pardoned, and uſed as a Witneſs, had doubtleſs been indicted and proſecuted as the Principal, in as foul a piece of *Villany* as ever was acted upon an *Engliſh Theatre*. For it had been the higheſt Injuſtice imaginable, to have proceeded ſo ſeverely againſt an Acceſſary, (yea, no Acceſſary, if what he ſaid before of his *Employ* be true) and to have let the *Principal* go free.

For what he ſaith of my Lord *Howard*, I ſhall leave it to time to diſcover the truth or falſhood of it; but it is all prefaced with ſuch an apparent Lie as he had juſt before told about the Libel, and his onely concern in it. Admit my Lord *Howard* had had or known of ſuch a Deſign as he mentions, it is hard to imagine what could move him to communicate it to ſuch a Fellow, who as he lived upon others Trenchers, and was not likely to have advantaged it by his Purſe; ſo having never riſen higher in Military Affairs than an ordinary *Captain* or *Enſign* (in which Employ his famous Military Exploits are yet to be made known to the World too) it is as hard to conceive how he could advantage it by his Arms or Intereſt; ſo as we that live abroad in the World cannot fancy my Lord *Howard* ſhould communicate ſuch things to him, unleſs his Lordſhip had a mind to capacitate a Witneſs or two to take away his Life, of which I never heard that his Lordſhip had reaſon to be weary.

His next Paragraph ſufficiently reflects upon our two Sheriffs. Men known to all the City to be Men of *Integrity* and *Truth*: He ſaith they came to him in *Newgate* (that is, *March* 10. for after that they ſaw him not, he was the next day removed to the *Tower*,) he ſaith. *They told him that he was to be tried within three or four days* [that muſt be at furtheſt by *March* 14.] *That the People would Proſecute him, and the Parliament would Impeach him.* Within a few Lines after, he ſaith, *The Sheriffs brought Inſtructions, which they ſaid came from the Lords and Commons, who met that day in order to Addreſs to the King on his behalf, if he ſhould confirm the Inſtructions.* *Fitz-Harys* could not but know, that the Parliament was Proclaimed to meet at *Oxford*, *March* 21. The *Sheriffs* came to him the Tenth of *March*, to inform him he would be Tried by the Fourteenth of *March*, and that not at the Suit of the King (which might have been true), but at the *Proſecution of the People*, upon the Impeachment of the Commons, which could not poſſibly be till *March* 24, or 25. For they met but the 21. and two or three days muſt at leaſt be allowed them to ſwear their Members, and ſettle their Great Committees, before they could think of Impeachments. Now is it not likely that the Sheriffs ſhould tell him a Story which himſelf could not but know was impoſſible, and they muſt know was no leſs than a moſt impudent Lie?

In the next place he reflects upon our *Renowned Recorder*: He brings him in ſwearing, *Gods-wounds, what were you ever but a Rogue?* Let all who ever converſed with Sir *George* teſtifie, whether he be a Perſon ever uſed his Tongue to ſuch a Dialect: It is not very probable that his firſt Oath ſhould be *Gods-wounds*, eſpecially to a Priſoner, and upon no further Provocation than the Paper mentioneth.

The Integrity of Sir *Robert Clayton* and Sir *George Treby* is too well known, for any but *Papiſts* to believe they would either of them ſollicit or ſubborn Men againſt the Duke, and the Lords *Bellaſis*, *Arundel*, and *Powis*; beſides that Sir *George Treby* knew ſo much of what was depoſed before

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the Committee of Secresie, that he could not but know, that against the Lords in the *Tower* there was no need of such Arts for Witnesses, more than against Lord *Stafford*, if his Conscience would have dispensed with such Villany.

But the impudent Author of that *Pamphlet* will not allow Sir *George* the Discretion of an ordinary Petti-Constable; for (if any body would believe him) either Sir *George*, or my Lord *Shaftsbury* (who, by the way, was not in *Newgate* with him) said to him, *You know more of these Matters than any Man.* Then he addeth, *Sir George would have had me speak to the Consult, That the Duke was at it, the Lords* Arundel, Bellasis, *and* Powis *were at it; you have seen them go to it at* St. Jameses, *without doubt they were there: DO YOU BUT SAY IT, WE HAVE THOSE THAT WILL SWEAR IT.* Sir *George* is a Person not onely of known Integrity, but also Skill in the Laws, and is looked upon as a Person not ordinarily *versed in Men.* Would any silly Constable of a Parish have spoken this Language to one that had been his Prisoner? Or was there ever any such Intimacy betwixt *Fitz-Harys* and Sir *George*, as he could be presumed to have thus exposed his Honour and Reputation to him? Or could Sir *George* (had he been never so viciously disposed) have such a confidence in a Villain, who but a day or two before had been accused of *High-Treason* by Sir *William Waller*, &c? If ever the *Popish Faction* were infatuated in any thing, it certainly was in this, in publishing to the World a Story, which if any credulous Fool could imagine the least truth in, yet a Man of the least sense must judge it to have such degrees of improbability in it, as a known Lie might have expected an easier Credit to.

For what he saith next, retracting what he had said about Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*'s Murther, and the Earl of *Danby*, &c. it might have obtained some credit with some, had not it been known, that Sir *Edmondbury* was certainly murthered in *Somerset-house*; and that besides the abundant Evidence of certain Papists murthering him, it is most certain also, that those of that Religion were those who raised the Reports, *That he was alive, and gone to marry Mrs.* Offlet: Then, *That he was a melancholy Man, and had murthered himself*: And had they not lately found out one to witness *he cut him down*, with abundance of more Circumstances of that nature? Though what Consults and Deliberations were previous to it, I know not of any that discovered, till *Fitz-Harys* appear'd: And for his saying now, *He was put upon it*, he should have done well to have said by whom; for certain it is, that what he said of this nature was in *Westminster-hall*, *at his Arraignment*, many Weeks after the *Recorder*, or Sir *Robert Clayton*, or the *Sheriffs* had spoke to him. In his Examination before Sir *George Treby* and Sir *Robert Clayton*, 10 *March*, he said no more than that *De Puy* told him, *That that Murther was consulted at* Windsor; and that in *Appil*, 1680. *Kelly* told him at *Calais*, *That he was one of the Persons concerned in the Murther, and that the same was done much in manner as* Prance *had related it.* After that time he could not be put upon it by any that went to him to *Newgate*.

For the Earl of *Danby*, besides the Reflexion cast upon him by the Narrative of Mr. *Christopher Kirkby*, which tells us, That upon *August* 13. Mr. *Kirkby* presented His Majesty with the First Discovery, brought him by Dr. *Tonge*, who referred Mr. *Kirkby* to the Earl of *Danby*, ordering Dr. *Tonge* and Mr. *Kirkby* to wait on the Earl the next Morning, *August* 14. which they did; but nothing was done in it, nor a Person apprehended of six Weeks after, and that upon another Information, given in to Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, *Sept.* 6. Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* read not the Information, as appears by the Narrative, it having been Three Weeks before delivered to the Earl of *Danby*. *September* 28. (saith that Narrative) was the first time Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* read the *Informations*, when also he took the Copy of them; then began the Prosecution, full Six Weeks after the Earl of *Danby* first had them: This begat in some, some hard thoughts of the *Earl*; but yet so free was the *Protestant Party* from charging the Earl of *Danby* with that Guilt, that when a Sheet of *Paper* came out, called, *Reflexions on the Earl of Danby*, with reference to that Murther, a *Vindication* of him from that Charge was also published, by him that put out Mr. *Kirkby*'s Narrative, and ordinarily sold with it: many sober Persons apprehending, that the Design of that *Paper* reflecting on his *Lordship* was meerly *Popish*, that the *Papists* by it might throw on the *Earl* the *Odium* of that Murther. Though it was true, the Publisher of that Paper seemed not to answer all that was in the *Paper of Reflexions*; for though it sufficiently vindicates the *Earl* from any Capacity of *Concealment of Treason*, His *Majesty* having had the first Information, and giving the *Earl* the *Informations* brought to him; yet others thought it did not vindicate him from the *Non-prosecution* of the *Informations* from *August* 14. to *Septemb.* 28. and not prosecuting it then until Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* had received the same *Informations*, and given them in to the Council, keeping a Copy of them: And many wondred that there was nothing said to what was suggested in that Paper, That Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* dined at the *Earl of Danby*'s that day in which he was murthered: and that none is yet discovered who saw him that Afternoon, after he had been in Mr. *Christian*'s Company (who was my *Lord of Danby*'s *Gentleman*) till he was murthered. But it sufficiently appears how little any considerable *Protestants* judged my Lord of *Danby* concerned in that matter, till *Fitz-Harys* himself discovered what he here retracts. Here any may judge how likely he was to be put upon it, unless it were by his *Confessor*, who might have a great mind to take the *Odium* of that foul Act from off their Church or Party.

He saith further, *And what I said concerning* Fitz-Patrick *was forced out of me, and what I said concerning him is not true.* This looks so like an Interpolation of a *Popish Priest* (to clear their Church), as it is hardly possible any should believe it to be any other. Who charged *Fitz-Patrick*? or thought him more concerned in this Plot than most of their Priests, till *Fitz-Harys* first stained his Reputation? How then could any body force an Accusation of him out of him?

Nor doth his further *calling of God and all his Angels to witness the Truth of what he said*, or *his renouncing Mercy at the hands of God Almighty, at all contribute to the Credit of what he said*: For there are several Lies in it, evident to all our English World; and those kind of Appeals and Attestations, where the Matter is so, signifie nothing, but that such of that Religion as use them are *Atheists* as well as *Papists*, or have a great confidence in their *Confessors Absolutions* after such Confessions: And it may be, to give some due time for *Confession and Absolution* after such notorious things, it is of late that they have rather chosen to write something aforehand, than to speak much at the Hour of the Execution.

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It much affects ſome credulous Perſons, that he, in the beginning of his Confeſſion, declareth, *That he doth profeſs and declare his Religion in the general to be that which hath been truly and anciently delivered in the Four firſt* General Councils; *and in particular, my Belief is that true Faith of a Chriſtian briefly contained in thoſe Three Creeds commonly called* The Apoſtles Creed, St. Athanaſius's, *and* The Nicene Creed. *And I die a Member, and in the Communion of Chriſt's Holy* Catholick Church, *hoping for Mercy through the alone Merits of the Paſſion of our* Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Whether *Fitz-Harys* was of Parts enough to draw up this Confeſſion himſelf, or who drew it for him, I cannot tell; ſure I am, it was drawn with ſubtlety enough, and I fear with more ſubtlety than ſincerity. The Deſign I perceive is to leave us in the dark, as to making any judgment whether he died a *Proteſtant* or a *Papiſt*. That he did not die a *Proteſtant Diſſenter* is evident enough; for although any of them would at their death have profeſſed their *hope for Mercy through the alone Merits of Jeſus Chriſt*, and alſo have agreed to the *Articles of Faith* expreſſed in the *Three Creeds*; yet none of them would (eſpecially having not read the Four firſt *General Councils*) dying, have declared their Faith at adventures, according to what they Decreed; nor admitted any General in this Caſe, but *the Doctrine contained in Holy Writ*. So as the Scuffle about this *Man's Bones* muſt be betwixt Dr. *Hawkins* and the *Romiſh Prieſts*; the one on the behalf of the *Church of England*, the other on the behalf of the *Church of Rome*: nor dare I determine who hath the Right. For, both *Papiſts* and knowing *Proteſtants* are agreed in the Doctrine contained in the *Three Creeds*; both Parties will own a Communion of Chriſt's Holy Catholick Church; both of them will declare *their hope for Mercy through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt*: The Word [*alone*] is all the Papiſt will ſtumble at; and, when they come to die, they will, in conformity to their great *Cardinal Bellarmine*, own that too, as the ſafeſt. So as nothing appears from this Paragraph (too ſubtlely drawn for a Soldier of Fortune to be indeed the Author of the Draught) but *Fitz-Harys* might die a *Papiſt* or a *Proteſtant*.

But though I believe this Confeſſion calculated for the purpoſe to give credit to a *Proteſtant Plot*, yet it will not reach the End; for in the firſt Words of his Examination, taken before Sir *George Treby* and Sir *Robert Clayton*, *May* 10. 1681. he ſaith, *That he was born in* Ireland, *and is the Son of Sir* Edward Fitz-Harys; *and that he was bred, and is a Roman Catholick*. So that while he was a Plotter, we are ſure he was a Papiſt, from his own Confeſſion; and it is not likely he was any other when he told ſo many Lies for the Credit of the *Roman Catholick* Cauſe, as he hath done in his *Confeſſion*. Let them that deſire ſuch a Member of their Church, rejoyce in his Memory.

That which is moſt to be admired is, to ſee the Midwifery of a *Doctor* of the *Church of England* to this *Monſter* (if not Baſtard), and the various Arts expreſſed in his Atteſtation, to purſuade the World that the Contents are true. He tells us, he was *perfectly by him firſt convinced* that there was *no hopes of Life* for him; (ſo as he did it not, it ſeems, to ſave his Life.) Indeed he might have been perfectly convinced of this long ſince: The Commons in Parliament could not do it; for as they had Impeached him, ſo they were bound in Honour to make their Charge good. The Lords were not like to have found ſo notorious a Malefactor *Not guilty*; and his dying Reflexions upon His Majeſty let all the World ſee, he could have no hope of Mercy from him. But what his Wife might, from ſome Suggeſtions of Perſons of her own Sex, perſuade him, who knows? And therefore how Dr. *Hawkins* could aſſure the World he was ſo *perfectly convinced there was no hope of Mercy for him*, I cannot tell. I much leſs underſtand to what purpoſe the ſame Doctor tells us of his *kneeling down* and proteſting the truth of *ſeveral Paragraphs*, unleſs it were to induce the World to believe he *ſpoke truth*; when it is impoſſible any ſhould believe it, that hath any reverent or indeed decent thoughts of His Majeſty, or that will not believe His *Majeſties Privy-Council and Miniſters of Juſtice* ſo unrighteous, as to puniſh the *Acceſſary*, and let the *Principal* go free; nay, ſo ſeverely to puniſh one that was no *Acceſſary*, but a Servant to His Majeſty, and that by the appointment of ſome, firſt to get, then to acquaint *His* Majeſty with Seditious and Treaſonable Libels, for what he did in that Service: Or who will not believe Sir *George Treby* and Sir *Robert Clayton*, and both the *Sheriffs* at *London*, not onely egregiouſly wicked, but every whit as raſh and weak, and very unfit for ſo great Truſts. He that can get leave of his Reaſon to believe all theſe things, may believe *Fitz-Harys*'s Confeſſion: But he that cannot, may ſee reaſon to adore, and to be thankful for the good Providence of *God*, in ſuffering ſuch a Villain for ever to defame *Dying Words of Papiſts*, and to diſabuſe a company of poor credulous Souls, who have had ſo much Faith to ſpare for their *Shams*, upon this ſingle account, becauſe they were the Words of *Dying Men*. That when *Gavan*'s Lie, in his Dying Speech, about the *One Mariana* amongſt the *Jeſuits* that had held it lawful for *private Perſons to kill the King*, when it is known it is the avowed Doctrine of multitudes of them in their Printed Books, would not convince people, it being onely what Learned Men could by Reading find to be a Lie in a Dying Mouth; nor my Lord *Stafford*'s Denial of his knowledge of *Turbervill*, when the contrary afterwards was made appear by multitudes of *Depoſitions printed by Smith*; People might at laſt have ſo plentiful a Proof of the falſhood of their *Dying Words*, as ordinary Perſons might underſtand, and none of any reaſonable modeſty could deny. And how he who hath taken ſuch pains to atteſt the moſt impudent Libel ever printed, will for it acquit himſelf to His moſt *Sacred Majeſty*, to the *whole Nation*, and particularly to thoſe *worthy Patriots* who are ſo abuſed in it, will be his, not my Concern to ſtudy. He who obſerved *Fitz-Harys*'s Demeanour from the firſt to the laſt, could not but diſcern him, after his firſt Apprehenſion, ready to ſay, deny, affirm, or to do any thing, to ſave his Life: And if theſe were indeed his own Words, and he had not drank too much *Brandy* before he wrote them, (as many thought he had the Morning he came to his Trial) it is hard to imagine what, but ſome hopes of ſaving his Life, could make him the Author of ſo impudent a Story; unleſs ſome Popiſh Prieſt had perſuaded him it was the next way to Heaven, and ſecured him a ſudden Pardon and Abſolution for the Sin of what he did upon his Confeſſion. But after this, it may well be hoped, we ſhall hear no more of the undoubted Credit to be given to Mens *Dying Words*.

LONDON, Printed for *R. Baldwin*. 1681.

Strange and Miraculous News from St. Omers:

Being an Account of the Wonderful Life and Death of a *Popish Saint* and *Martyr*, named Mr. Edmund Gennings, *Priest*, who was Executed for Treason some Years since: With a Relation of the *Miracles* at, and after his Death.

Wherein may be observed, what Lying Wonders the Credulous *Papists* are made to believe, both against Sense and Reason.

Published by their own Copy, which was Printed by Authority at St. *Omers*.

For without are Dogs, and Sorcerers, and Whoremongers, and Murderers, and Idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a Lye: Revel. 22. 15.

IT is the peculiar Happiness of the Saints and Martyrs of the *Romish* Church, that though many of them live and dye Villains, Traytors, and Murtherers; yet several strange and miraculous Things have been effected by their Relicts, and dead Bodies: And this their ignorant Layety are bound to believe as firmly, as the Articles of their Faith. And such stuff has been imposed upon them, not only in the utter Darkness of *Popery*, when the *Mathematical Arts* were counted Conjuring, and a Bishop was burnt for affirming, There must needs be some such Countrey as *America*. But even to this day, they are made to believe the same Fooleries: For Mr. *Dugdale* in the Tryal of the late *Jesuits*, tells us, That Mr. *Gaven* having used many Arguments, by abusing Scripture, to demonstrate the Lawfulness of Killing Kings, or any others, who should be a hindrance to the Advancing their Cause: He added this; That the Relicts of *F. Garnet*, one of the *Gun-Powder Traytors*, who was Executed for the same, at the *West-End* of St. *Pauls*, had wrought many Wonders and Miracles beyond Sea; which we may somewhat wonder at, since he was so Ingenious, as to acknowledge himself Guilty of that Horrid Design, which those of the same Faction have now the Impudence to deny.

Among the rest, we have met with the Life of a special Saint, who was Miraculous both Living and Dying; Printed by the Brethren at St. *Omers*, that Seminary of Treason and Rebellion, of which we shall give you a brief Account in their own Words.

Edmund Gennings, alias *Ironmonger*, was born some where in *England*; and it is propable, had a Father as well as a Mother: But hear what our Author says of it.

I had thought to have declared at large, the Birth and Education of this our thrice happy Martyr, leaving the World to judge of his Miraculous Alteration; but for divers respects, Perswasion forceth me to Silence at this time: And behold, *in limine*, at the very first I will not say a Miracle, yet at least a Wonder; For scarce had Nature cleansed his silly Corps from such Uncleanness as is brought (*a Materni's Visceribus*) from his Mothers Bowels, but presently within an Hour or two, appeared a sign of his Magnanimity, and great Courage, which he was afterward to set forth to the View of the whole World; and this it was: The Mid wife, and other Women, having accomplished every thing belonging to their Office in the Birth of the Infant, the Nurse sate her down by the Fire, to give the Child his first Food; and directing her Dugg into its Mouth, he presently bit the same; at which unexpected pain, the simple Woman sent forth loud Shreiks and Cryes; which she no sooner had done, but the Child bit her again: which unwonted Accident to bereave the Nurse of all Patience, that she was ready to have done the Child some Mischief, had not the Women, then accompanying her Mother, ran to succour him; who enquiring the Cause, they perceived the *Lamb* to have played the *Lyon*: and searching his Mouth, they found him to have a very fair Tooth in the Fore part thereof; which strange Spectacle worthily put them all into Admiration: And after a day or two, when the weak Mother had somewhat recovered Strength, they related to her the whole Matter which had hapned; who, what with Grief and Wonder, was so perplexed, as being not able to contain herself within the Limits of Temperate Motherhood, she brake forth into deep Passions.

At which time it chanced, that a Venerable old Man (a Doctor of Divinity) lodged in the House, a *Catholick* (as I my self have heard her say) who hearing and seeing what had hapned, and grieving for her Impatience, came in to Visit her, or rather, to Comfort and Content her. The Doctor was no sooner entred her Chamber, but she began to relate

relate the whole Diſcourſe, as if he had known nothing thereof: which done, the grave Doctor began to uſe many Spiritual and Comfortable Words; and in the end, uttered (if I may ſo term it) theſe Prophetical Speeches: *Be of good Chear* (ſaid he) *your Son is and ſhall be very well: And concerning his Tooth, aſſure your ſelf, it doth fore-tell, that he ſhall Travel further than the Queen hath any Land; and at the length, return again to the unſpeakable Joy and Comfort of all that love him.*

Theſe words of the Doctor were often Rehearſed in the hearing of many (long before his going over the Sea) by his Mother; the Effect of which ſaying, I leave the Indifferent Reader to conſider, whether it be not altogether accompliſhed, and whether his Glorious Martyrdome, and great Courage in the ſame, (foreſhewed by his Tooth,) was not a comfort to all that loved or favoured the Catholick cauſe; but let us return to our Infant, who until he was two years old, had the ſame Tooth in his Head; but then he loſt it, and it vaniſhed away without pain, trouble, or any advertiſement.

And here endeth the moſt wonderful, and remarkable Hiſtory of the Miracle of the Fair Tooth, which doth certainly tend very much to the Comfort and Edification of the Ideots of the Infallible Church. *But let us proceed, ſtill in the Authors own words.*

With no leſs Admiration may I report unto you his Admirable ripeneſs and Gravity even in his Infancy, who was never delighted with Childiſh plays, or any thing that might ſeem Toyiſh; No, he would never be inticed to play at any time with like Aged Children, but loved greatly to behold the Heavens; and therefore he uſually went in the Evening, to delight himſelf with the ſight of the Skies, bedecked with Stars; And on a time in theſe his tender years, going forth at night, according to his Cuſtome, this ſtrange Spectacle appeared to him in the Air; he ſaw, as it were, Armed men with Weapons, Killing and Murthering others that were Diſarmed, and altogether deſtitute of like Furniture; and great ſtore of blood, running every where about them: This ſtrange ſight, put the Child into a great fear, which cauſed him to run in haſtily to tell his Mother, (being then a Widdow) what he had ſeen; and ſhe preſently went forth with three or four of her Neighbours, who that night had ſupped with her; and they were all Eye-witneſſes of the ſame Spectacle. Thus much I my ſelf have heard them Report, who alſo affirmed, that my ſelf was then preſent; but being very young, I cannot remember it. This happened in the beginning of our Chiefeſt perſecution, not long before the glorious death of Bleſſed Father *Campian*, and the reſt.

Our Young Saint growing further in years, he became Page to a Catholick Gentleman, one Mr *Richard Sherwood*; This Gentleman at firſt, had a watchfull eye over his new Servant in all his Actions, becauſe he knew all his Friends to be earneſt Proteſtants: but in ſhort time he found him ſo faithfull, that he began to deal with him touching Religion, and the Salvation of his Soul; and perceiving him Tractable, capable and willing to hear, he ſo far inſtructed him, that at length the youth earneſtly deſired to be Reconciled, and made a Member of the Catholick Church, from which he promiſed he would never ſerve. After a while, his Maſter being Reſolved to forſake the Realm, and Turn Monk, he determined to place his man (now about Seventeen years of age) with ſome one of his Acquaintance, leſt perhaps he ſhould return, not without ſome danger of his Soul, to his own Friends, who were Proteſtants.

This his purpoſe he diſcloſed to his man *Edmund*, with good Counſel and perſwaſion, to remain firm in his Faith, and Religion: But when our Youth underſtood his Maſters Reſolution, he was much diſturb'd at it, and deſir'd his Maſter he might go with him; the good Gentleman, to try his Ability, told him, *It was impoſſible*; to which, *Edmund* replyed, *Alas! and is it impoſſible! ſhall my Native Soyl reſtrain free-will, or home-made Laws alter devout Reſolutions? am I not young? cannot I ſtudy? May I not in time get what you have gotten? Learning for a Schollar, yea Virtue for a Prieſt perhaps, and ſo obtain that for which you are now ready.* His maſter unwilling to diſcourage him any longer, took him with him, and ſetled him at *Rheims* under Cardinal *Allen*.

Afterwards coming to twenty three years of Age, he was made Prieſt; where he imprinted in the Hearts of his Collegian Fellows, an everlaſting memory of him, for his extraordinary pious and comely behaviour in Celebrating Maſs at the Altar; and though he was by Nature affable and merry; yet before and after Maſs, he was ſeldom or never ſeen, for the ſpace of one whole hour to laugh, play, or ſpend any time in talk.

Long had not our Vertuous Prieſt been Inveſted with Holy Orders, but that Appoſtolical faculties were given him; and ſo with ſome others he was ſent for *England*, and Landed at *Whitby* in *Yorkſhire*, and from thence came to *London*; and the ſame night on which he came to the City, he repaired to a Catholicks Houſe in *Holbourn*, where

he

he found a very Virtuous and godly Prieſt: after ſome common Diſcourſe, they began to Confer touching the Offering of the dreadful Sacrifice, where they might ſerve God together the next day, and ſay Maſs; at length, they concluded to ſay their Mattins together, and Celebrate the next morning at Mr. *Swithen Wells* Houſe in upper *Holbourn*; and being come together accordingly, behold, when he was even at the Conſecration of the holy Body and Blood of our Saviour, one Mr. *Topcliſt*, with other Officers knockt at the Dore; which ſudden noiſe ſtruck fear and Terrour into the Hearts of all that were preſent; but the good Prieſts, with the reſt, aroſe from their Devotions, and drawing out their Weapons (as St. *Peter* did to defend our Saviour) were ready at the Chamber dore when their Enemies had burſt it open, bidding them ſtand, not ſuffering any one of them to enter till the Prieſt had finiſhed his Maſs; at which time, two that were at Maſs, ſeeing the Officers would not ſtay, one of them threw Mr. *Topcliſt* down Stairs, while Mr. *Plaſden* having appointed the reſt to keep the Dore, went to the Altar and bad the good Prieſt go forward without fear, and finiſh his Maſs, to the greater glory of God and honour of all his Saints: and after returning to the door, he eſpied Mr. *Topcliſt* haſtning up ſtairs with a broken head, and fearing he would have raiſed the whole ſtreet for help, the more to pacify him, ſeeing no means to eſcape, he told him that he ſhould come in preſently, and they would all yeild, which they did accordingly; for no ſooner was the Maſs ended, but he with the reſt ruſhed in, and took Mr. *Gennings* and all the reſt, Men and Women, with Church-ſtuff, Books, and Beads, and all they could find; They carried them all to *Newgate*, and were not aſhamed to lead Mr. *Gennings* through the ſtreets in his *Prieſtly* Veſtments, to make him a laughing-ſtock to the beholders; and he, with about ten more were Commited cloſe Priſoners to *Newgate*; and a while after were Indicted and Arraigned at the *Old Bayly* for High Treaſon; and here the Judges laughing at Mr. *Gennings* told him, he was more fit in his *Prieſtly* Attire to be preſented to the Queen, for a jeſter, than to a *Nun* for a Confeſſor; moreover, they moſt ſlanderouſly affirmed, that it was Impoſſible for him (being a young man fair and fine, and as they termed him, frolick) not to break the Bands of Vowed Chaſtity, by being naught with thoſe Beautiful young Women, with whom he had daily Converſe; but he took all things patiently, knowing he Merited very highly thereby. To be brief, the Verdict was given up, and the *Prieſts* were all found guilty of High Traſon, for returning into the Realm, contrary to the Law provided in that behalf; and Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt them, that they ſhould all die at *Tyburn*, except Mr. *Gennings* and Mr. *Wells*, who were both to be Executed before Mr. *Wells* his own dore in *Grays-Inn-fields*. Then the Judges began to perſwade them being Condemned) by all means poſſible they could, to conform themſelves to the preſent *Proteſtant* Religion, by going to their Churches and Service; but they affirmed ſtoutly, they would live and die in the *Roman* and Catholick Doctrine.

When the happy hour of his paſſion was come, the reſt of the Priſoners Executed at *Tyburn*, and he was brought in a ſled to the place appointed, and being put upon the Ladder, many queſtions were asked him, he was a while after turned of the Ladder, and in a little time cut down; he was ſo ſenſible (*if it be not a lie*) when he was diſmembred, that he cryed, *Oh it ſmarts*. Which Mr *Wells* hearing, replyed thus, *Alas ſweet Soul, thy pain is great indeed, but almoſt paſt: pray for me now moſt Holy Saint, that mine may come*. He being ript up, and his bowels caſt into the Fire, if we may believe the Hangman himſelf, and Hundreds of People ſtanding by), the bleſſed Martyr uttered (his heart being in the Executioners hand) theſe words, *Sancte Gregori ora pro me*, that is, *Holy Gregory pray for me*; which the Hangman hearing, with open mouth ſwore this damnable Oath, Gods *Wounds, ſee his heart is in my hand, and Gregory in his mouth. Oh Egregious Papiſt*: Thus the afflicted Martyr, even to the laſt of his Torments, cryed for the Ayd and ſuccour of Saints; and eſpecially of Saint *Gregory*, his devoted Patron, and our Countreys Apoſtle; that by his Interceſſion, he might paſs the ſharpneſs of his Torment: but now behold a Miracle; among many Proteſtants that came to view the body when it was quartered, there were many Catholicks alſo; and among the reſt, a Virgin who had wholly Dedicated her ſelf to the ſervice of God; ſhe being deſirous to be partaker of ſo great a merit, and to get (if poſſible) ſome little part or parcel of his ſacred Fleſh, or Guiltleſs Blood poured on the Ground, to keep as a perpetual Relique, for her private Devotion, uſed all diligence to draw near to the Gibbet, that ſhe might obtain her deſire; but ſeeing her ſelf fruſtrated of all in that kind, through the Preſs of People, and alſo through the danger of being diſcovered; Devotion being her Guide, ſhe followed his Quarters, as they were drawn back again to be boyled at *New-gate*, hoping there at laſt to touch

them, before they were disperſed to Hang on the Gates of the City, being as it were in deſpair of any greater benefit, and coming to the Priſon, the people Flocked together to behold the freſh bleeding Quarters according to their wonted Cuſtome, when any ſuch thing is to be ſeen, before they were carryed up to boyling, deſiring the Executioner to ſhew them peice by peice, that ſo their Curioſity might give Cenſure as they ſaid, whether he was fat or lean, black or fair to ſatisfy their requeſt: by Chance, *Bull* the Hangman took up one of his fore quarters by the Arm, which when he had ſhewed the people, he Contemptuouſly flung it down into the basket again where it lay, and took up the Head that they might ſee his face; and as God would have it, both Arm & Hand of the foreſaid Quarter hung out over the ſides of the basket, which the ſaid Virgin eſpying drew near to touch it; and approaching warily with fear leſt any ſhould take notice of her ſo doing, having a determination and vehement deſire to touch his *Holy and Anointed Thumb*, which then appeared next her, if it were poſſible, and becauſe it was a part of his hand which ſo often had Elevated the Immaculate body of our Bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſhe purpoſed not to leave it unhandled for her laſt farewell: this her determination and purpoſe ſhe preſently performed, and taking the Thumb in her hand, by the inſtinct of Almighty God, ſhe gave it a little pull only, to ſhew her love & deſire of having it: the Sequel was Miraculous, for behold, ſhe not imagining any ſuch matter would have followed, by the Divine power, the Thumb was Inſtantly looſed from his hand; and being ſeparated, ſhe carried it away ſafely, both fleſh, skin, and bone, without ſight of any, to her great Joy and Admiration. O the ſtrange and miraculous ſeparation! O Benefit, paſt all requital! the *Thumb* of a man newly Dead and Quartered, to depart from the hand, as it were *Sua ſponte* of its own accord, to pleaſure a friend that loved him ſo entirely, and that in the midſt of ſo many hundreds of People of a different Religion, yet not eſpied by any; *No not by Squire Bull the Hangman, who never miſt the Thumb from that day to this.* But the ſtrangeneſs thereof I leave to your pious conſiderations, confeſſing my ſelf altogether unworthy, and not any way able to explicate the worthineſs of the ſame. This young Gentlewoman, preſently upon this miraculous Purchaſe, having fully reſolved to forſake the Vanities of this World, and eſpecially this our troubleſome Country, went not long after beyond the Seas, carrying with her this precious Relique, which ſhe much eſteemed; There ſhe Devoted her ſelf to St. *Auguſtine*, and is ſince become a Venerable Nun, of the ſame Order. Afterward ſhe hearing of this Martyrs own Brother to live in the Seminary at *Doway*, ſent him for a token a little piece of the ſame Thumb, incloſed in a Letter written with her own hand, proteſting the Verity of all the aforeſaid Narration.

Printed at St. *Omers* by *Charles Boſcard* with this Approbation in Latin, but truly Engliſhed.

The Life of this Saint, and moſt conſtant Martyr and Prieſt, (whoſe Sufferings did much encreaſe the Glory of his Combat, which are truly related in this little Book) is worthy to be Printed, that thoſe who behold his End, may imitate the Faith of his Converſation.

St. *Omers*, Febr. 10. John Redmayn *S. Th. D.*
Licenſer of Books.

BUt a few Words of this our Bleſſed Martyr: The Viſion he ſaw, did moſt truly repreſent the Practice of that bloody Church of Rome, *in deſtroying the Innocent and Unarmed: And their drawing their Swords to defend their Prieſt in ſaying Maſs, (by the Example of St.* Peter) *ſhews, that they had forgot our Saviours Command to St.* Peter *thereupon, to put up his Sword into its Sheath, ſince moſt of the Murders, Maſſacres, Deſolations, Fires, Wars, and Devaſtations, that have been in* Europe, *ſince that* Man of Sin *appeared in the World, have been either contrived or promoted by the Pope, and his curſed Inſtruments: And if God Almighty had not wonderfully prevented it,* Coleman's *Reformation would ere this, have made us ſenſibly experience the Truth hereof. But for the Thumb, what ſhall we ſay? The Author is aſtoniſhed at it, and ſo may all that read it, to think of the Impudence of the Man, who durſt thus publickly affront the Underſtanding of Mankind, to publiſh and impoſe ſuch falſe and monſtrous Untruths and Abſurdities upon the Minds of Men; that certainly, none but a Papiſt, can read it without bluſhing; and is fit only to be anſwered in the Words of the Prophet,* What ſhall be given unto thee? or, What ſhall be done unto thee, thou falſe Tongue, *and Pen?*

To conclude; Let us think no Coſt, no Pains, nay, not every drop of Blood in our Bodies, ill ſpent, to prevent this falſe, this bloody, this ſenſleſs and ridiculous Religion, ever to enſlave us, and our Poſterity: And let us all Conclude with that Prayer in the Old Liturgy; From the *Pope* of *Rome*, and all his deteſtable Enormities, Good Lord deliver us.

AMEN.

THE CASE OF ANTHONY EARL OF SHAFTSBURY

As it was Argued before His Majesties Justices of the *Kings Bench, Trin. Term. 29. Car. 2.*

Being upon his CONFINEMENT in the *TOWER &c.*

With a SPEECH of this Worthy EARL, *pleading his own Case, and the Liberty of the Subject.*

LONDON,

Printed by K. P. for *C. R.* 1679.

To the READER.

THIS *being the* CASE *of a* PEER *of this Realm, wherein the Liberty of the Subject is concerned; and being Argued before His Majesties Justices of the* K. B. *It is Published for thy Satisfaction.*

Trin. 29. *Car.* 2. *B. R. Jun.* 27. & 29.

1677.

THE EARL of *SHAFTSBURY*'S CASE.

THIS day the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was brought to the Bar upon the return of an *alias Hab. Corp.* directed to the Conſtable of the Tower of *London*; the effect of the return was, that *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, in the Writ mentioned, was Committed to the Tower of *London*. 16. *Febr. Anno Dom.* 1676, By vertue of an Order from the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then in Parliament aſſembled: the Tenour of which Order followeth *in hæc verba*:

Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Aſſembled, That the Conſtable of His Majeſties Tower of London, *his Deputy, or Deputies, ſhall receive the Bodys of* James *Earl of* Salisbury, Anthony *Earl of* Shaftsbury, *and* Philip *Lord* Wharton; *Members of this Houſe, and keep them in ſafe Cuſtody, within the ſaid Tower, during His Majeſties Pleaſure, and the Pleaſure of this Houſe; for their High Contempts committed againſt this Houſe, and this ſhall be a ſufficient Warrant on that Behalf.*

To the Conſtable of the Tower, &c. J. Browne Cler. Par.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Council prayed that the return might be Filed, and it was ſo, and *Friday* following appointed for debating the ſufficiency of the return, and in the mean time directions were given to his Council to attend the Judges and Attorney General, with their exceptions to the return, and my Lord was remanded till that day, and it was

ſaid

ſaid that though the return was filed, the Court could remand or Commit him to the *Marſhalſea* at their Election.

On *Friday* the Earl was brought into Court again, and his Council argued the inſufficiency of the return.

Williams ſaid, That the Cauſe was of great conſequence, in regard that the King was touched in his Prerogative; the Subject was touched in his Liberty, and this Court in its Jurisdiction.

1*ſt*. The Cauſe of Commitment which is returned, is not ſufficient for the general Allegations of high Contempts is too uncertain, for the Court cannot judge of the Contempt, if it doth not appear in what act it conſiſts.

2*dly*. It is not known where the Contempts were committed, and in favour of liberty, it ſhall be intended they were committed out of the Houſe of Peers.

3*dly*. The time is uncertain, ſo that, peradventure, it was before the laſt Act of General Pardon.

4*thly*, It does not appear whether the Commitment were on a conviction or accuſation only.

It cannot be denyed, but that the return of ſuch a Commitment, by any other Court, would be too general and uncertain, *More*. 893, *Aſtwiſh* was Bailed on a return, *quod commiſſus fuit per mandatum*. N. *Milit*. *Dni*. *Cuſtod*. *Magn*. *Sigil Angliæ virtute cujuſdem contemptus in curia facti*, and in that Book, that divers other perſons were bailed on ſuch general returns, and the Caſes have been lately affirmed in *Buſhels* Caſe, reported by the late Lord Chief Juſtice *Vaughan*, where it is expreſly ſaid that ſuch Commitment and return being too general and uncertain, the Court can't believe in an implicite manner, that in truth the Commitment, was for cauſes particular and ſufficient.

Vaughan's Reports, 140. *Accord*. 2. *Inſt*. 52, 53. & 55. and the 1. *Rolls*. 218. and though the Commitment of the Jurors was for acquitting *Pen* and *Mead*, *contra plenam & manifeſtam evidentiam*: it was reſolved to be too general, for the evidence ought to appear as certainly to the Judge of the return, as it appears before the Judge authoriſed to Commit. *Ruſh*. *Caſe*. 137.

Now this Commitment being by the Houſe of Peers will make no difference; for in all Caſes where a matter comes in Judgment before this Court, let the queſtion be of what nature it will, the Court is obliged to declare the Law, and that without diſtinction, whether the queſtion began in Parliament or no. In the Caſe of *Geo*. *Binion* in *C*. *B*. there was a long Debate, *Whether an Original Writ might be Filed againſt a Member of Parliament, during the time of Priviledge*; and it was urged, *that it being during the Seſſion of Parliament, the termination of the Queſtion did belong to the Parliament*:

ment, but it was resolved that an Original might be filed, and *Bridgman* then Chief Justice, said that the Court was obliged to declare the Law in all Cases that came in Judgment before them. *H.* 4. *Ed.* 4. *Rut.* 4.7.10. in *Scacc.* In Debt by River *Versus Cousin*, the Defendent Pleads that he was sent of a Member of Parliament, & *Ideo Capi seu arestant non debet*, and the Plantiff prays Judgment, and afterwards by Advice of all the Judges the Judgment was entred. *Videtur Baronibus quod tale habetur Privilegium quod Magnates*, &c. *Et eorum familiares capi seu arestare non debent sed nullum habetur privilegium quod non debent Implantare ideo respondet Noster.* So in *Triviniards* Case, a question of Priviledges was determined in this Court. *Dyer.* 60. in 14. *Ed.* 3. in the Case of Sr. *John*, and Sir *Jeoffry Stanton* which was cited in the Case of the Earl of *Clarendon*, and is entred in the Lords Journal.

An Accord of wast, depended between them in the Common-Pleas, and the Court was divided and the Record was Certified into the House of Lords, and they gave direction that the Judgment should be Entred, for the Plantiff afterwards on a Writ of Error, brought in this Court that Judgment was Reversed: Notwithstanding the Objection, that it was given by order of the House of Lords; for the Court was Obliged to proceed according to the Law in a matter that was before them in point of Judgment. Not long since the Earl of *Bristol* Exhibited an Accusation againſt the Earl of *Clarendon* to the House of Lords, and it contained divers matters whereof some did arise out of Parliament, and it was referred to the Judges to consider whether that procedure was Parliamentary, and the 4th. *July* 1663. it was resolved by the Judges that the Lords ought not to proceed only upon an Impeachment by the Commons, when the matters arise out of the House.

The Construction of all Acts of Parliament, are given to the Courts of *Westminster*, and accordingly they have Judges of Validity of Acts of Parliament, they have searched the Rolls of Parliament, *Hub.* 109. Lord *Hunsdons* Case, they have determined whether the Journal be a Record: *Hub.* 110: When a point comes before them in Judgment, they are not fore closed by any Act of the Lords, but ought to Judge according to the Law, by which the Realm is Governed and not by the Lords: if it appears that an Act of Parliament be made by the King and the Lords without the Commons, that Act is *Felo-de-se*, and the Courts of *Westminster* ought to judge it voide, 4. *H.* 7. 18. *Hub.* 111. and accordingly they ought to do, if this return contain in it that which is fatal to it self, it hath been a question often resolved in this Court when a Writ of Error in Parliament, shall be a supersedias, and this Court hath determined that shall be said to be a Session of Parliament, 1. *Rolls.* 29. and if the Law were otherwise there would be a failure of Justice if the Parliament were Desolved, there would be no question but the Prisoner should be discharged on a *Habeas Corpus*, and yet then the Court must ex-

amine the cauſe of Commitment, and by Conſequence a matter Parliamentary, and the Court may now have Cogniſſance of the matter, as clearly as when the Parliament is Deſolved, the Party would be without remedy for his Liberty, if he could not find it here, for it is not ſufficient for him to procure the Lords to determine their pleaſure for his Impriſonment, for before his Enlargement he muſt have the Pleaſures of the King to be determined, and that ought to be in this Court, and therefore the Priſoner ought firſt to reſort hither.

Let us ſuppoſe (for it does not appear in the return, and the Court ought not to Enquire of any matter out of it,) that the ſuppoſed Contempt was a thing done out of the Houſe; it would be hard for this Court to remand him: Suppoſe he were removed to a Forraign Priſon, during the Pleaſure of the Lords: No doubt, but that would have been an Illegal Commitment againſt *Magna Charta* and the Petition; there the Commitment would have been Expreſly Illegal, and it may be this Commitment may be no leſs; for if it had been Expreſly ſhewn, and if he be remanded, he is Committed by this Court who are to anſwer for his Impriſonment.

But 2, the limitation of the Impriſonment during the Pleaſures of the King and the Houſe is Illegal and uncertain; for ſince it ought to determin in two Courts, it can have no certain Period, a Commitment until he ſhall be Diſcharged by Kings Bench and Common Pleas is Illegal; for the Priſoner can't apply himſelf in ſuch a manner as to obtain his Diſcharge. If a Man be Committed to further order *Cook* ſaith, he is Baylable preſently, for that Imports till he ſhall be delivered in good courſe of Law, and if this Commitment have not that Sence, it is Illegal, for the pleaſure of the King is that which ſhall be determined according to Law in his Courts, as where the Stat. of *Weſtminſter*, 1 *Chap.* 15. declares that he is not reprovable, who is taken by Command of the King, who ought not to extend to an Extra judicial Command but in his Courts of Juſtice, to which all matters of Judicature are deligated and diſtributed. 2 *Inſt.* 186. and 187.

Hollop, To the ſame purpoſe, cited *Buſhels* caſe, *Vaughan*, 137. that the return for high Contempts was not ſufficient, and the Court that made the Commitment in this Caſe makes no difference, in the Caſe for otherwiſe one may be Impriſoned by the Houſe of Peers Unjuſtly, for a matter relevable here and yet ſhall be without any manner of relief, by ſuch a return, for on Suppoſition that this Court ought not to meddle where the perſon is Committed by the Peers, any perſon at any time and for any Cauſe may be ſubject to a perpetual Impriſonment at the Pleaſure of the Lords.

And the Law is otherwiſe for the Houſe of Lords is the Supream Court yet their Juriſdiction is limited by the Common and Statute-Law,

and

and their Exciſes are examinable in this Court, for there is a great difference between the Errors and Exciſe in and of a Court between an Erronious proceeding without Juriſdidiction, which is void and a meer Nullity 4. *H.* 7. 18. 6. in the Parliament the King would have one attain it of Treaſon, and loſe his Lands, and the Lords aſſented but nothing was ſaid of the Commons, wherefore all the Juſtices held clearly that it was no Act, and he was reſtored to his Land, and without doubt in the ſame caſe if the Party had been Impriſoned, the Juſtices might have made the like reſolution that he ought to have been diſcharged.

It is a ſolæciſme that a Man ſhall be Impriſoned by a limited Juriſdiction, and it ſhall not be examinable, whether the cauſe were within their Juriſdiction or not, if the Lords without the Commons ſhould grant a Tax, and one that refuſed to pay it ſhould be Impriſoned, the Tax is void, but by a general Commitment the Party ſhall be remedyleſs if ſo be the Lords ſhould award a *Capias* for Treaſon or Fellony.

By theſe Inſtances it appears that their Juriſdiction was reſtrained by the Common Law, and it is alſo reſtrained by divers Acts of Parliament, 1 *Hen.* 4. *Chap.* 14. no Appeals ſhall be made, or any ways purſued or where a Statute is made a Power is Implicitly given to this Court by the Fundamental Inſtitution, which makes the Judges Expoſitors of Acts of Parliament; and peradventure if all this caſe appeared upon the return this might be a Caſe in which they were reſtrained by the Stat. 4. *Hen.* 8. *Chap.* 8. That all the Suits, Uſements, and Condemnations, *&c.* Many time from henceforth, at any time to be put or had upon any Members for any Bill ſpeaking or reaſoning of any matters concerning the Parliament to be Communed or Treated of, ſhall be utterly void and of no Effect, now it does not appear, but this is a Correction and Puniſhment Impoſed upon the *E*arl, contrary to the Statute, there is no queſtion now made of the Power of the Lords, but it is only urged that it is neceſſary for them to declare by Vertue what Power they proceed otherwiſe the Liberty of every *Engliſh* Man ſhall be ſubject to the Lords, whereof they may deprive any of them againſt an Act of Parliament, but no uſage can juſtify ſuch a proceeding. *Elſmores* Caſe of the Poſt, *Nati.* 19. The Duke of *Suffolk* was Impeached by the Commons of High Treaſon, and Miſdemeanors, the Lords were in doubt whether they ſhould proceed upon ſuch a general Impeachment to Impriſon the Duke, and the adviſe of the Judges being demanded, and their Reſolution given in the Negative the Lords were ſatisfied. This Caſe is mentioned with deſign to ſhew the reſpect given to the Judges, and that the Judges have determined the higheſt matters in Parliament. At a Conference held between the Lords and the Commons, 3d. *April.* 4. *Car.* concerning the right and Priviledge of the Subject, it was declared and agreed, that no Freeman ought to be Committed or reſtrained by Commitment of the King or Privy Councel, or any other (in which the Houſe of Peers is included,)

included,) unleſs ſome cauſe of Commitment, Reſtraint, or Detainor, be ſet forth for which by Law he ought to be Committed, &c.

Now if the King who is the head of the Parliament, nor the Privy Councel who is a Court of State, to which ſecrecy is ſo neceſſary may not Impriſon without ſhewing cauſe *a fortiori*: The Lords in Parliament can't, which are a Court of Law as well as a Court of State, and therefore ought not to proceed in an Illegal manner, tis true in 1. *Rolls*. 192. *Ruſhworths* Caſe, *Cook* is of Opinion that the Privy Councel may Commit without ſhewing cauſe, but in his more Mature Age, he was of another Opinion and accordingly the *Law* is declared in the Petition of Right.

Smith argued to the ſame purpoſe, and ſaid a Judge cannot make a Judgment unleſs the Fact appears to him and on an *Habeas Corpus*, the Judge can only take notice of the Fact returned, it is lawful for any Subjects that finds himſelf agrieved by any Sentence or Judgment to Petition the King in an humble manner for redreſs and where the Subject is reſtrained of his liberty the proper place for him to apply himſelf unto is this Court which hath the Supream Power as to this purpoſe, over all Courts and on an *Habeas Corpus* Iſhuing hence, the King ought to have an Account of his Subject *Rolls. Hab. Corp.* 64. *Witherlies* Caſe, and though the Commitment be by the Lords, yet if it be Illegal, this Court is Obliged to diſcharge the Priſoner, as well as if he had been Illegally Impriſoned by any other Court; the Houſe of Peers is a high Court but the *Kings Bench* hath ever been Inſtructed with the Liberty of the Subject, and if it were otherwiſe in caſe of Impriſonment by the Peers, the Power of the King was leſs abſolute than the Power of the Lords.

It does not appear but that this Commitment was for Breach of the Priviledge, but nevertheleſs if it were, this Court might give relief as appears in Sr. *George Bigmores* Caſe before cited and *Mich.* 12. *Ed.* 4. *Rut.* 20. for the Court which has Power to judge what is Priviledge has alſo Power to judge what is Contempt of Priviledge if the Judges may judge of an Act of Parliament, *A fortiori*, they may judge of an order of the Lords, 20. *Ed. Butchers* caſe, where he in Revertion brought an Action of Waſt, and dyed before Judgment, and his Heir brought an Action for the ſame Waſt, and the King and the Lords determined that it did lie, and commanded the Judges to give Judgment accordingly for the time to come, but by *Ryley*. 39. it appears that it is only an Order of the King and the Lords, and that was the cauſe the Judges conceived that they were not bound by it, but 39. 3. 13. and ever ſince have Judged the contrary if it be admitted. for that for Breach of Priviledge may Commit, yet it ought to appear on the Commitment that that was the Cauſe, for otherwiſe that may be called a Breach, which is only a refuſal to anſwer to a matter whereof the Houſe of Lords is reſtrained to hold Plea by

the Stat. of the 1ſt. of *Hen.*4. and for a Contempt Committed out of the Houſe they cannot Commit, for the Word Appeal in the Statute extends to all Miſdemeanors, as it was reſolved by the Judges in the Earl of *Clarendon's* Caſe, *July.* 1663. If the Impriſonment be not lawful the Court cannot remand him to his wrongful Impriſonment, for that would be an Act of Injuſtice, to Impriſon him, *De nono Vaughan.* 156. It does not appear whether the Contempt was a Voluntary Act, or an Opinion, or an Inadvertency, and he has now ſuffered five Months Impriſonment already, falſe Impriſonment is not only where the Commitment is unjuſt, but where the Petition is too long. 2 *Inſt.* 53. In this Caſe if this Court cannot give Remedy, peradventure the Impriſonment ſhall be perpetual for the King as the Law is now taken may Adjourn the Parliament for 10 or 20 Years.

But all this is ſaid on Suppoſition that this Seſſion has Continuance, I conceive that the Kings giving his Royal Aſſent to ſeveral Laws which has been Enacted, the Seſſion is determined, and then their order for the Impriſonment is alſo determined *Brook* Parliament. 86. Every Seſſion in which the King Signs Bills is a day of it ſelf, a Seſſion of it ſelf, 1. *Car.* 1. 7. A Special Act is made, the giving the Royal Aſſent to ſeveral Bills, ſhall not determine the Seſſion. ('Tis true, tis there ſaid to be made for the avoiding all Doubts.) In the Stat. 16. *Car.* 1: There is a Promiſe to the ſame purpoſe, and alſo 12. *Car.* 2. 1. and 22. and 23. *Car.* 2. 2. 1. 11. *Ro.* 2. *No.* 12.

By the Opinion of *Cook.* 4. *Inſt.* 27. the Royal Aſſent does not determine, but the Authorities on which he relies, don't Warrant his Opinion, for firſt in the Parliament, *Roll.* 1. *H.* 7. It appears that the Royal Aſſent was given to the Act, for the reverſal of the Attainder of the Members of Parliament; the ſame day it was given to the other Bills, and the ſame Year the ſame Parliament Aſſembled again, and then tis Probable, that the Members which had been attained were preſent and not before, 8 *R.* 2. *No.* 13. is only a Judgment in Caſe of Treaſon, by Vertue of a Power reſerved to them on the Statute 25. *Ed.* 3. *Rot.* Parliament. 7. *H.* 4. *No.* 29. is not an Act of Parliament, 14. *Ed.* 3. *N.* 789. The Act is firſt entred on the Roll, but on Condition the King will grant their other Petitions, the Inference my Lord *Cook* makes, that the Act for the Attainder of Queen *Katherine*, 33. *H.* 8. was paſſed before the determination of the Seſſion, yet it was on a Judgment given againſt by the Commiſſions of Oyer and Terminer, and the Subſequent Act is only an Act of Confirmation; but *Cook* ought to be Excuſed for all his Notes and Papers were taken from him, ſo that this Book did not recieve his laſt hand, but tis obſervable he was one of the Members of the Parliament, 1 *Car.* 1. When the ſpecial Act before mentioned, and was made, and no Inſtance can be given where an Act was paſſed; and afterwards the Parliament did proceed in that Seſſion only where there was a Precedent Agreement between the King and the Houſes, ſo I conclude that the order is Deter-

 mined

mined with the Seſſion, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* ought to be Diſcharged.

Ayres to the ſame effect argued, That the Warrant is not ſufficient; for it does not appear that it was made by the *Jurisdiction* is deſired in the Houſe of Peers; for that is *coram Rege in Parliamento*, ſo that the King and the Commons are preſent in ſuppoſition of Law, and the *Writ of Error* in Parliament is *Inſpecto Recordo nos conſilio & adviſamento Spiritualium & Temporalium, & Communitatum in Parliamento prædict' exiſtent'*, &c. it would not be difficult to prove that anciently the Commons did aſſiſt there, and now it ſhall be intended that they were preſent; for there can be no Averment againſt the Record. The Lords do ſeveral Acts as a diſtinct Houſe, as the *Debating Bills*, the *Enquiring of Breaches of Priviledges*, and the Warrant in this Caſe being by the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*, cannot be intended otherwiſe, but that it was done by them in their diſtinct capacity, and then the commitment being during the Pleaſure of the King and the Houſe of Peers, it is manifeſt that the King is Principal, and His Pleaſure ought to be determined in this Court.

If the Lords ſhould commit a great Miniſter of State, whoſe Advice is neceſſary for the King and the Realm, it cannot be imagined that the King ſhall be without remedy for his Subject, but that he may have him Diſcharged by his Writ out of this Court.

This preſent Receſs is not ordinary Adjournment; for it is entred in the Journal that the Parliament ſhall not be Aſſembled at the Day of Adjournment, but Adjourned or Prorogued to another Day, if the King do not ſignifie his Pleaſure by Proclamation.

Some other Exceptions were made to the Return.

1. That no Commitment is returned, but only a Warrant to the Conſtable to receive him.

2. The Return does not anſwer the Mandate of the Writ; for that it is to have the Body of *A. E.* of *S.* and the return of Warrant for the Impriſonment of *A. Aſhley* E. of *S.*

Serjeant *Maynard* argued to maintain the Return; *The Houſe of Lords is the Supream Court of the Realm; 'tis true this Court is ſuperior to all Courts of ordinary Jurisdiction, If this Commitment had been by any Inferior Court, it could not have been maintained; But the Commitment is by a Court that is not under the Controul of this Court; and that Court is in Law ſitting at this time, and therefore the expreſsing the Contempt particularly is a Matter that continues in the Deliberation of that Court: 'Tis true, this Court ought to determine what the Law is in every Caſe that comes before them, and in this* Caſe *the Queſtion is only whether* this Court *can judge of a* Contempt *committed in Parliament during the ſame Seſſion of Parliament, and diſcharge one committed for ſuch* Contempt, *when a Queſtion of* Priviledge *ariſeth in an Accord depending in this* Court, *the* Court *may determine it; but now the Queſtion is, Whether the Lords have capacity to determine their own Priviledges, and whether this* Court *can controul their Determination, and Diſcharge during their Seſſion a Peer committed for* contempt. *The*

Judges

Judges have often demanded what the Law is, and how a Statute ſhould be expounded of the Lords in Parliament as on the Statute of Amendments, 40 *Ed.* 3. 34. 6, 8. Co. 157 & 158. a fortiori. *The* Court *ought to demand their Opinion when a Doubt ariſeth on an Order made by the Houſe of Lords now ſitting.*

As to the Determination of the *Impriſonment*, doubtleſs the Pleaſure of the King is to be determined in the ſame Court where the Judgment was given.

As to the Determination of the Seſſion the Opinion of *Cooke* is good Law, and the Addition of Promiſes of many Acts is only *in Majorem cautelam.*

Attorney Gen. To the ſame Effect, as to the uncertainty of the Commitment, it is to be conſidered that this Caſe differs from all other Caſes in two circumſtances: 1. The Perſon which is committed is a Member of the Houſe by which he is committed (I do not take upon me to ſay that the Caſe would be different if the perſon committed were not a Peer. 2. The Court that does commit is Superior to this Court, and therefore if the contempt had been particularly ſhewn of what Judgment ſoever this Court ſhould have been as to the contempt, yet they would not have diſcharged the Earl, and thereby take upon them a Juriſdiction over the Houſe of Peers.

The *Judges* in no Age have taken upon them the Judgment of what is *Lex & conſuetudo Parliamenti*; but here the Attempt is to engage the *Judges* to give their Opinion in a matter whereof they might have refuſed to have given it. If it had been demanded in Parliament, 'tis true, if a Writ be brought where Priviledge is pleaded, the Court ought to judge of it as an Incident to the Suit whereof the Court was poſſeſs'd; but this will be no warrant for this Court to aſſume a *Judgment* of an original Matter ariſing in Parliament, and that which is ſaid of the *Judges* power to expound Statutes, cannot be denied.

But it is not applicable to this Caſe by the ſame reaſon that this commitment is queſtioned, every commitment of the Houſe of Commons may be likewiſe queſtioned in this Court. It is objected, that there would be a failure of *Juſtice* if the Earl ſhould not be diſcharged; but the contrary is true; for if he be diſcharged, there would be a failure of *Juſtice* for Offences in Parliament, and therefore the Earl would be diſcharged from all manner of puniſhment for his Offence, if he be diſcharged (for he muſt be diſcharged or remanded; for the Court cannot Bail but where they have a *Juriſdiction* of the Matter) and ſo delivered out of the Hands of the Lords, who only have power to puniſh him.

It is objected that the contempt is not ſaid to be committed in the Houſe of Peers, but it may well be intended to be committed there; for it appears he is a Member of that Houſe, and that the contempt was againſt the Houſe; and beſides there are contempts whereof they have Cogniſance though they are Committed out of the Houſe, it is Objected that tis poſſible this Contempt was Committed before the General Par-

don,

don but ſurely ſuch Injuſtice ſhall not be ſuppoſed in the Supream Court, and it may well be ſuppoſed to be Committed, during the Seſſion in which the Commitment to Priſon was.

It would be great difficulty for the Lords to make their Commitments ſo exact and particular when they are Imployed in the *Arduous* Affairs of the Realm, and it has been adjudged on a return out of *Chancery*, of a Commitment for a Contempt againſt a Decree that it was good, and yet the Decree was not ſhown.

The Linnitation of the Impriſonment is well, for if the King or the Houſe determine their Pleaſure, he ſhall be diſcharged, for then tis not the pleaſure of both, that he ſhould be detained, and the Addition of thoſe words during the pleaſure, is no more then was before Implied by the Law, for if thoſe words had been Omitted, yet the King might have pardoned the Contempt if he had but Expreſt his pleaſure under the Broad Seal. If a Judgment be given in this Court, that one ſhall be Impriſoned during the Kings pleaſure; his pleaſure ought to be Determined by Pardon, and not by any Act of this Court, ſo that the King would have no prejudice by the Impriſonment of a great Miniſter, becauſe he could diſcharge him by a Pardon the double Limitation is for the Benefit of the Priſoner who ought not to complain of the duration of his Impriſonment, ſince he has neglected to make Application for his Diſcharge in an orderly way.

I Confeſs by the Determination of the Seſſion, the orders made the ſame Seſſion are Diſcharged, but I ſhall not affirm whether this preſent Order will be Diſcharged or no, becauſe it is a Judgment. But this is not the preſent Caſe, for the Seſſion continues notwithſtanding the Royal Aſſent given to ſeveral Bills, according to the Opinion of *Cook* and all the Judges. *Hutton*. 61. and 62. Every Proviſo in an Act of Parliament is not a Determination of what was the Law before; for they are often added for the Satisfaction of thoſe that are Ignorant of the Law.

Solicitor Gen. To the ſame effect, in the great Caſe of Mr. *Selden*, 5 *Car.* 1. the warrant was for notable Contempts committed againſt us and our Government, and ſtirring up Sedition; and although that be almoſt as general as that in our Caſe, yet no Objection was made to it for that cauſe in any of the Arguments, *Ruſhworth's Collections* 18 & 19. in the Appendix. But I agree that this Return could not have been maintained if it were out of an inferiour Court, but during the Seſſion this Court can take no Cognizance of the Matter, and the Inconvenience would be great if the Law were taken otherwiſe; for this Court might Judge one way, and the Houſe of Peers another: which doubtleſs would not be for the Advantage and Benefit of the Subject. For the avoiding of this Miſchief, It was agreed by the whole Court in the Caſe of *Barnardiſton* and *Somes*, that the Accord for the double Return could not be brought in this Court until the *Parliament* had determined the Right of Election, leſt there ſhould be a difference between the Judgments of the Courts.

When a Judgment of the Lords comes to this Court, though it be of a Reverſal of a Judgment of this Court, the Court is obliged to execute it, but their Judgment was never examined or corrected here. In the Caſe of the Lord *Hollis*, it was Reſolved that this Court had no Juriſdiction of a Miſdemeanor committed in *Parliament*, when the *Parliament* is determined, the Judges are the Expoſitors of the Acts, and are intruſted with the Lives, Liberties and Fortunes of the Subject, and if the Seſſion were Determined, the Earl might apply himſelf to this Court for the Subject ſhall not be without a place where he may reſort for the Recovery of his Liberty, but this Seſſion is not Determined for the moſt part the Royal Aſſent is given the laſt day, as ſaith *Plouden*, *Partridges* Caſe, yet the giving the Royal Aſſent, does not make it the laſt day of Parliament without a Subſequent Reſolution or Prerogative, and the Court Judicially takes notice of Prorogation and Adjournments of Parliament. *Cro. Jac.* 111. *Ford. Verſus Hunten*, and by Conſequence no order is diſcontinued but remains as if the Parliament were actually Aſſembled. *Cro. Jac.* 342. Sr. *Chr. Haudens* Caſe, ſo that the Earl ought to apply himſelf to the Lords who are his proper Judges.

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It ought to be obſerved, That this attempt is *Primæ Impreſſionis*, and though Impriſonment upon Contempt hath been frequent by the one and the other Houſe, till now no perſon ever ſought Inlargement here: The Court was obliged in Juſtice to grant the *Habeas Corpus*, but upon the whole matter being diſcloſed, it appears upon the Return, that the Cauſe belongs *ad aliud examen*; they ought to remand the Party.

As to the Limitation of the Impriſonment, the King may determin his Pleaſure by a Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*, as in the Caſe of *Reinger* and *Flagoſſa*, *Plowden* 20.

As to the Exception that no Commitment is returned, the Conſtable can only ſhew what concerns himſelf, which is the Warrant to him directed; and the Writ does not require him to return any thing elſe.

As to your Exception, that he is otherwiſe named in the Commitment then in the Writ: The Writ requires to have the Body of *A.* Earl of *S. Quocunque nomine Cenſeatur* in the Commitment.

After this, my Lord *Shaftsbury* made a Speech; the Subſtance thereof followeth.

My Lords,

I Did not intend to have ſpoke one word in this buſineſs, but ſomething hath been Objected and laid to my Charge by the King's Council, Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor, that enforceth me to ſay ſomething for your better ſatisfaction. They have told you that my Counſel in their Arguments ſaid, That this Court was greater then the Houſe of Peers, which I dare to appeal to your Lordſhips and the whole Court, that it was never ſpoken by them, I am ſure was not by any directions of mine. What is done by my Counſel and by me, is, That this is the moſt proper Court to reſort unto where the Liberty of the Subject is concerned. The Lords Houſe is the Supream Houſe of Judicature in the Kingdom; but yet there is a Juriſdiction that the Lords Houſe does not meddle with. The King's Counſel hath mentioned, as a wonder, That a Member of the Lords Houſe ſhould come hither to diminiſh the Juriſdiction of the Lords. I acknowledge them to be Superiour to this, or any other Court, to whom all Appeals and Writs of Error are brought; and yet there are Juriſdictions that they do not challenge, and which are not natural to them, or proper for them. They claim not to meddle in Original Cauſes, and ſo I might mention in other things; and I do not think it a kindneſs to any Power or Body of men, to give them ſome power that are not natural or proper to their

Conſtitution. I do not think it a kindneſs to the Lords to make them abſolute and above the Law, for ſo I humbly conceive this muſt do, if it be adjudged that they by a general Warrant, or without any particular Cauſe aſſigned, do commit me, or any other man, to a perpetual and indefinite Impriſonment: And, my Lords, I am not ſo Inconſiderable a perſon, but what you do in my Caſe, muſt be Law for every man in *England*.

Mr. Attorney is pleaſed to ſay I am a Member of the Lords Houſe, and to lay weight on the word *Member*. It is very true, I am one of them, and no man hath a greater Reverence or Eſteem for the Lords then my ſelf; but, my Lords, I hope my being a Peer, or a Member of either Houſe, ſhall not looſe my being an Engliſh man, or make me to have leſs title to *Magna Charta* and the other Laws of Engliſh Liberty.

My Opinion is not with one of my Counſel, who argued very learnedly, That the paſſing an Act by the King's Royal Aſſent can make a Seſſions, becauſe the uſual Promiſe was not in it. It was without any Inſtruction of mine to mention that point.

The King's Counſel tells your Lordſhips of the Laws and Cuſtoms of Parliament; and if this was ſo, I ſhould ſubmit; but this Caſe of mine is *Primæ Impreſſionis*, and is a new way, ſuch as neither Mr. Attorney nor Mr. Solicitor can ſhew any Preſident of, and I have no other remedy nor place to apply to then the way I take.

Mr. Attorney confeſſeth that the King's pleaſure may pleaſe me without the Lords. If ſo, this Court is *Coram Rege*. This Court is the proper place to determine the King's pleaſure. This Court will and ought to judge of an Act of Parliament void, if it be againſt *Magna Charta*, much more may judge an Order of the Houſe, that is put in Execution to deprive any Subject of his Liberty. And if this Order of Commitment be a Judgment, as the King's Counſel affirms, then it is out of the Lords hands, and properly before your Lordſhips, as much as the Acts which were lately paſſed, which I preſume you will not refuſe to judge of, notwithſtanding that the King's Attorney General ſaith that this Parliament is ſtill in being: I take it ſomething ill that Mr. Attorney tells me I might have applied elſewhere.

My Lord, I have not omitted what became my Duty towards the King; for beſides the Oath of Allegiance I took as a Peer, or an Engliſh man, there is ſomething in my Breaſt that will never ſuffer me to depart from the Duty and Reſpect that I owe him; but I am here before him, he is always ſuppoſed to be here preſent, and he alloweth his Subjects the Law.

My Lord, they ſpeak much of the Cuſtom of Parliament; but I do affirm to you, there is no Cuſtom of Parliament that ever

their

their Members were put out of their own Power; and the Inconveniences of it will be endleſs.

Mr. Attorney was pleaſed eaſily to anſwer the Objection of one of my Counſel; If a great Miniſter ſhould be ſo Committed, he hath the Cure of a Pardon, a Prorogation, or a Diſſolution: but if the Caſe ſhould be put, why forty Members, or a greater number, may not as well be taken away without remedy in any of the King's Courts, he will not ſo eaſily anſwer; and if in this Caſe there can be no relief, no man can foreſee what will be hereafter.

I deſire your Lordſhip well to conſider what rule you make in my Caſe, for it will be a Preſident that in future Ages may concern every man in *England*.

My Lord, Mr. Attorney ſaith you can either releaſe or remand me; I differ from him in that Opinion. I do not inſiſt upon a Releaſe: I have been a Priſoner above five Months already, and come hither of Neceſſity, having no other way to get my Liberty, and therefore am very willing to tender your Lordſhip Bayl, which are in or near the Court, good as any are in *England*, either for their Quality or Eſtate, and I am ready to give any Sum or Number.

My Lord, this Court being poſſeſt of this buſineſs, I am now your Priſoner.

The Court delivered their Opinion *Seriatim*.

Juſtice Jones. Such a Return made by an Ordinary Court of Juſtice, would have been ill and uncertain; but the Cauſe is different when it comes before this High Court, to which ſo much reſpect has been paid by our Predeceſſors, that they have deferred the Determination of Doubts conceived on an Act of Parliament, until they have received the Advice of the Lords: and now, inſtead thereof, it is demanded of us to controll the Judgment of all the Peers, and given on a Member of their own Houſe, and during the continuance of the ſame Seſſion. The Caſes where the Courts of *Weſtminſter* have taken Cognizance of Priviledge, differ from this Caſe: for in thoſe it was only an Incident to the Caſe before them, which was of their Cognizance; but the direct point of the Matter is now the Judgment of the Lords.

The courſe of all Courts ought to be conſidered, for that is the Law of the Court, *Lane's Caſe* 2. *Reſt.* and it has not been affirmed, That the Uſage of the Houſe of Lords has uſed to expreſs the matter more particularly on Commitments for Contempts, and therefore I ſhall take it to be according to the courſe of Parliament. 4. *Inſt.* 50. It is ſaid that the Judges are Aſſiſtants to the Lords, to Inform them of Common Law; but they ought not to Judge of any Law, Cuſtom, or Uſage of Parliament. The

The Objection as to the continuance of the Impriſonment, has received a plain Anſwer, for it ſhall be determined by the Pleaſure of the King, or of the Lords: and if it were otherwiſe, yet the King could pardon the Contempt under the Great Seal, or diſcharge the Impriſonment under the Privy Seal.

I ſhall not ſay what would be the conſequence (as to this Impriſonment) if the Seſſion were determined, for that is not the preſent Caſe; but as the caſe is, the Court can neither Bayl nor Diſcharge the Earl.

Wild Juſtice. The Return no doubt is illegal; but the queſtion is of a Point of Juriſdiction, Whether it may be examined here? This Court can't meddle with the Tranſactions of the moſt High Court of Peers in Parliament, during the Seſſion, which is not determined; and therefore the certainty or uncertainty of the Return is not material, for it is not examinable here: but if the Seſſion had been determined, my Opinion would be, that he ought to be diſcharged.

Rainsford Chief Juſtice. This Court has no Juriſdiction of the Cauſe, and therefore the Form of the Return is not conſiderable. We ought not to extend our Juriſdiction beyond its due limits, and the actions of our Anceſtors will not warrant us in ſuch an Attempt.

The Conſequence would be very miſchievous if this Court ſhould deliver a Member of the Houſe of Peers and Commons who are committed, for thereby the buſineſs of Parliament may be retarded: for it may be the Commitment was for evil behaviour, or undecent reflections on other Members, to the diſturbance of the Affairs of Parliament.

The Commitment in this caſe is not for ſafe Cuſtody, but he is in execution of the Judgment given by the Lords for the Contempt; and therefore if he ſhould be bayled, he would be delivered out of execution; for a Contempt *in facie Curiæ* there is no other Judgment or Execution.

This Court has no Juriſdiction, and therefore he ought to be remanded. I deliver no Opinion whether it would be otherwiſe in caſe of a Prorogation.

Twisden Juſtice was abſent, but he deſired Juſtice *Jones* to declare that his Opinion was, That the Party ought to be Remanded.

And ſo he was remanded by the Court.

F I N I S.

THE True Protestants APPEAL TO THE City and Countrey.

Gentlemen, and worthy Fellow-Citizens and Subjects,

I Have overcome my self, for your sakes, in two difficulties, which, it may be, have hindred many an honest man from speaking necessary Truth; the one is Fear, the other, an expectation that some other Person, better able to discharge it, would have undertaken the Province. For the first, I considered, Why should any *Englishman* be afraid to make Use of his Native Liberty to speak the Truth, and discharge his Conscience, especially when so many busie men are become so bold, not only to whisper, but loudly to proclaim Disloyalty, and are not satisfied to curse the King in their Thoughts, in their Bed-chamber, but are advanced to the confidence to print and publish such Reflections upon his most Sacred Majesty and the Government, as now by Law established, as makes the Ears of Loyal Subjects tingle.

I confess, I waited with impatience, to see some bold and generous Pen endeavour to arrest the Torrent, and stem the Tide, but have still been defeated in my expectation; deterred, I suppose, from what is every true *Englishman*, and good Protestant's Duty, by a prevailing timorousness, lest they should be branded with the infamous Names of Jesuit, Papist, or Popishly affected: I expect the same Fate, but yet Names, which are only the Scum and Foam of Arbitrary, and Popular Defamers, shall never fright me, nor ought to do any Person, out of the Duty we owe to God, our King, and our Countrey. I perfectly hate and abhor all Popery, Superstition, and Innovation in the Church; and all that know me, who are not inconsiderable, either for number or Quality, know me to be a true Church of *England-Kings-Protestant*. I do no less detest and abhor all other Schismatical Practices and Perswasions, treacherous and Disloyal Doctrines and Actions of Commonwealth-Protestants, and all those, whether Papists or Schismaticks, who, though they disclaim the odious Doctrine, yet agree in the horrid and abominable Fact of King-killing.

Let them, either, or both, look never so demurely upon the matter, and endeavour to wash their hands of it by accusing one another, this thing was not done in a corner, but in the face of the Sun, and then avowed by Dissenting-Protestants, both in the Publick Memoirs of their Usurpation, and in their private Prints; and the Innocent Blood of the Just, as well as their own Impenitent Hearts, are Witnesses that I am no false Accuser: and whatever good Opinion others may have of this Generation of men, I am not to dissemble, but tell them such Truths as may prick them to the Hearts, and wound them into true Repentance, and that they lye under a more heavy guilt than the very *Jews*; for the Apostle excuses them, in a great measure, of the guilt of Innocent Blood; *I know, Brethren, that ye did it ignorantly, for, had ye known the Lord of Life and Glory, ye would not have crucified him*; they would have had *Pilate* alter his Superscription, from, *This is the King of the Jews*, into, *That he said he was the King of the Jews*; But these Shameless and Unblushing men, slew their Natural Liege Lord with the impudent Formalities of pretended Justice, banished the Lawful Heir, and took possession of the Vineyard, till the Lord of the Husbandmen, with his own wonderful hand, brought him back again in Peace.

I hate all the silly Popish Arts of shamming Plots upon the Presbyterians, there is no need of it, the whole Nation is sensible of their Design by their Endeavours; we know the men, and

their Converſation. All honeſt men believe the Popiſh Plot, and have a Deteſtation, both againſt the Principles and Practiſes of Popery; and it would be more vigorouſly proſecuted, if Commonwealth Proteſtants did not endeavour ſo viſibly to make a hand of it, to play their own game: and if it either ſuffers in its Reputation, or by Delayes, we are obliged to Diſſenters for it, who, by their mutinous, ſeditious Behaviour, their elevated Hopes, inſolent and opprobrious Language againſt the Church and Kings Proteſtants, have put it beyond diſpute, that they are attempting to play the Old Game again; and, having got a real Popiſh Plot, reſolve to make that do the ſame Feat, which before they did under the bare Pretence of one; *viz.* the Alteration and Ruine of the Government eſtabliſhed both in Church and State.

Let them never think to put out our Eyes quite with the duſt which they raiſe, and the prefaces of Loyalty which they make; their Predeceſſors did the very ſame, and, I think, were the better bred, and more mannerly of the two: but, if they mean as they ſay, why do they look ſo like the Aſs mumping Thiſtles, at abhorring the Traiterous Poſition of taking up Arms by his Authority againſt his Majeſties Perſon. It is the Duty of every good Subject, to endeavour all he can to preſerve the Life of his moſt Sacred Majeſty, the true Proteſtant Religion and Government in Church and State, as it is by Law now eſtabliſhed, againſt all Perſons who ſhall attempt to take away the one, or alter and ſubvert the other; but not one Commonwealth Proteſtant that will agree to ſay or ſwear this; and if they neither can nor will do it, Judge all ye People, what Proteſtants, what Chriſtians they are.

Truth needs no little Arts to ſupport its Credit, it is Deſign that uſes Paint and Varniſh: We King and Church-Proteſtants ſay, we love both, and will ſincerely endeavour, according to our often repeated Sacred Oaths, to ſupport, maintain, and defend both the King and the Church; but the Commonwealth-Proteſtants, are as 'fraid to take theſe Oaths, as unwilling to keep them. Quakers will not ſwear at all, Independents, Presbyterians, Anabaptiſts, &c. are abhorrers of the Oath of Supremacy, unleſs their Pope Intereſt gives them a Diſpenſation to get into an Office or Capacity to affront the Government; they ſay, they love the King, and the Proteſtant Religion, and the Church, but they equivocate as bad as Jeſuits in the laſt, and, I fear, diſſemble in the firſt.

Their Tranſactions indeed have of late been admirable and incomprehenſible, in Defence of the Government and Proteſtant Religion; as for Inſtance,

Firſt, The Government hath been aſperſed, and in print too, and we know by what hands, with a Deſign to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Government, and, which is yet moſt incomprehenſible, a damnable, moſt helliſh, and execrable Plot is diſcovered, ſworn, and believed, of the Papiſts, to take away the King's Life, and to ſubvert and alter the Government both in Church and State. Now, for my part, I believe the Popiſh Plot; but whoſoever believes the other, whatever he pretends, cannot believe that, for they make admirable and incomprehenſible Non-ſence of it, that the Papiſts ſhould be plotting to ruin their own Intereſt and Deſign, to ſubvert a Government that was endeavouring to bring in Popery.

Secondly, In order to the preſervation and ſupport of the Government, all Occurrences of State are and have been perverted, to defame the Government, and debauch the People from their Loyalty. A War is made with *Holland*, that was purpoſely to weaken the Proteſtant Intereſt; a Peace is concluded, and in defence of the *Netherlands* againſt *France*, the King appears in Arms; why, then that was a Popiſh Army, and deſigned to cut our Throats; the Army is diſbanded, and the *Presbyterian Whiggs* in *Scotland* rebell. Alas, poor Souls! they are jugled into it by the Oppreſſions of the Government, and the Inſtigations of the Papiſts. But *Tangier* was the prettieſt Ball; to day *Tangier* is ready to be loſt, and then 'tis worth the Lord knows what, the *Levant* Trade is ruined and loſt: the next Poſt *Tangier* is relieved, and the *Alcaide* routed; why then 'tis not worth the thinking on, 'tis a Queſtion whether it has done us more good or hurt; another while, *Tangier* is ſold to the *French* King for no body knows how many hundred thouſand pounds. It were endleſs to recount all that might be ſaid upon this Head: I will add but one Inſtance more, to ſhew what Arts have been uſed to defame the Government, not ſparing the very Perſon of his Majeſty, whom God preſerve. You might, within theſe three Months, have had what odds you would, that the Popiſh Lords would never be brought to Tryal at all; when time proved that a Lye, then, ten to one, *Stafford* ſhould not dye, and the very Warrant for his Execution, was reported to be a Pardon; well, that would not do: then he would not be *Colemaniz'd* with the black Box, but would tell Tales before he loſt his Head, and much was expected at his going down to the Lords Houſe, and not that he ſhould talk of a Toleration as an Expedient to bring in Popery: and after all theſe Lyes and Forgeries, proved to be ſuch in the face of the World, yet the trade goes on; and every little mote in the Eye of the Government, is repreſented to the People to be a Beam.

Thirdly, All Arts are uſed to ſtigmatize the truly Loyal King and Church-Proteſtants with names of Infamy, Maſqueraders, Church-Papiſts, Penſioners, Tories, and what not? to prevent

vent their being choſen by the People where they have Voices, and to incapacitate them for places of Truſt in the Government, as a moſt admirable and effectual way to ſupport it; nay a moſt incomprehenſible Indictment was either intended to be, or was preſented by a Loyal Grand-Jury, againſt the Kings Guards, in order to the Preſervation of his Majeſties perſon in theſe times of eminent Danger; and when one of the lying Mercuries of the Tribe, had juſt printed the News, that 12000 *French* were ready to be landed in the Dominions of his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, a ſeaſonable time to diſarm him, that ſo the *French* or the *Papiſts* may have the greater Freedom to do their Buſineſs. Oh admirable and incomprehenſible Loyalty of Common-wealth Proteſtants!

Fourthly, All the Induſtry imaginable, is uſed to repreſent ſuch perſons to be the fitteſt Repreſentatives of the People, who have been in actual Arms againſt his Majeſty, and his Royal Father: nay, as it is credibly reported, one was recommended to a neighbouring Burrough, who was not only of the Council of State, and had abjur'd *Charles Stuart*, as the breeding of thoſe Loyal Proteſtants, then called the King, but had ſaid beyond Sea, at the time of the Tragical Murther of the late King, that rather than there ſhould want an Executioner, he would come over, and do the Office; and I think, it was never certainly known who did it: however, the kind offer is an admirable and incomprehenſible Qualification for a Preſerver of his Majeſties Life, and the Government now by Law eſtabliſhed.

Fifthly, The People are continually kept waking with repeated Allarms, both by Printing and Coffee-houſe diſcouſes; nothing is ſounded in their Ears but frightful ſtories of Dangers, Maſſacres, Invaſions, ſtrange Sights in the Air, Apparitions and Viſions; and though they have been cheated a thouſand times over with the ſame things, yet they are ſo weak, to give Credit to the Reports and confident Reporters, who tell and print the moſt ſilly Stories, with the ſame Forehead that others do the moſt important Truths; and all this, to prepare the people to expect ſome dreadful Revolutions, which muſt by a certain Fatality befall the State.

Sixthly, That which is admirable and incomprehenſible even to the moſt ſurprizing Aſtoniſhment, is to ſee *Pilate* and *Herod* made Friends, Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents and Anabaptiſts, who hate each other with a mortal irreconcileable Hatred, united as one man throughout *England*, to bring in, if poſſible, into the next Houſe of Commons, Perſons that may ſecure his Majeſties Perſon, the Government, and the Proteſtant Religion. But if they ſettle that which is now by Law eſtabliſhed, as I hope, if they ſettle any, they will, and ſecure the Church againſt Papiſts, Hereticks, and Schiſmaticks, the great Enemies both of Church and State, they will ſtrangely diſappoint all thoſe Peoples Expectations.

Now, that you may unlock all theſe Myſteries, I will lend you a Key; it is part of a Speech ſpoken by a late Lord Chancellor, to the Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen, let it not be ſaid, I beſeech you, of us, what was ſaid of the Senate of *Rome*, *Excellentibus ingeniis citius defuit ars qua civem regant, quam, qua hoſtem perdant*, (they were greater Maſters in conquering their Enemies than governing their Citizens) let not thoſe Scorpions (ſpeaking of Common-wealth Proteſtants) be kept warm in our Boſoms till they ſting us to Death; let not thoſe who hate the Government, and would deſtroy the Government (I have not heard that they are changed ſince) let not them be ſheltred under the Shadow and Protection of the Government. It is poſſible, and God knows it is but poſſible, that ſome men who are no Friends to this or that part of the Government (for you are not to believe, that they always diſcover what they are in truth moſt angry with) who would not buy theſe Alterations they moſt deſire, at the price of a Civil War; they would bring it fairly about, wait for a godly Parliament, and do all by their Conſent: (this is no Sham-Plot) Yet theſe Perſons muſt not take it ill, that we cannot deſire they ſhould ever have it in their Power, to bring theſe Alterations to paſs by thoſe means they now ſeem to abhor. And I do heartily wiſh, I am ſure they will not be the worſe men nor the worſe Subjects for it, that they would a little reflect upon what is paſt, remember how much they have once done (as they then pretended) more than they intended to have done, nay, which they did heartily abhor the thought of doing; and they will find, that the only way to preſerve themſelves innocent, is to keep their Minds from being vitiated by the firſt Impreſſions, by Jealouſies, Murmurings, and Repinings; and above all, by the Converſations of thoſe men who would ſacrifice the Peace of the Kingdom to their own Ambition, Pride, (Revenge) or even to their Humour.

Thus far, he like an Oracle or a Prophet. If therefore you find any perſons to whom this Character does agree, it is your Intereſt as well as your Duty, to deliberate long before you imbarque with ſuch Perſons, who, let their Pretences be never ſo fair and popular, yet ſail by the Compaſs of Diſcontent or Revenge: and ſince this Lord has put you upon Reflection and Conſideration, which are the Methods of Wiſdom, let me offer ſome neceſſary Reflections

and

and Considerations to your serious Thoughts, in which I appeal to the whole World, whether they are not wholsom Truths.

1. Reflect upon the end of things: That is the first thing to be considered by all those who pretend to be managed by Prudence; whither can these unlawful Arts of traducing and maligning the Government, lead us at the last, but to Seditions and Tumults, and the unexpressible Calamities of a Civil War? And what is to be got by that, but certain Slavery, if usurping Rebels should prevail? For such to secure that Tyranny which they have gotten by the Sword, must govern arbitrarily and by the Sword, as you have found by former deplorable Experience. Nor can any rational Person suppose, that they who will not be governed by the old and known Laws of the Land, will submit to any, when they are the Legislators by virtue of the longest Sword; and if Right should prevail, as 'tis odds but it will, not many Rebellions having been prosperous, consider how many Immunities, Charters, Grants, and Liberties, may be forfeited, which you now enjoy; and that though a gracious Oblivion may pardon Life, yet it will not be obliged to restore those Franchises which royal Bounty has conferr'd upon your Ancestors, and that Posterity may curse the Memory of those who gave the occasion of their Loss.

2. Reflect, how good, gratious, just and merciful a Prince you have, how happy you may live under his easie Government, how willing he is to comply with his people, in whatever is consistent with his Safety, Honour, Conscience, and his Coronation Oath; to desire more is not only ingratefully to disoblige him, but unreasonable, and which, no private person, not the meanest Subject, but would think it injurious to be imposed upon, in point of Honour or Conscience.

3. Reflect, especially such as have been guilty of the late Rebellion, how great an Arrear you are in the gracious Act of Oblivion; and if you have not made the Scores even betwixt God and you by true Repentance, how much you are run behind hand to the Avenger of innocent Blood, and do not by running further upon the Score, pull down divine Vengeance upon your Heads. There is a strange Fatality in the number Forty, *Forty years long was I grieved* (saith Almighty God) *with the wicked Generation of Murmurers and Rebels in the Wilderness, and at last, he swore they should not enter into his Rest.* Forty years passed over the wicked *Jews*, before the overflowing Flood of Vengeance overtook them for the innocent Blood of the Son of God, but then it came to purpose. It is now near forty years, since the late horrid and unnatual Rebellion began, wherein our Royal Sovereign was murdered by the barbarous hands of usurping Common-wealth Protestants; and let them look to it, and assure themselves, if they break out into Tumults, Sedition, or Rebellion, his prophetick Threatning will fall upon them. I believe (saith he, speaking of the Tumults) the just Avenger of all Disorders, will in time, make those men and that City, see their Sin in the Glass of their Punishment. 'Tis more than an even Lay, that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended; I pray God avert it, however, out of pure Compassion, I recommend it to your serious Consideration, and that though there is a future State wherein Punishment may be differed as to private Persons, yet Communities and Bodies politick being not capable of that, usually meet their Punishment in this World when they offend.

In short, permit me to tell you this home Truth, which you shall most certainly find justified by Experience. That you may run the same Circle of Misery (but do not make your selves sure of Success, for you will be mistaken, let not him that putteth on his Harness, boast like him that putteth it off) you shall never see this Nation secured in a happy Peace, till sober, wise, judicious and moderate men, by moderate, cool, and healing Councils, rescue both the Church and State from the Attempts of Popery on the one hand, and the Invasions of Common-wealth Protestants, Schismaticks, on the other, which however, some may look upon as impossible; yet there is a Power that is able to effect greater Wonders; and sure, none ought to be tempted to dispair, who can remember his Majesties happy and miraculous Restauration, and how the Sword fell out of the hands of his Enemies: Remember this, and believe there is the same providence to protect him still, and to confound all the Attempts of his, and the Enemies of our Peace and Happiness.

LONDON, Printed, 1681.

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5

REASONS

Humbly Offered

TO HIS MAJESTY

Charles II. King

For His Diſpenſing with the

OATH of ALLEGIANCE

As to his Highneſs

The Duke of York:

And for his Sitting in the

Council of Scotland

Without taking the ſaid

O A T H.

JACOBUS. II.

LONDON,
Printed in Year 1680.

REASONS *Offered to His Majeſty for Diſpenſing with the* Oath *of* Allegiance *as to his Highneſs the Duke of* York, *and for his Sitting in the Council of* Scotland *without taking the ſaid* Oath.



Because First, It is certain that many poſitive Laws are diſpenſable, not only in Caſes not intended by the *Legiſlators*, which is the ordinary Interpretation of Equity, but alſo where the Law is moſt expreſs: this being that Relaxation of Law which many ſupervenient conſiderations may plead for, and doth in effect as properly, and neceſſarily belong to His Majeſties Prerogative, and the due Adminiſtration of the Government, as the power of Execution, which ſometimes is thereby more advantagiouſly ſuperſeeded.

Secondly, It is from this unqueſtionable Prerogative of Diſpenſing, that all Reſpites, Remiſſions, ſpecial Priviledges, Immunities, Indulgences, *Non obſtantes*, and the like, do clearly flow: Theſe being as obviouſly given without, nay, contrary to the precept of Law, as they are known every where to be the moſt peculiar and reſerved Marks of Soverainity.

Thirdly, Of theſe many Laws none known to be more diſpenſable than ſuch as do only enjoyn an Oath, or Subſcription for the greater publick ſecurity, in as much as His Majeſty, *Tanquam hic ſolus ſuſtinens Perſonam et Authoritatem Civitatis*, is the only party, and conſequently according to the undoubted priviledg of every party in whoſe favour any Law is conceaved and made, hath as abſolutly the right of Diſpenſing, as that of Exacting.

Fourthly, The Laws commonly judged Indiſpenſable are ſuch as either are ſimply Declarative, requiring no ſubſequent Execution, or concern the intereſt of particular parties; ſo as their Contravention may prove a Grievance or Nuſance, as *Engliſh* Lawyers term it. In which caſe no Diſpenſation can be validly granted without the ſaid parties conſent; but ſo it is, that the Act enjoyning the Oath of Allegiance is no ſuch Law, as is clear from its Tenor, and therefore not Indiſpenſable.

Fifthly, By the Fourth, and Seaventh Acts of the *Parliament* 1661; It is expreſly Statuted and Declared, and that upon the ground of His Majeſties undoubted Prerogative, and our ancient Laws eſtabliſhing the ſame, That all publick Oaths concerning the Government of the Church or Kingdom, do depend upon his Majeſties ſpecial Warrant and approbation: Now by all Law and reaſon in the World, the power of approving, diſproving, or diſpenſing are inſeparably connected.

Sixthly, The very Tenor of the Act for taking the Oath of Allegiance Act XI. *Parliament* 1661. obtruded in this caſe to his Highneſs, offereth a plain ſolution of the Queſtion, in as much as it is His Majeſty alone, without Concurrence of the States, conformable to His Royal Prerogative, who therein declares that he will be carefull that ſuch as he ſhall think fit to call to His Council ſhall be duly qualified, and that they ſhall give full aſſurance thereof by their publick Teſtimony: and all the part of the Eſtates in that

that Act, is meerly to consent for the Peoples Interest, whose liberty His Majesty would not impose upon without such a consent, that the Oath of Allegiance shall be that publick Testimony: So that it is manifest, that by that Act His Majesties sole Prerogative of either approving or dispensing with this Oath of Allegiance, or any other of that nature, is rather established than in the least impeached.

Seventhly, His Highness is not so much as Comprehended or concerned in the very terms of the Act; forasmuch as the Act is only made for such as His Majesty shall nominate to be of His Privy Council: which clearly imports that the Act was only intended for such as having no other right than his Majesties Call and Nomination to enter in Council, might very justly be required to give the foresaid evidence of their Loyalty: But as to his Highness, whose Royal Blood, Birth and Breath, do also Nearly, and mightily Oblidge Him, and assure His perpetual Loyalty; It is very evident that to demand of him this Test, would not be more derogatory to His Royal dignity than contrary to the very intention of the Act. And thus every where it is observed, That Princes of the Blood are exempted from all such Oaths.

Eighthly, This same Act impowers His Majesties Council to require or forbear all other Persons, as to the taking of this Oath, as they should think fit: And shall so much be put in the Councils power, and yet His Majesties power to forbear His only Brother, Controverted?

Ninthly, All Histories almost tell us that the dispensing with Oaths of this nature hath ever been judged the Prerogative of Princes; wherein they have some times gone so far, as for the more signal acknowledgment of some particular Persons fidelity, to grant them the priviledge of being admitted both Witnesses and Jurours, *etiam Injurati*: how much more then ought His Majesties pleasure in the case in hand be received as an absolute determination.

Tenthly, His Majesty by vertue of His Royal Prerogative hath in favour of *Nonconformists* dispensed with a great many and most positive Acts of *Parliament* made for *Conformity* and against *Nonconformists*: With what colour then can His Majesties Prerogative in this case of his Royal Highness, every way infinitly more favourable, in the least be called in question? Neither can it be said, that by the same Acts power is given to His Majesty to suspend their Execution, in respect that it is evident that His power of suspending is only expressed in two particular Acts, and as to the special Pains therein contained; but hath no reference to any other Acts and things with which his Majesty hath been pleased to dispense, as said is, in behalf of that People. 2*dly*. It is yet more apparent, that the reference made in the said Acts to His Majesty for continuing or discontinuing the same, is not done by way of any addition to His Majesties power and Prerogative Royal: But clearly on the supposition, that as the Execution so the Suspension or Dispensation with all such Acts appertains to His Majesty, as an inherent and unquestionable Prerogative of the Crown; so that this reference here expressed doth rather import the same to be in every such Act naturally implied.

Eleventhly, It is notoriously known, that even Magistrates of *Edinburgh* have been Connived at by the Council as to these Oaths, albeit they be clearly included in the Statute: How much less then can His Majesties Prerogative of dispensing therewith be called in question?

FINIS.

K England Elizabeth Queen

33
6

THE DEATH, BURIAL AND RESURRECTION OF The ACT of the 35th. of Eliz.

Entituled,

An Act to retain the Queens Majesties Subjects in their due Obedience.

BEING

An ANSWER to a late Lying Pamphlet,

Entituled,

The Life and Death of the 35th. of Eliz.

THere being lately a ſcurrilous and ſeditious Pamphlet ſpread abroad to enſnare His Majeſties Loyal Subjects, Entituled, The Life and Death of the Statute of the 35th. of Queen *Elizabeth, and by ſuch means to withdraw His Majeſties Subjects from their due Obedience and Conformity, according to the known Laws of this Kingdom; ſuggeſting that the ſaid Act is diſcontinued; thereby at once not only groſly reflecting on the Proceedings of the two laſt Parliaments, but calling in queſtion the Judgment of the King, Lords and Commons, who (upon ſtarting the Queſtion,* Whether or not this Act of the 35th. of *Elizabeth* was in force?) *in the* 16th. *year of His now Majeſties Reign, did unanimouſly declare,* That the ſaid Act was then in force, and ought to be put in due Execution. *For the better ſatisfaction of which point, I have only ſet down the ſeveral continuances and revivings of the ſaid Act, and the continual care of every Parliament ſince the making that Law, being certainly the beſt, if not the only, means to keep His Majeſties Subjects to their due Obedience.*

An Act made in the 35th. of *Eliz.* Cap. 1. entituled,

Sect. 13. AN *Act to retain the Queens Majesties Subjects in their due obedience*, with this proviso, that it shall continue no longer than to the end of the next Session of Parliament.

This Parliament began the 19*th.* of *February*, in the 35*th.* of the Queen, and was dissolved the 10*th* of *April* following.

The next Parliament began the 24*th.* of *October*, in the 39*th.* of the Queen, and there continued until the dissolution thereof, being the 9*th.* of *February* next following 1597.

Cap. 18. Sect. 26. Eliz. Sect. 41. This is the Session, to the end whereof the 35*th.* of *Eliz.* was to have continued in force; in which Session the 35*th.* of *Eliz.* was revived by an Act entituled, *An Act for reviving, continuing and repealing divers Statutes*; which enacts, the same shall continue and remain in force unto the end of the next Parliament next ensuing.

The next Parliament began the 27*th.* of *October*, in the 43*d.* of the Queen, and there continued until the dissolution thereof, being the 19*th.* of *December* next following 1601.

Cap. 9. Sect. 18. Sect. 27. In this Session the 35*th.* of *Eliz.* is again revived by the Statute entituled, *An Act for continuance of divers Statutes, and for repeal of some others*; which Statute enacts, That the same shall be continued and remain in force until the end of the first Session of the next Parliament.

The first Session of the next Parliament began the 19*th.* of *March*, in the 1*st.* year of King *James*, and there continued to the 7*th.* of *July* 1604. and then prorogued to the 7*th.* of *February* next following.

1 Jam. Cap. 25. Sect. 24. The 35*th.* of *Eliz.* is again continued in this Session by the Act entituled, *An Act for continuing and reviving of divers Statutes, and for repealing of some others*; which enacts, The same shall be continued and remain in force until the end of the first Session of the next Parliament.

The 2*d.* Session of the forementioned Parliament began and was held by Prorogation the 5*th.* of *November*, in the 3*d.* of King *James*, and there continued until the 27*th.* of *May*, and then was prorogued to the 18*th.* of *November* next 1606.

The 3*d.* Session of the forementioned Parliament began from the last Prorogation of the 18*th* of *November*, in the 4*th.* of King *James*, and there continued till the 4*th.* of *July* 1607. and then prorogued to the 16*th.* of *November* next following.

The 4*th.* Session of the forementioned Parliament began and was help by Prorogation the 19*th.* of *February*, in the 7*th.* of King *James*, and there continued until the 23*d.* of *July*, and then Prorogued to the 16*th.* of *October* next following 1610.

Now observe, that in the 1*st.* Session of Parliament held in the 1*st.* of King *James*, the 35*th.* of *Eliz.* was revived and continued in force until the end of the 1*st.* Session of the next Parliament.

The 2*d.* Session of Parliament was held by Prorogation in the 3*d.* of King *James*.

The

The 3*d.* Seſſion was held by Prorogation in the 4*th.* of King *James.*

The 4*th.* Seſſion was held by Prorogation in the 7*th.* of King *James*; ſo that it is apparent by the Proviſo in the 1*ſt.* year of King *James*, that there needed not (as the late Pamphleteer ſeems to hint) any Revivor of the 35*th.* of *Eliz.* in either of the 3 laſt mentioned Seſſions, they being Seſſions of the ſame Parliament held in the 1*ſt.* of King *James.*

In the 12*th.* of King *James* another Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, but no Act paſſing, it was no Seſſions.

In the 18*th.* year of King *James* there was another Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, wherein only there paſſed ſome Subſidy Acts. And in the next Parliament being holden in the 21*ſt.* year of King *James*, the Queſtion did ariſe in Parliament, Whether amongſt other temporary Acts, this Act of the 35*th.* of *Eliz.* were diſcontinued? And for clearing the Doubt, Stat. 21 *Jac.* entituled, *An Act for the continuing and reviving of divers Statutes, and for repeal of divers others.* This Clauſe is inſerted, that the ſaid Acts ſhall by virtue of this Act be adjudged ever ſince the Seſſion of Parliament, in the 7*th.* year of His Majeſties Reign of *England*, to have been of ſuch force and effect, as the ſame were the laſt day of that Seſſion, and from thenceforth until the end of the firſt Seſſion of the next Parliament. *Cap.* 28. *Sect.* 1.

The 18th. of *June* the next Parliament was holden at *Weſtminſter*, and there continued to the 11th. of *July* following, and then Adjourn'd to *Oxon*; In which Seſſions it was Enacted, *That all Statutes and Acts of Parliament, which were to have continuance unto the end of that Seſſions, ſhould be of full force, after the ſaid Adjournment, until that Seſſions ſhould be fully determined; And if it ſhould happen that that Seſſion of Parliament ſhould be determined by the Diſſolution thereof, that then the* 35 *of* Eliz. *with other Acts, ſhould be continued in force until the end of the firſt Seſſion of the next Parliament.* 1 *Car.* 1. *Cap.* 7.

And the next Parliament was holden 3 *Car.* 1. and this Act was revived and continued in force unto the end of the firſt Seſſions of the next Parliament. 3 *Car.* 1. *Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 21.

The next Parliament was holden, 16 *Car.* 1. in which Seſſions it was Enacted, *That the paſſing of that Act*, &c. *ſhould not be any determination of that Seſſions, and that all Acts of Parliament ſhould have their continuance according to the Act of* 3 Car. 1. *and ſhould be of the ſame force as they were the laſt day of that Seſſion, and from thenceforth until ſome other Act of Parliament be made touching the continuance or diſcontinuance of the ſame; ſo that it is plain, this Act is ſtill in force, unleſs the Pamphleteer* can produce an Act whereby this Act of the 35 of the Queen is repealed; and it muſt be very lately; For this doubt ariſing the ſecond time in Parliament in the 16th. year of His now Majeſties Reign: In the Preamble of the Act entituled, *An Act to prevent and ſuppreſs Seditious Conventicles.* It is declared by King, Lords and Commons, *That the Act of the* 35 *of the Queen was then in force, and ought to be put in due Execution.* And although that Act be expired, yet this Clauſe is declaratory and diſtinct from that Act; and the Act of the 22*d.* of this King was never made in favour of *Diſſenters.* 22. 16 *Car.* 1. *Cap.* 4. *Cap.* 4.

London, Printed for *Nath. Thompſon* next the *Croſs Keys* in *Fetter-lane.*

College V.

37
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A Modeſt Vindication of the Proceedings of the late GRAND-JURY *at the* Old Baily, *who returned the Bill againſt* Stephen Colledge, *Ignoramus.*

WE live in an Age, when nothing of publick Tranſactions paſſes uncenſured by ſome *Audacious Libeller* or other, who ſtudies nothing but to amuſe and confound the multitude, and ſet them together by the ears. 'Tis incredible with what noiſe and non-ſenſe their lying Pamphlets have been ſtuffed of late about the Proceedings of the *Grand-Jury* at the *Old Baily* on the of *June* laſt, to the amazement of all ſober and underſtanding men, to ſee how impudently the *Papiſts* and their Adherents charge ſo many *Conſcientious* and Loyal Gentleman with the deteſtable Crime of *Wilful Perjury*. Sad times indeed, when *honeſt Proteſtants* cannot follow the dictates of their *Conſciences*, without hazarding their Credit and Reputation, if not their Lives and Fortunes, by the reſtleſs malice of their *Popiſh* Enemies,

But if we conſider how the Grand Inqueſt of the Nation, the King's great Council, and the Repreſentative-body of the People, are daily traduced by every *daring Scribler*, and their Votes and Reſolutions declared *Illegal and Arbitrary*; we cannot wonder that a *Grand-Jury* of one County or Hundred only, ſhould be cenſured and condemned by the wicked Agents of *Hell* and *Rome*.

What (ſay they) *ſix Witneſſes poſitively charge* Colledge *with High-Treaſon, and yet the* Grand-Jury (*ſworn to preſent according to* Evidence) *bring in the Bill* Ignoramus? *If this be tolerated, Criminals may go free; and if ſuch* Juries *be not indictable of* Perjury, *the World is ſtrangely miſtaken, and Oaths are of no effect.* Hold, hold, good Sirs! fair and ſoft goes far. The World is certainly miſtaken, if any man can be guilty of *Perjury*, or any other Crime, while he proceeds according to the beſt of his Knowledge, and follows the dictates of his Conſcience. 'Tis the difference of Peoples Tempers and Underſtandings cauſes ſuch a diverſity of Opinions in the World, and this the diverſity of *Conſciences*. Men cannot be of what opinion they will, nor conſequently can their *Conſciences* dictate to them what they pleaſe. Suppoſe the *Evidence* clear and poſitive againſt *Colledge*, yet we cannot be aſſured it appeared ſo to the Gentlemen of the *Grand-Jury*. Every one has his failings, and ſome *cannot ſee* the Sun ſhine at noon-day. *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis ſapit*; yet a defect in our Naturals cannot be made a Crime in our Morals. And certainly it was more Chriſtian-like in theſe Gentlemen, humbly to confeſs their *Ignorance* in open Court, than uncharitably condemn their Friend and Neighbour upon a hearſay. Are not *Juries* appointed by the Law *ſole Judges* of the matter of Fact, and of the Credit and *Validity* of the *Evidence*? Who then can be ſo mad as to blame this *Grand-Jury* for giving more Credit to the ſolemn Proteſtation of *One* of their own *Religion* and *Party*, than to *Half a dozen* Oaths of *Church-Papiſts*, or *Maſquerading-Proteſtants*, who, for ought they knew, (for to be ſure they had more than one *Ignoramus* to juſtifie their Proceedings) were hired by the *Pope*, or ſuppoſe the *Devil*, or at leaſt by ſome of their Emiſſaries, the *Jeſuits*, that are ſtill lurking among the *Non-Conformiſts*, (as the Reverend Dr. *O*— will tell you) to ſwear againſt the *Proteſtant-Joyner*, thereby to fix their *Helliſh Plot* upon our *Diſſenting Brethren*, and dexterouſly tranſubſtantiate the *Popiſh Deſign* into a *Presbyterian Conſpiracy*? 'Tis the great Law of Humane Society, *Do as you would be done unto*; and therefore our Saviour ſtrictly charges his Diſciples; *All things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them*; *for this is the Law and the Prophets*, Matth. 7. 12. Now who can be ſo ſtupid as to doubt, but if this *Grand-Jury* had been accuſed by ſome that tell Tales out of School, as Confederates with *Colledge* in his Trayterous Deſigns againſt his Sovereign, they wiſh with all their hearts they could meet with ſuch real Friends, as would venture the laſh of the Law, and the breach of a Ceremonial Oath, to find the Bill *Ignoramus*? How then could theſe Gentlemen pretend to common Chriſtianity, or at leaſt to the Purity of the *Reformed Goſpel*, if through an unmanly fear of breaking ſome Humane Laws, they ſhould cowardly do to *Colledge* what they would not have done to themſelves, contrary to the expreſs words of Chriſt? *But* (ſays a notable bold *Tory*) *'tis a Caſe without any*

Example

Example or Preſident, and not to be parallel'd in ſtory, that a Grand-Jury, *(who by the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Land are appointed only to examine whether the matter be triable by Law, or deſerve a further enquiry) ſhould think the Oaths of ſix poſitive Witneſſes (and for the King too) againſt a Traytor, ſo frivolous and impertinent, as not to deſerve any further Examination.* It ſeems, *Tory*, you are but meanly vers'd in our Chronicles, and authentick Monuments of Antiquity; you hate an *Ignoramus* in a *Grand-Jury*, but you plainly diſcover *it* in your ſelf. 'In King *Richard* II's Reign you might find, how at the 'time of *Wat Tyler*'s Inſurrection the Rabble were in a uproar at St. *Albans*, and committed many Out-'rages upon the Abbot and Monks of that Monaſtry; whereupon the King ſent Sir *Walter Leye* and 'others, as Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to enquire into the Commotion, and puniſh the Authors. 'The Knight cauſed a *Jury* to be ſummon'd, and charg'd them to be ready againſt next morning with 'their Preſentments of the beginners of their Troubles. But theſe *good* men and *true* knew nothing of the 'matter; it was the caſe of their Fellows in miſchief, and might be their own. And therefore in a plain '*Ignoramus* they anſwer, They can Indict no man, nor Accuſe any; they cannot find one who had been 'diſloyal to his Sovereign, not one breaker of his Peace, not one that could appear ſo to them. The Com-'miſſioners ſtartled at this juggle, ſent immediately to the King at *Chelmsford*, to acquaint him with the 'whole Proceedings, who vows to come in perſon and ſee Juſtice executed upon the Traytors. In the '*interim*, the Commiſſioners ſeize *Greyndcob*, (a bold impudent Fellow, not much inferiour to *Colledge*) 'and others of the Ring-leaders, and ſent them Priſoners to *Hartford*: But the Rabble raiſed a new 'Uproar, and got *Greyndcob* out upon Bail, on condition either to agree with the Abbot within three 'days, or render him up to the Juſtices again. Yet *Greyndcob*, more fool-hardy than wiſe, was no ſooner 'out, but he perſwaded the Rabble never to ſubmit to the Abbot, but preſerve their Liberties, tho' with the hazard of their Lives. *Dangerous Liberty* (ſays he) *is more valuable, than ſafe and quiet Slavery; let us live or die with Liberty; In ſo generous, ſo honeſt a Contention, it will be glorious to overcome; whatſoever our fears are, worſe we cannot be, than now we are about to make our ſelves; Succeſs too does not ſo often fail men as their own Induſtry and Boldneſs. Fear not for me, nor trouble your ſelves at my dangers. I ſhall thing my ſelf more happy than our Lords, if they proſper, or their King, to die a Martyr of the Cauſe, with the reputation of ſuch a Gallantry. Let ſuch Courage as would have hurried you forward to all brave and ſignal miſchiefs, had I loſt my Head at* Hartford, *inflame your brave ſpirits. Methinks I ſee the Heroe* Tyler's *Ghoſt chiding our ſluggiſh Cowardice, and by the blazes of his Firebrands kindled in Hell, and waved by Fiends about his Head, lead on to noble Villanies. Let dreaming Monks and Prieſts tremble at the airy ſound of God and Saints; He who fears Thunderbolts, is a Religious heartleſs Coxcomb, and ſhall never climb a Molehill.* Thus our brave Commonwealth-Reformer animates his Fellows to carry on the Cauſe; But the King arrives at laſt, and ſoon cools their Courage. The Chief Juſtice *Treſilian* ſitting in Judgment, calls the *Grand-Jury* before him; but they, good people, begin to faulter, and ſhamefully proteſt they cannot make any ſuch diſcovery as is deſired. The Chief Juſtice preſſed them to do their duty, but could not prevail, till at laſt he told them they ſhould have His Majeſty's Pardon, if they found out the Authors of that Commotion: otherwiſe they ſhould undergo the ſame Puniſhment that was to be inflicted upon the Offenders; and it was folly in them, out of a care to preſerve wicked mens lives, to hazard the loſs of their own. Which words on a ſudden infuſed ſuch knowledge into our *Ignoramus-Jury*, that they found the Bill againſt hundreds, both in Town and Countrey.

Now here it is worth the enquiring after, by what Law could this Chief Juſtice inflict the ſame Puniſhment on the *Grand-Jury* for their *Ignoramus*, that the Authors of the Commotion were liable to ſuffer. I muſt confeſs *Grand-Juries* are puniſhable in ſome caſes, as appears by 33 *H.* 8. cap. 6. made againſt keeping, carrying about, and ſhooting in *Croſs-Bows* or *Hand-Guns*; where it was Enacted, §. 20. *That if any* Jury *do wilfully conceal (that is, not preſent according to Evidence) any of the ſaid Offences, being thereof lawfully convict, they ſhall forfeit* 20 s. *apiece to the King for every ſuch Concealment.* Nevertheleſs, tho' *Grand-Juries* be puniſhable for concealing theſe Offences, yet concealing of Traytors is another matter; and we muſt not think that an Argument *à minori ad majus* can hold in this Caſe, where the Life of a Brother is concerned. Beſides, no *Jury* can be puniſhed, unleſs legally found *Guilty* by another; and then to be ſure people have ſo much Brains, as to know whom to empannel, when their Brethren are like to ſuffer for being *too* zealous for the *Cauſe*.

But to conclude, notwithſtanding all the reſtleſs endeavours of the *Popiſh* Agents to aſperſe the honeſt intentions of theſe Gentlemen, and miſrepreſent them both to Prince and People; 'Tis plain, they have ſerved His Majeſty in this buſineſs with a great deal of Sincerity and Loyalty: for they knew very well, had they found the Bill againſt *Colledge*, he ſhould have been tryed of courſe at the *Old Baily*, and there, no doubt, a *Petty-Jury* might have been pack'd of *Colledg*'s Brethren in Iniquity, who to ſave their Brother, nay Themſelves, and the whole *Cauſe* from ſo Ignominious a Death, would venture thro' all Laws, both Humane and Divine. Theſe Gentlemen therefore, to give His Majeſty warning, prudently brought in the Bill *Ignoramus*, and thereby prevented the wicked Contrivances of the Brethren, to their own immortal Glory and Renown, and to the great ſatisfaction of all His Majeſty's Loyal Subjects.

LONDON: Printed for *N. Thompſon*, 1681.

Anglia.

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Englands Triumph

And JOY for the

MEETING

OF THE

King and Parliament.

LET us renew our Acclamations and Shouts; Let us dry up our Tears, and ceaſe our Lamentations: Our *Halcyon* Days begin again to appear; and it is now, that we have reaſon to hope, that all our Fears and Jealouſies will vaniſh, our Diſtractions and Diviſions be remedied, and an Union and good Underſtanding be ſo well eſtabliſhed between the King and his People, as may heal all our Differences, put an end to all our Troubles, make us a Comfort, and a Help to our Friends and Allies, and a Dread and Terrour to their and our Enemies.

Perhaps, never any Nation lay and groaned under ſuch Numbers, and Variety of Sufferings, as ours has done, in the later part of this Age: Our late Civil Wars, the Plague, and Dreadful Fire, during that, we had with Foreigners: and, to compleat our Misfortunes, this laſt horrid and damnable Conſpiracy of the Papiſts, which, to ſatisfie the Humors and Intereſts of ſome few particular Men, deſigned no leſs than the Death of His Majeſty, and of all, at leaſt, the greateſt part of his Proteſtant Subjects, the Subverſion of the State and Government, and the utter Extirpation of the Reformed Religion. Theſe are all ſuch Examples, as certainly no Tradition, Record, nor Hiſtory can parallel; and which have brought us now at length, into that Condition, that we are now become almoſt as contemptible to Foreigners, as we formerly were Dreadful. But it is to be hoped, that the Storm is now over, and our Sky will be clear again; the Plot is at length brought to the laſt gaſp, by his Majeſties Infinite Prudence, and indefatigable Care; and there ſeems no more wanting, than his meeting with his Parliament; to put an end to it, and all our Fears.

If we may ground our Hopes upon Appearances, we have certainly reaſon to raiſe our Expectations very high of the Performances of this Parliament: All its Members are well known to perſons of great *Prudence* and Integrity, of undaunted Courages, of indefatigable Zeal and Care, in proſecuting all ſuch as are ſuſpected of Deſigning againſt the Peace of the State, of tryed Fidelity and Loyalty to their *Prince*, real Proteſtants, and good *Patriots*; ſo that there is no manner of Advantage, but what we may propoſe to our ſelves, from the Endeavours and Zeal of ſuch Repreſentatives, under the Influence of ſo good, ſo great, and ſo glorious a King. We may now reaſonably promiſe our ſelves, that an end will be put to all Factions, all Diſſentions removed, all Differences reconciled, our Prince enabled, and put in a poſture of protecting us, our Friends and Allies; and that thus this Parliament may gain the Name of the *Healing Parliament*; and we have cauſe to praiſe and bleſs God, and honour it, for retrieving us from Deſtruction, when we were juſt upon the Brink of Ruine, for bringing us ſafe into the Port, out of a Furious Tempeſt, and making us reliſh and enjoy all the pleaſures and ſatisfaction of Peace, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of our Enemies to the contrary.

This indeed is a great Undertaking and Work, and conſidering the ill Circumſtances we lie at preſent under, it will doubtleſs meet with a great Oppoſition, and many Obſtacles; But what is not ſuch an Aſſembly of Men capable of effecting? Men of ſuch Fortunes, Experience and Ability in Affairs, ſo unanimouſly elected by their Country, as being looked upon as the beſt *Pilates* to Steer and Weather us out of the preſent Storm; There is no queſtion, but that this Aſſembly will overcome all Difficulties, and procure and ſettle the Peace and Tranquility of the State, bring to Condign puniſhment ſuch of the Diſturbers of its Repoſe, as are in its Bowels, and humble ſuch others, as riſe up from abroad; and that they will diſappoint and bring to nought the Contrivances

trivances and Machinations, both of the one and the other.

Can any King be more glorious, than ours is at the Head of such a *Parliament*? And can any *People* be more happy than we are in such a King? Have we not reason to expect all manner of Satisfaction, Profit, and Advantage from this Meeting? May we not hope, that now, all our Fears and Jealousies will vanish, that His Majesty will be secured from all the Attempts and Designs of the *Papists* and other Malignants, and the Church and Government freed from all Change and Innovation, that the *Promoters* and Abettors of Schism, Sedition and Tumults, will be punished according to their Merits; and in general, that our Land will be cleared and purged of all the Disturbers of its *Peace* and Repose. All these Advantages we do, with Justice, promise our selves, from the *Prudence*, Wisdom and Integrity of this *Parliament*. Methinks I see every man's Face full of Joy, all their Fears and Apprehensions are now fled, all their Consternation and Agonies are now retired, Satisfaction and Joy have got the upper-hand; and by the means of this *Parliament*, we are likely to become a *People* as Glorious and Dreadful, as our late Troubles render'd us despised and contemptible. Trade will now again flourish, All our Neighbours, will now as much court our Alliance and Friendship, as they have lately avoided and refused it: Our *Prince*, we hope, will now be enabled to encourage and succor his Friends and daunt, and strike a dread into his and their Enemies; the Government be secured from being Libelled by every Nonsensical Fellow; and such Expedients found out, as may unite us amongst our selves, both in Opinion and Interest, so that all that we do, may turn to the Glory of God, the Honor of the King, and the Benefit and Welfare of the whole Nation in General.

Peace and Tranquility will now get into the Throne, and the *English* Name become as grateful and formidable, as it has been lately neglected and despised; and we hope, that such Courses will be taken, that private Interests may not byas the publick Good; but that all their Consultations and Resolutions, may tend to the Benefit of the whole Kingdom in General, and its Advantage, Peace and Quiet, be the Rule and Standard for all our Actions, that the Security and Advancement of the True Protestant Religion may be endeavoured and effected both at home and abroad; that Law may have its free Course, and full Career, and that the *Privileges* of the Subject may be kept and secured entire, and yet no Attempts nor Breaches made in the Prince's Prerogative: But that every one may act in his own Province, and that such as shall transgress their Bounds, either out of Ambition, Interest, or Vanity, thinking themselves more capable and sufficient than they really are, and aspiring to have their Parts at the Helm before they are called to it, and to that end, sow Dissentions, spread abroad Apprehensions and Fears, and by these means, bring the People into most dreadful Distrusts and Agonies; it is fit and necessary, that such People be curbed, and bridled by such Laws and Punishments as may daunt and discourage them from the like Courses any more, and make them at rest, and satisfied with the Condition and State God has put them in. To effect all this, I must confess, is one of the highest points of Policy. But what is not such a King at the Head of his Great Council, capable of performing and bringing to pass, since the Prince, and most of the Members of his Parliament, are known to all the World, to be of a consummate Wisdom, of vast Experience in all Affairs, and of so true and ardent a Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the Church of God, that doubtless they cannot fail of his Blessing upon all their Councils and Undertakings? May we not now hope, that all the Practices and Devices of our Enemies will be brought to nought, that all their Designs and Machinations will be disappointed and come to nothing, and that Popery and Rebellion will be rooted out of the Land, or at least, their Wings so clipt, that they shall not be capable any longer of disturbing our Repose, nor endanger the Safety and Tranquility of the State? The whole Nation is full of Expectation of such Performances as these from this August Assembly, that its Interest and Welfare may be promoted and procured, that every Man's Honor and Fortune may be secured from the Aspersions and Attempts of Seditious and ill affected Persons, that all the corrupted and infectious Members of the Commonwealth be cut off, or at least, such Remedy is to be applied, as may heal the Disease, and prevent its ill Humors from spreading any farther into the Body of the Nation; that such Expedients be found out, as may satisfie the Demands and Desires both of King and People, reconcile all our Differences, make up all our Breaches, and so reunite us amongst our selves, that we may be no longer in Fears and Apprehensions of Attempts from Abroad or at Home; no longer in danger of Civil and Domestick Broils, nor in a State of dreading the Arms of Foreigners; that our Properties may be secured, and our Wives and Children safe from being perverted to any manner of Idolatry, whether of Papists or others; and that thus we may act our Parts out here in Peace and Tranquility, and that all our Desires and Actions may have no other Aim than the Glory of God, the Honor of the King, the Good of the Nation, and the Advancement and Establishment of the Protestant Religion.

London, Printed for *H. R.* in *Fleet-street*, 1681.

The Laſt MEMORIAL

OF THE

Spaniſh Ambaſſador,

Faithfully Tranſlated into Engliſh.

SIR,

DOn *Pedro Ronquillo*, Ambaſſador of *Spain*, ſaith, That by a Memorial which he Preſented to Your Majeſty the $(\frac{19}{29})$ of *December*, he did ſet forth the Infractions which the *moſt Chriſtian King* hath made ſince the Peace of *Nimeguen* from the month of *September*, after the difference was agreed about the Title of the Duke of *Burgundy*, which was alledged for a Pretence to ſuſpend the Conference at *Courtray*, according to the 15th Article of that Treaty, in order to the Adjuſting in an amicable way all the Limits, Pretenſions and Differences of the two Crowns, which ſhould reſult from that Treaty; And Your Majeſty was pleaſed by Your Royal Order of the $(\frac{26\ Dec.}{6\ Jan.})$ to order Your Envoye Extraordinary at *Paris*, to put in Execution what was contained in the ſaid Memorial. By the laſt Poſt, the ſaid Ambaſſador received Letters of the $(\frac{1}{11})$ inſtant, from the Marquis *de la Fuente*, who is Ambaſſador at *Paris*, in which he gives him an Account of the Complaints he had made to the *Chriſtian King*, about the Exceſſes and Infractions which are committed againſt the Inhabitants of *Fuenta Rabia*, and in the *Low Countries*, and particularly about a Meſſage which the Governor of *Tournay* ſent to the Prince of *Parma*, pretending that not one Palliſado ſhould be laid at *Bovignies*, (which inconteſtably hath been a ſeparated State, and comprehended in the Countrey of *Namur*.) After many violent conteſtations, the Anſwer of the *moſt Chriſtian King* was, *That he did not doubt but that the Catholick King would give Order to his Commiſſioner at* Fuente Rabia *to proceed in the Treaty, leaving each Party in the poſſeſſion which at preſent they hold*, (as if a violent Uſurpation, under the ſurety of the good faith of the *Conference*, could in one day be concluded to be an actual poſſeſſion) *that for what relates to the* Low Countries, *he cannot abſtain from taking poſſeſſion of that which he ſuppoſes doth appertain to him, according to what he ſhall declare at the Conference of* Courtray.

To this violent, as well as undecent Anſwer, the Marquis *de la Fuente* with the ſtrength of the undoubtful Juſtice and Reaſon which the King my Maſter hath, concluding he did not receive the ſame, not knowing how to impart it to his *Catholick Majeſty*, and that he beſeeched him to reſolve what was Juſt; to which Reply it was anſwered, *That he would conſider it*. And at the ſame time his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* hath ordered his Forces to enter in the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, to hinder the Fortifying of *Bovignies*.

This Proceeding doth exceed all Limits, and cannot be reaſonably endured; For the *moſt Chriſtian King* will, by Force of Arms, be Arbitrator, and command in the Dominions of the *Catholick King*, thereby hindering him from fortifying a place which is his own; when by the Article of *Nimeguen* it is allowed to be done by both Parties. And when the *French* King himſelf hath made uſe of the ſame Article in order to have the courſe of the waters ſtopped, that they may not hinder the fortifying his Towns, as it was more particularly done at *Menin*, cauſing the River *Liſſe* to be lowerd, that they might with more facility fortifie that Town, a place which was wholly open, and which the *French King* is fortifying and inlarging in Extent much more than it was before: So that now, *Sir*, theſe are not Infractions, but a declared War; the Deſigns of the French being publick, that they intend to beſiege *Luxemburg*, and that from thence they will go to *Namur*, when the Fact of hindering the Fortification of *Bovignies* (which is upon the *Moſe* almoſt over againſt *Dinant*) makes it clear and paſt doubt, eſpecially the *moſt Chriſtian King* having poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Towns that are upon the River *Moſe* from *Charlemont*, and of the moſt part of the Territory between that River and the *Sambre*, in ſuch a manner that they have gotten almoſt all the County of *Namur*, as well as that of *Luxemburg*, and thereby thoſe two Provinces are left without Communication.

By theſe Infractions and clear Beginnings of War, the Underwritten Ambaſſador doth apply himſelf to Your Majeſty as a Mediator, that you would cauſe what was agreed by the Peace of *Nimeguen* to be obſerved; and as an Ally, that you would defend it, and reſiſt the Violence of *France*, Your Majeſty being obliged to the one and to the other by the Treaties; in which conſideration he cannot omit ſaying, That although the Frontiers of *Spain* by *Cantabria* and *Catalogna* are Infeſted, and by the Treaty of *Caſſal* between the *French King* and the Duke of *Mantua*, the Dominions of *Italy* are in apparent danger, and no leſs the *Indies*, where Count *d'Eſtre* is with a Squadron of Ships, all which are the Countries

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that do compose the greatest power of the *Spanish* Monarchy; notwithstanding this, his *Catholick Majesty* has postponed these his greatest Concerns, to the defence of that Little which remains to him in the *Low Countries*, although it be lessened of a great part of Territory, (which the *French* have violently possessed themselves of, since the Peace of *Nimeguen*) which hath been the onely cause that we have not been able to keep that Countrey in better posture; for each unjust Usurpation of the *French*, hath broken the measures which were taken, and reduced us to seek others; and therefore his Majesty hath already sent considerable Supplies to *Flanders*, and appointed the Prince of *Parma* Governor thereof, as an experienced Soldier, and one who hath been Viceroy of several Kingdoms, thereby to encourage these Subjects with these Endeavors, and that they may be Governed by a Grandson, and of the same name of *Alexander Farnese*, whom with so much love they reverence.

All this, *Sir*, hath been done, in hopes that the Union and Interest of *England* with *Spain*, will produce mutual Effects of Conveniences to both Crowns; for no good *Englishman* can doubt, that if there be no opposition made to the present great power of *France*, 'tis impossible but that in few days they should possess themselves of the *Low Countries*, and that the *States General* should subject themselves, by reason of the impossibility of resisting the powerful. And afterwards Your Majesty and *England* shall be the first in perceiving this mischief, to remedy which, it will be then impossible; and at present nothing is capable to suppress these Evils, but the Power of *England*, at this time the onely in *Europe* that can restrain the Torrent of *France*. The differences which are at present in *England*, doth occasion these bold Attempts of the *French* King, and encourages him in the continuation of his vast Designs; upon the whole so apparent already, that there is no clear-sighted understanding, but will apprehend them. All the Princes and Powers of *Europe*, as also his *most Christian Majesty*, are in expectation of the success of this Parliament, and of the Agreement of *England*; the first to take measures in order to shake off the *Yoke* which they are like to be made subject to: And the *most Christian King* hath also for a time restrained his Ambition, and at present nothing doth encourage him to deliver himself up to it, but the differences which he sees breaking out here, giving it out as well within as without this Kingdom, That he is assured they will not be reconciled; and that in the mean while he may make up the Conquest of the *Low Countries*, which is the Master-Key of the Universal Monarchy, and the first door which he will open with it, shall be that of *England*, without further trouble than that of maintaining the differences, with great promises, and with a small charge; and whatsoever he shall find most for his advantage, will be first invaded by him.

That this Disunion is the chief Encouragement of the Design and Enterprises of the *most Christian King* in the *Low Countries*, is apparent; and there are so great proofs of this Truth, that it is Blindness not to see them: And the Ambassador will onely acquaint Your Majesty with one late Instance which doth manifest the same, which is, That his *most Christian Majesty* seeing the *Emperor* is making considerable Levies, as also the Elector of *Saxony*, and other Princes of the Empire; that the Electors of *Bavaria*, and *Brandenburgh*, have declared, That they will not suffer his Proceedings against the Empire, and the Princes of the same, and that they will oppose it with all their Power.

His *most Christian Majesty*, after so many violent Answers which he himself had made, and also his Ministers, to all the Princes of *Germany*, he hath now answered the Emperor's Envoy Extraordinary, That he doth agree in appointing a Conference in one of the Imperial Cities, to decide and explain the Ambiguous Points of the Articles of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, concerning the Possessions taken in *Alsatia*; and that as soon as the Commissioners are met, the Chamber of *Metz* shall cease its Proceedings, and all manner of Novelty, and that they will hear such a Person as shall Treat for the Duke of *Lorrain*. And although it is evident that this is intended to lay asleep the minds, as well of the Emperor, as of the other Princes concerned, and that they may cool the vigor of their Preparations which they are making for their Defence, 'tis also known that this is in order to work with more safety against the *Low Countries*; for at the same time that he offers to suspend the Attempts in the Empire, he continues in possessing himself of all the *Spanish* open Countrey, executing Acts of open War, by hindering the Fortification of *Bovagnies*, which is the same thing as blocking up of *Luxemburgh* and *Namur*; so that it's made evident, that if he saw the differences of *England* appeased, and united to its own Defence, for such ought to be reputed that of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and in particular that of the *Low Countries*, 'tis infallible and certain, that he would moderate his Designs, and limit his Resolutions, as it appears he doth in *Germany*, seeing that the Emperor, and all the Body of the Empire, do unite for its defence.

The Ambassador doth very well know, that the Agitation of this Kingdom is great, and that the Pretensions seem to be distant; but he is sorry, and it makes his heart bleed to see, that there is no way opened to an Union; and as there is nothing impossible in humane things, his pain doth increase, seeing there is no steps made to quench these Heats: If *England* were not so much threatned with Ruine by the Exaltation of the *French*, as the *Low Countries* are, the Pretensions and Rights might be followed to the uttermost Point; but running the same Fortune with the Monarchy of *Spain*, because *Flanders* is a Battery to *England* and *Spain*, and the *Indies* the Treasure of its Riches, and the chief strength of its Commerce, beyond all places where this Nation doth Trade, and therefore it doth not allow that their Interest should be considered as a Foreigner, nor that the Distractions in which all are now involved, should be calmed by the same methods which could be done in a secured Tranquillity; so that the Ambassador doth promise himself, that considering these Reasons, and that *France* being at this time a Gangrene which doth penetrate to the very heart of *England*, all grounds of differences shall cease, and that it will not with its own Ruine involve the rest of *Christendom* in the same Fate:

Therefore the Ambassador doth pray Your Majesty, that as Mediator, or as Ally, You would Effectually apply Your Self to prevent the Loss of the *Low Countries*, and consequently of all the rest, hoping from Your Majesties great Prudence, that You will make choice of the most Efficacious Means to that End, and to the Establishing the quiet of *Europe*.

LONDON, Printed for *Francis Smith* at the *Elephant* and *Castle* near the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhil*. 1681.

43
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AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Total Defeat of the Rebels in *Scotland*,

By the KING's Forces

At *Crawford-John*;

In a LETTER from a Perſon of Quality to his Friend in *London*.

SIR,

I Send you the following good News, which I hope will put an end to our reſtleſs Phanaticks troubling our Peace for the future. On *Thurſday* the 22th of *July* 1680, the General of the King's Forces having notice that Mr. *Cameron* (that Trumpet of Sedition and Rebellion) who lately emitted that moſt Treaſonable and horridly Rebellious Declaration againſt the King's moſt ſacred Perſon and Government, was with a conſiderable Party of Horſe and Foot in *Craford-John* neer *Lanerick*; he immediately commanded Sir *Alexander Bruce* of *Earls-hall*, Lieutenant to Captain *Graham* of *Claverhouſe*, to take his Troop and a Troop of Dragoons, and go in ſearch of the Rebels. Who having diſcovered *Cameron* and his Party, who conſiſted of one hundred men moſt Horſe, attaqued them ſo briskly, that they were forc'd to retreat, and betook them to a great Marſh or Bog, where the King's Horſe could not come at them. Upon which Sir *Alexander Bruce* commanded his Troop and Dragoons to diſmount and quit their Horſe, and with great Bravery charged the Rebels on foot, though with great diſadvantage. And after a ſharp Diſpute for half an hour, *Cameron*'s Party was totally defeated, himſelf and fourteen of his men kill'd on the place, (though fighting the Battles of the Lord, as himſelf preach'd ſome days before) and ſix Priſoners taken, amongſt which was that Notorious Murderer of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, *Haxton* of *Rachillet*; amongſt the dead were two more of thoſe Murderers. The Priſoners were brought hither this night, together with *Cameron*'s head, which was carried upon a Poll through the ſtreets by the common Hangman. And ſo fare all who oppoſes the King's Perſon or Government, as now eſtabliſht by Law,

Prays

Edenbrugh, July 24. 1680.

Your humble Servant, &c.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Total Defeat of the Rebels in Scotland,

By the KING's Forces

At Cranford-Bridge;

In a LETTER from a Perſon of Quality to his Friend in London.

SIR,

I Send you the following good News, which I hope will put an end to our rebelli Pharaoh's troubling our Peace for the future. On Thurſday the 20th of 1680, the General of the King's Forces having receiv'd that Mr. Cameron (that Firm upper of Sedition and Rebellion) who lately omitted that moſt Treaſonable and Blaſphemous Declaration againſt the Government and Perſon and Government, was with a conſiderable Party of Horſ and Foot in Cranford-Bridge near Lanerick, immediately commanded Sir Alexander Bruce of Earls-hall, Lieutenant-Colonel Cleaveland, to take his Troop and a Troop of Dragoons, and go in search of the Rebels, who encamped and incamped his Party, who conſiſted of about 120 moſt horſe, attacked them ſo briſkly, that they were forced to retreat, and betook themſelves to a great Moſs, where the Horſe could not come at them. Upon which Sir Alexander commanded his Troop and Dragoons to diſmount and quit their Horſe, and with great bravery charged the Rebels Foot, who (with great reſolution) ſtood their ground for hours an hour, ſeveral times Party was very deſperate, fighting for life as long as any of them could ſtand on the place, (though fighting the Battle of the Lord, as Hamilt pretended before they began) and ſix Priſoners taken, amongſt which was their Notorious Incendiary or Firebrand of Scotland, Cameron of Lochiel, Captain of the Rebels Horſe, and ſeveral of the Rebels were ſlain outright, among the reſt Cameron's head, which was cut off by the common Executioner, and is now ſtuck up by the Parliament-ſouldiers, as a terror to oppoſe the King's Forces.

Your humble Servant, &c.

Anglia

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11

A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

TWO JESUITS,

Father *ANTONY* and Father *IGNATIVS*,

A T

AMSTERDAM,

The one coming from *ENGLAND*, and the other going Thither.

Ig. WHO's here Father *Antony?* I am very glad to ſee you, but why here at *Amſterdam*, and why in this Dreſs? I think I never ſaw you ſince the Jubilee at *Rome* before.

An. Father *Ignatius*, I am glad to ſee both you and my ſelf here, in this, or any other Dreſs that a Jeſuit may wear, (and you know thoſe are a good many) for (to tell you true) it is not long ſince I thought I ſhou'd e'en have follow'd the Fate of my loſt Brethren in *England*, and have left the diſpoſition of Sword and Periwig to Signior *Scaccia Preti*, Squire *Finiſher*, that dextrous Truſſer, and Untruſſer of our Order.

Ig. Why then you came from *England* it ſeems, and I am juſt going thither, and ſince we are ſo happily met, if you pleaſe, we'll change appearances, I'll put on your Cavaliers, and you ſhall put on my Religious Habit, and that will ſave us both Money and trouble.

An. With all my heart: Time about is fair Play, My own good Fortune attend you, but I'll aſſure you you'll meet with difficulties, though here and there you'll find a Friend too.

Ig. Ay now you talk of Friends, Pray recommend me to ſome body in *England*, (if you know any body) that I may truſt, and take the pains to give me a brief account, in what condition the cauſe is there.

An. That I ſhall do with all my heart Father, and in ſhort ſince the Devil put that trick of the Diſcovery of the Plot upon us, it has been our main buſineſs there, to amuſe the Kingdom with heats and Diviſions among themſelves, that we might be taken the leſs notice of; and indeed we have ſucceeded to a Miracle in't, for we have fill'd every Tap-houſe and Coffee-houſe ſo full of Wrangling and Diſpute, that the Hereticks have their hands full of one another. At one Club they Cry, an *Owen*, an *Owen!* Hark to *Alſop*, Hark to *Alſop*! And by and by *Baxter* has it, *Baxter* has it. At another Houſe they Cry nothing but, O brave Dr. *Stillingfleet*! Godamercy Dr. *Stillingfleet*! All the World can never rejoyn to this. This is unanſwerable.

And within a matter of Ten days after, you ſhall find the poor Doctor ſo All-to-be-Printed, beſpatter'd and daub'd, and with ſuch unreaſonable mercileſs Weapons, and apply'd ſo rudely, that 'twould e'en grieve any honeſt man's heart alive to ſee't. Preſently he (who you know has always ſomething to ſay for himſelf) recovers himſelf, gets upon his Feet, ſets the beſt Leg forward, and reconfutes the Enemy, and then the Church (as they call it) Cryes God Bleſs thee my Son; Now thou haſt done their buſineſs, there's an end of the Quarrel, and now ſit thee down in Peace on Gods name.

But by their fair leave we have not done with them ſo, for as long as there's a Proteſtant Diſſenter (Fairchieve the Term) in *England*, that can Write his Name, and Pen and Ink to be had either for Love or Money, we'll find a way to ſet him to work, or we'll write for him our ſelves.

In a word both ſides are ſo very warm and vigorous, that the beſt Gameſter in the Kingdom knows not which to lay his Money on.

Ig. Why I thought there had been no ſuch equality in the caſe, becauſe you know their Church (to ſooth) is eſtabliſh'd by Law, which does on the contrary ſeverely animadvert againſt all other Non-conforming Sects whatſoever. And I always thought there was ſome diſproportion in their knowledge, and learning beſides.

An. All this is very true Father, but you muſt know that in *England* at this day we have found the ſecret to ballance Senſe with Noiſe, and Face, and Action, and as the caſe now ſtands 'tis hard to know who has the better end of the Staff.

The

The Proteſtant Diſſenters are daintily grown up on my word, and I hope will hold the Church-men tack. Nay, I'll aſſure you that in the time of the late Parliament, there was an honeſt poor Fellow that had like to have been pull'd in pieces only for being overheard to name the word Fanatick.

Ig. But what if they ſhould begin to falter a little, (as you know they have always the worſt of it, except it be at downright knocks) what methods ſhould we uſe to take their Parts? What way ſhould we find to inſinuate our ſelves amongſt them? Do you think they would accept of our help though we ſhould offer it?

An. Never trouble your ſelf about that, for there's a Perſon in *England* of a very ſingular Character and Employment, that has Sworn to ſuch a Correſpondence between us and the Field Conventiclers in *Scotland*; and why ſhould we deſpair of the ſame practice in *England.*

Ig. Methinks I ſhould not much care for their converſation, except it were in ſome very unſuſpected, and very advantageous addreſs, but for a lift with my Pen, I ſhould be always at their Service, for I hear them ſay, the Preſs is as open as the Stews, that the Printers (a many of them) have no more integrity or Modeſty, than Bawds and Whores, and in one word that many of the Authors have no more Wit than Cullies, and no more Conſcience or honeſty than Mountebanks.

An. Soft and fair good Father *Ignatius*, this is no juſt conjuncture for downright Satyr. Soft Phraſe, and Oyly words are the mode at preſent, alwayes provided they be ambiguous, and will admit of one evil meaning at leaſt, for ſuch enter eaſily, and ſpread inſenſibly; they have a ſtrange influence upon the People, and they (you know) have the moſt hands.

Ig. But not to interrupt you Father *Antony*, I was going to ask you, whether we might not now and then put a Miracle upon them, is that trick quite left off or not? Will they believe nothing that s new and extraordinary?

An. Hang 'em, the men of ſenſe believe nothing but what's reaſonable and manlike, but the Rabble they'll believe what you will. And ſo the influence, and Prediction of the Comet, the Maid of *Hatfield*, the death of the Lyons in the Tower, and the like have been made uſe of by ſome of our Friends amongſt the common ſort of People, with admirable ſucceſs.

Ig. I am well enough ſatisfied that ſuch things have a wonderful prevalence among the Vulgar, and though every man that has but an Egg-ſhell full of Brain explode them at firſt ſight, yet for all that, I hear they do their work with them among the People, who believe them as certainly as they do the Penteteuch. Theſe are *Piæ Fraudes*, honeſt Cheats, that bring men to Heaven through a Back-door, and draw them into the right way by unrighteous means. But I muſt not do the Caſuiſts before you.

And now Pray tell me where I might find a right well-meaning Printer, for you know I am a little inclin'd to thinking, and it may be I may ſometimes take the humour, (as occaſion offers) to ſay ſomething to more People than I am acquainted with, and then you know I ſhall want a meet help.

An. Every body can tell you that, there's one *Harris*, but eſpecially there's one *Frank Smith* I'de recommend to you, the fitteſt Fellow alive for your buſineſs. On my Conſcience, that Fellow has deſerv'd better of the Catholick cauſe, then either *Coleman*, or *Stafford*. I need not tell you where he lives, there's ſcarce a man of Twenty year old in *London*, but will inform you either for good, or ill will.

It was but t'other day he gave their Mighty *Stillingfleet* ſuch a Joak, that he made all the Town ſnear again, and by the round World, I think 'twas one of the beſt Arguments he could have made uſe of.

Ig. Pray Father what was that? For I hate the very name of that Goliah *Stillingfleet*, he has made ſuch an appearance.

An. Why I'll tell you what it was, he told the World in Print, that if they wanted Arguments againſt the Church of *Rome*, they might have them Dog-cheap at ſuch a place, of Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Writings, for there was I know not how many Coppies lay upon the Printers hands.

Ig. There he nick'd him indeed, and to ſpeak the truth, that ſame *Stillingfleet* has ſuch a kind of a head, that without Jears and Affronts can paſs for Reaſon, we ſhall never convince him. However we have to thank *Smith* for his good will. I have ſeen a many of *Stillingfleet*'s Writings.

An. And ſo have I too more than ever I had a mind to have ſeen, and if we had him I know where, I would not be in his Cloaths for more than I'll tell you. And now we talk of Cloaths, Pray let's ſtep into the long Cellar here and make the change we talk of, for I am ſick of the Cavalier, I am weary both of the burden and danger of wearing a Sword, and ſo will you be too, if any of the Kings Evidences ſhould chance to know you.

Ig. Well happy man catch a Mackerel, come what will come, I am reſolv'd, and when I have once ty'd my ſelf to that cold Iron, I ſhall think my ſelf bound not only in Religion, but in honour, to live and dye an unalterable Median Perſian Roman Catholick.

F I N I S.

47
12

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of William *Lord* Howard *of* Escrick, *now Prisoner in the* Tower;

SHEWETH,

THat as it cannot but be matter of great Mortification to him, that his Honour should be blemish'd with the Imputation of so horrid and detestable a Crime, as that is for which he stands committed to this Place; so it is no less matter of Rejoycing and Triumph to him, that it has pleased the Righteous God to rescue his Innocency from the Villainous Attempts and Practices of those lewd and infamous Persons, who, by the division of their Tongues, and the apparent contradiction of their Evidence, did render themselves much stronger Witnesses against themselves, than against him, upon whose Life and Honour they have made so impudent and audacious an Assault, as has sounded a loud Alarm to all Mankind, and has justly fill'd the whole Kingdom with Horrour and Amazement, to hear that Perjury and Subornation should shew its Face upon the Publick Theatre of Justice.

In humble confidence therefore that the Report thereof has, by this time, begot in Your Majesties Royal Breast softer and gentler Thoughts concerning Your Petitioner, whose Innocency God has made to shine through that black Cloud with which Malice has sought to darken it, he does in all humility pray, *That Your Majesty would be graciously pleas'd to discharge him of this Imprisonment, either with or without Bail, as Your Majesty, in Your great Justice and Wisdom, shall think fit.*

LONDON, Printed for *Richard Baldwin.* 1681.

49
13

THE Late Viſcount Stafford

Found more GUILTY by his

PRETENDED INNOCENCY

IN HIS LAST

Speech on Tower-Hill.

IF any Speech of a dying man is to be examined, it muſt be this of the late Viſcount *Stafford*: at the entrance he has theſe words, that *by the permiſſion of God*, he has reaſon to ſay it, *he is brought to ſuffer death*. In the ſame Paragraph, he moſt ſolemnly proteſts his Innocency, even *in a thought*: Mark the words, for they are according to the Principles of his Religion, *of the Crimes laid to his Charge*.

In the ſecond Paragraph, he *hopes God will accept of his good intentions*, the will for the deed, in promoting the Catholick Cauſe.

In the third, he confeſſes himſelf to be of the *Church of Rome*, and *believes upon conſideration*, his perſwaſion to be the only cauſe of his impriſonment: Take notice of the following words, I *knew my ſelf not culpable ſo much as in a thought*: but every one, God be thanked, know the thoughts of the Church of *Rome* is to cut our throats if they can, and to burn our Cities, of both which we have had ſad experiencies: how many Millions of poor Proteſtants have been maſſacred in *Ireland*, and elſewhere? who were they who fired our *London* but the Papiſts? ſome of the Popiſh Party have confeſſed it; it plainly appears by the Examinations publiſhed in 1667. taken before a Committee of Parliament for that purpoſe: *His Religion*, he ſaith, *teacheth nothing but the right worſhip of God, obedience to the King, and due ſubordination to the temporal Laws of the Kingdom*. To the firſt I need not ſay much, for it is ſufficiently proved by good and able Divines, that the Romiſh Religion is full of Idolatry: by conſequence then the Romaniſts have not the right worſhip of God.

Obedience to the King: The Viſcount had done us a pleaſure if he had named this King: whether *Charles* or *James* we know not; but thus much we know, that among Papiſts Proteſtant Kings are unkinged as Uſurpers: we know what is meant by the word Titular, they diſpoſe of Dignities, and diſpoſſeſs as they pleaſe; Was not *Corker* Biſhop of *London*, *Compton* being diſpoſſeſt as an Heretick? Is not Cardinal *Howard* at *Rome* Protector of the *Engliſh* Catholicks in *England*? well may he ſay then *obedience to the King* for our moſt gracious Proteſtant *Charles* is dethroned by them for his *Hereſie*, and *J. D. Y.* ſet up.

Due ſubordination to the temporal Laws of the Kingdom: We alſo know all Laws made by a Proteſtant Parliament are no Laws, becauſe the Popiſh Party call ſuch a Parliament no Parliament, but Uſurpers and Raviſhers of their Goods and Eſtates, the Laws formerly enacted by Popiſh Parliaments are here meant.

The Kingdom; of what Kingdom: for a farther confirmation of what I have diſcovered, he farther adds: *I do ſubmit to all Articles of Faith believed and taught in the Catholick Church, believing them to be moſt conſonant to the Word of God: that the Doctrine of depoſing Princes is diabolical, horrid and deteſtable, and contrary to the Law of God, Nature and Nations*: He has reaſon to call it ſo, but it is known that the Pope is above the Word of God, if he calls the word of the Pope the Word of God, for he *doth ſubmit himſelf to the Articles of the Catholick Church*: he muſt then confeſs that Popiſh Bulls and Edicts to maſſacre the Proteſtants; that the *Armado* of *Spain*, by the Popes inſtigation, for the ſubduing and rooting out a peſtilent ſort of *Hereticks* here in *England*; that the *Gun-powder Treaſon*, and the bloody *Iriſh* Maſſacre, were not contrary to the Word of God: he muſt then confeſs that the execrable Murther of Sir *Edm. Godf.* the contrivances of the Devil *Gadbury*, and the Witch *Cellier*, the Aſſaſſination of Juſtice *Arnold*, but above all, their reſtleſs attempts to murder our gracious King *Charles*, and to ſubvert in our days the Religion which doth teach the right worſhip of God, are not diabolical, horrid and deteſtable, becauſe deſigned by their Church for a good intention. *I believe* (ſays he) *and profeſs that there is one God, one Saviour, one holy Catholick Church, of which through the mercy and goodneſs of God I die a Member*. How can he die a Member of the Catholick Church, if he denies the Supreme Authority of the Pope, the Head of that Church? he has diſowned the Doctrine of depoſing Princes, &c.

All the Bulls and Orders of the former Popes, as well as preſent, for the killing our King, and cutting our throats, are as he would make us believe diabolical: Well, poor Viſcount! where muſt thy Soul now be, if you die a Member of the Pope?

The fourth Paragraph is a Proteſtation of his Innocency: how can he be guilty, who is made incapable of knowing his guilt through his Religion?

The fifth requires no anſwer, if what is already ſaid be conſidered.

The ſixth is worthy of our conſideration; *It is* (ſays he) *much reported of Indulgences, Diſpenſations, Pardons, to murder, rebel, lye, forſwear and commit ſuch other crimes held and given in the Church, I do profeſs in the preſence of God I never learned, believed, or practiſed any ſuch thing, but the contrary*, &c. If he never learned, &c. how can he die a Member of the Catholick Church? And a little after he has theſe words: I *would have diſcovered, had I known any ſuch thing of any ill deſign, or illegal dangerous*

Plot. The Plot he confesses to be dangerous, but not illegal, for nothing is illegal when done for the Catholick Church: And a little further, *If I had known of any Treason, and should thus deny it as I do now upon my Salvation at this time, I should have no hope of Salvation, which now I have through the Merits of Christ Jesus.* I believe every body is satisfied by this time what we Protestants call Treason, is by the Papists accounted no Treason, and so he may deny, and truly, he should have no hope of Salvation, if he should deny to die a Member of the Catholick Church. I wonder how he came to forget the Intercession of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, of the Saints and Angels: but more of this in its place.

7. I *do beseech God to bless his Majesty, who is my lawful King, who I was always, by all Laws humane and divine, bound to obey &c.* The question is still who is that lawful King that such a Popish Plotter may understand.

8. *Next to Treason*, I *hold Murder in abhorrence.* If this be true, for certain he died not a Member of the Catholick Church, because one S. *Dominick* among them was Canonized for having caused a Million of people to be killed and butchered: I find that *William Howard* will never be Sainted, because he abhors what a great Saint in the Church of *Rome* has done: *How much less would I endeavour the Assassination of his Majesty?* The five Jesuits had almost the same expressions: but neither they nor the Viscount have named *Charles*, because their Principles will not suffer them to call him King.

9. *He humbly asks pardon for all the great offences against his Divine Majesty:* This is absolutely necessary for every man upon the point of death; *And I doubt not but God will accept of the good will.* Something that was not performed is here understood, as the killing of our King, the cutting of Protestants throats, and other such like actions.

10. He desires that all People would forgive him; I dare say that all the Protestants have forgiven him, nay more, have prayed for his Conversion and Repentance; I do likewise believe that they have considered the goodness of God in his mercy to this Nation in the discovery of the Plot, brought upon a sinful Nation by the permission of God for their warning. They likewise admire the justice of this great God, (after that he had rendred the Enterprises of *Rome* ineffectual) to burn the Rods prepared to chastise them. I *forgive* (says he) *even those perjured men that have so filthily brought me hither by their perjuries.* We account a man perjured, when he shall do any thing contrary to the Tenour of the Oath he has taken, to call then Dr. *Oates, Dugdale, Prance, &c.* perjured, does imply that they have promised upon Oath to him or the Popish Party the secresie. I confess in this respect they are perjured; but if it be the pleasure of God to open the heart of a man, to make him sensible that his promise to the Pope to do some abominable and horrid action to be wicked, must he not repent, and utterly refuse to do it? If he has promised to kill a man, shall he perform it? If he has promised to damn himself, as soon as he comes to know his wickedness, shall he persist in his damnation? God for bid then to call a man perjured, because he has forsaken the Devil & his works, & cleaves unto God.

11. This is answered in the former Paragraphs.

12. I *hope I have made it appear that I have some conscience*: I do believe his Conscience was ruled by the Oath of Secresie found in Sir *T. Gas.* house. [read the Oath in one of the Pacq. from *Rome.*]

13. And so he may aver upon the Salvation, that he has discharged his conscience in keeping the Oath of Secresie to the Church of *Rome.*

14. He does confirm what has already been said when he saies, I *shall say little of my Tryal, and whether it were all according to the known Law, &c.* Those words according to the known Law do intimate that a Protestant Parliament can't make Laws to bind the Papists, and so it is not a known Law to him according to his Principles, and consequently according to his conscience.

15. He tells who were his Judges; *all Persons of Honour, all as much bound to judge rightly, as if they had been upon Oath and not to Vote, but according as in their consciences they were satisfied.* What means all this pretended Innocency, having had such a fair tryal, and such upright and conscientious Judges, He doth affirm in this Paragraph his Sentence of Condemnation to be just.

16. *I shall end with my hearty Prayers for his Majesty, that he may, &c. and govern his People according to the Laws of God*, mark those words *according to the Laws of God*, we question it not, having by the mercy of God a *Protestant King* and a *Protestant Parliament.*

17. To conclude all, he *beseeches God not to revenge his innocent blood upon the Nation*, I shall ask what Nation? In one place he thus speaks, *the Laws of the Kingdom*, I have told you what Kingdom was then to be understood; in another place he has it this Kingdom, when he says on the Nation, I may believe some other, and not the Protestant *English* Nation to be meant.

I have discovered how the Viscount may plead not guilty, for he has done nothing but what his Religion and Conscience oblig'd him to; and so he has reason to say and hope the Omnipotent-all-seeing just God will deal with him accordingly.

I have found my self obliged thus to pluck off the Vizard, that the tender consciences who know not the Papists Principles, and the mysterous Iniquity of *Rome*, may be imposed upon no longer. How comes it to pass, that all the Speeches of the five Jesuites, and the Viscounts do agree so well together, so well, as if they all came out of the same Mint. Here is nothing but the Merits of Christ invocated, good sound Protestant Doctrine; It will be well if the *Blessed Lady, Saints* and *Angels* take it not ill for depriving them of their part, whom they are obliged chiefly to invoke in the hour of death by the Council of *Trent.* This is so notoriously true, that in the Popish Countries the chiefest and most earnest Prayers are to the Virgin, otherwise they dispair of ever getting out of Purgatory. The Oath of Secresie afore-mentioned is a witness to what I say; by this you may perceive that all their Speeches are Suppositions. But it is necessary and lawful at sometimes, especially at this, to impose upon the People to retrieve a bad cause by some holy Tricks and Cheats.

LONDON, Printed for *Benjamin Harris* at the *Stationers Arms* in the *Piazza* under the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhil.* 1680.

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14

THE SPEECH OF THE Earl of ARGYLE AT HIS TRIAL

On the 12th. of *December* 1681.

My Lord Juſtice General and Remanent Honourable Lords of Juſticiary

I Look upon it as the undoubted Privilege of the meaneſt Subject, to explain his own words in the moſt benign Senſe.

And even when Perſons are under an evil Character, the miſconſtruction of words, in themſelves not ill, can only amount to Preſumption or Aggravation, and not a Crime.

But it is ſtrangely alledged (as well as impoſſible to make any that knows me believe) that I could intend any thing, but what was honeſt and honourable, ſuitable to the Principles of my Religion and Loyalty, though I did not explain my ſelf at all.

My Lord, pray be not offended, that I take up a little of your time to tell you, I have from my youth made it my buſineſs to ſerve his Majeſty faithfully; and have conſtantly to my power, appeared in his ſervice, eſpecially in all times of difficulty; and have never joyned, nor complied with any Intereſt or Party, contrary to his Majeſties Authority, but have all along ſerved him in his own way, without a frown from his Majeſty theſe thirty years.

As ſoon as I paſſed the Schools and Colledges, I went to travel to *France* and *Italy* in the beginning of the year 1647. and continued abroad till the end of the year 1649.

My firſt appearance in the World, was to ſerve his Majeſty, as Collonel of his Foot-guard; and though at that time all the Commiſſions were given by the then Parliament, yet I would not ſerve without a Commiſſion from his Majeſty, which I have ſtill the Honour to have by me.

After the misfortune of *Worceſter*, I continued in Arms for his Majeſties ſervice, when *Scotland* was overrun with the Uſurpers, and was alone with ſome of my Friends in Arms, in the year 1652. and did then keep up ſome appearance of Oppoſition to them by taking ſeveral of the Caſtles they had gariſoned in *Argyle-ſhire*; and taking and killing three hundred of them in one day. After which, I joyned with thoſe his Majeſty had Commiſſioned, and ſtood out to the laſt, till the Earl of *Middleton* his Majeſties Liuetenent General gave me order to capitulate, which I did without any other engagement to the Rebels, but bail to live peaceably; and did at my capitulating, relieve ſeveral Priſoners by exchange, whereof my Lord *Granard* out of the Caſtle of *Edenborough* was one.

Is it not well known that I was impriſoned by the Uſurpers, who was ſo jealous of me, that contrary to their faith, they ſeized on me, and kept me from Priſon to Priſon, till his Majeſties happy Reſtauration, only becauſe I would not engage not to ſerve him, though there was no Oath required?

I do with all Gratitude acknowledge his Majesties Bounty and Royal Favours to me when I was pursued before the Parliament in the year 1662. His Majesty was graciously pleased not to send me down in any opprobrious way, but upon a bare verbal Bail, upon which I came down Post, and presented my self a fortnight before the time; and having satisfied his Majesty at that time, of my entire Loyalty, I did not offer to plead by Advocates, and his Majesty was not only pleased to pardon my life, and to restore me to a Title and Fortune, but to put me in trust in his Service in the most eminent Judicatories of the Kingdom; and to heap Favours upon me beyond whatever I did, or can deserve, though I hope his Majesty hath always found me faithful and thankful, and ready to bestow all I have, or can have, for his Service; and I hope he never had, nor never shall have ground to repent any Favour he hath done me: If I were now guilty of the four Crimes libelled, I should think my self a great Villian.

In the Prosecution of the Story of my Life in the year 1666. when the Rebellion broke out, that was repressed at *Pentland* Hills, upon a bare Advertisement from the now Lord Archbishop St. *Andrews*, without any order either from the Council or General, the intercourse being stopped, did I not bring together about two thousand men, and sent a Gentleman to General *Dalyel*, offering to joyn with him, if the Rebellion had not presently been happily crushed? And when I met with considerable trouble from my Neighbours rebelliously in Arms, and had Commissions both in publick and private accounts, have I not carried dutifully to his Majesty, and done what was commanded with a just Moderation, which I can prove under the Hands of mine Enemies, and by many infallible Demonstrations?

Pardon me yet a few words. Did I not in this present Parliament shew my readiness to serve His Majesty and the Royal Family in asserting vigorously the Lineal Legal Succession of the Crown, and had a care to have it expressed in the Commissions of the Shires and Boroughs in which I had interest? Was I not for offering proper supplies to His Majesty and his Successor? And did I not concur to bind the Landlords for their Tenants, though I was mainly concerned? And have I not always keep'd my Tenants in obedience to His Majesty?

I say all this, not to arrogate any thing to my self for doing what I was in Honour and Duty bound to his Majesty; But if after all this, upon no other ground, but words that were spoken in absolute Innocence, and without the least design, except for clearing my own Conscience, and that are not capable of the ill sense wrested from them by the Libel, I should be further troubled, what assurance can any of the greatest Quality, Trust, or Innocence have, that they are secure, especially considering, that so many scruples have been started, as all know, not only by many of the Orthodox Clergy, but by whole Presbyteries, Synods, and some Bishops, which were thought so considerable, that an eminent Bishop did take the pains to write a Treatise (which was read in Council, and allowed to be Printed, and a Copy given to me), which contains expressions that may be stretched to a worse sense than I am charged for. Have I not shewed my Zeal to all the ends of the Test? How then can it be imagined, that I have any sinister design in any thing that I have said? If I had done any thing contrary to the whole course of my Life, which I hope shall not be found, yet one Act might pretend to be excused by a Habit. But nothing being questioned but the sense of words misconstrued to the greatest height, and stretched to imaginaty inclinations, quite contrary to my scope and design; and so far contrary, not only to my Sense, but Principles, Interest and Duty, that I hope my Lord Advocate will think he hath gone too far in this Process, and say plainly what he knows to be true by his acquaintance with me, both in publick and private, that I am neither *Papist* nor *Phanatick*, but am truly Loyal in my Principles and Practice.

The hearing of this Libel would trouble me beyond most of the Sufferings of my Life, if my Innocence did not support me, and the hopes of being vindicated of this and other calumnies before this publick and Noble Auditory.

I leave my Defences to these Gentlemen that plead for me: They know my Innocence, and how groundless that Libel is. I shall only say, As my Life has been most of it spent in serving and suffering for his Majesty, so whatever be the event of this process, I resolve, while I breathe, to be loyal and faithful to his Majesty; and whether I live publickly or in obscurity, my head, my heart, nor my hand, shall never be wanting where I can be useful to his Majesties service; and while I live, and when I die, I shall pray, that God Almighty would bless His Majesty with a long, happy and prosperous Reign, and that the Lineal Legal Successors of the Crown, may continue Monarchs over all His Majesties Dominions, and be Defenders of the true Primitive Christian Apostolick Catholick Protestant Religion, while Sun and Moon endure.

LONDON: Printed for *Richard Janeway*, in *Queens-head-Alley* in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1682.

K. London Apprentices 53

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The Addreſs of above *Twenty thouſand* of the Loyal Proteſtant *Apprentices* of *London*: Humbly preſented to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, *Septemb.* 2. 1681. the Day appointed by Act of Parliament to be Yearly obſerved in Commemoration of the Burning that Famous Proteſtant City by *Papiſts*, *Jeſuits*, and *Tories*, *Anno* 1666. With ſome of the Reaſons that Induc'd the ſaid Addreſſers to this Application.

MUch Clamour, *many* Scandals *have been no leſs induſtriouſly than maliciouſly rais'd, to miſrepreſent this* Modeſt Addreſs: *Therefore here 'tis* publiſh'd, *and left to the Cenſure of every Judicious Peruſer. So far it was from being originally ſet on foot by* Faction, *or ſince carried on by any ſiniſter Practices; that, on the contrary, nothing ſway'd with the* Subſcribers, *but a* juſt ſenſe *of their* Duty. *For,*

1. *Some* few *of their Fellow-*Apprentices *having lately preſented an* Addreſs *to His Majeſty, the* Careſſes *and Favours they receiv'd puft them to the* Vanity *of boaſting themſelves the* onely *Loyal Young Men of this City: Such a Scandal to ſo great a City, and ſuch an Affront to* all the reſt *of the Apprentices thereof, that they lay under a kind of neceſſity to vindicate themſelves by ſome* publick *Teſtimony of their Loyalty.*

2. *The Tendency of that other Addreſs ſeem'd to reflect on* Parliaments, *the Bulwarks (under His Sacred Majeſty) of* Engliſh Liberties: *And this was noiſed to be the* general Senſe *of all the* London-Apprentices. *How reaſonable was it therefore to check ſuch an* Aſperſion, *by declaring the juſt Veneration ought to be conſerv'd by every true Engliſhman for thoſe Auguſt and Honourable Aſſemblies.*

3. *We are caſt into an Age wherein the long-exploded and deteſtable* Idolatries *of the* Church of Rome, *by an* Helliſh Plot, *and variety of* Sham Plots, *daily broach'd, threaten once more to invade us. And what in ſuch a Juncture could be more neceſſary, than for* ſo many thouſand Young Men *unanimouſly to declare under their Hands, their deteſtation of thoſe Abominations; and that their* Blood *ſhall not be* ſo dear *to them, as the Preſervation of the true* Proteſtant Religion, *and the* Legal Liberties *of* Engliſhmen; *which as they had the Happineſs to be* born to, *ſo they hope to tranſmit them intire to their Poſterity?*

4. *As for the* Method *of gaining Subſcriptions to this Addreſs, 'tis well known to have been* candid *and open: No* Maſters *prompting their Servants, No Men of* Bulk *and* Title *ſtickling, or over-perſuading any; but every one left* free *and* voluntry. *On the contrary, they lay under great Diſcouragements, both by* Printed Lies, *and* Lies by Word of Mouth; *tearing of ſeveral Papers by* Raſh Lads, *inſtigated to ſuch Inſolencies, whereby ſome* Hundreds, *nay,* Thouſands of Hands *were loſt: And yet as under all* Provocations *nothing* rude *or* undecent *was return'd, ſo the diſproportion between the* Subſcribers *of this and the other* late Addreſs *is remarkable, theirs not amounting to above* 2000, *or, the moſt that themſelves can pretend to,* 3000; *and* theſe *to above* 20000; *In no reſpect for Quality of Birth, Breeding, or Underſtanding, inferior to the others; not to mention Advantages of Civility, due Senſe of Religion, and Moral Accompliſhments. The Addreſs it ſelf follows in theſe Words.*

To the Right Honourable Sir *Patience Ward* Knight, Lord Mayor of the Honourable City of *London.*

The Humble Addreſs of many Thouſand Loyal Apprentices *of the ſame City, whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed,*

In all humility ſheweth,

THat as we are juſtly ſenſible of our Happineſs, in being born under the enjoyment of the Proteſtant Religion, ſo Excellent a Government, and ſo Gracious a King, to whoſe Service we ſhall ever be ready to ſacrifice our Lives; ſo have we continually applied our ſelves to diſcharge our Duties in our proper Callings, without preſuming to intermeddle in Affairs beyond our Sphere or Concernment.

But

But being fully satisfied, both by His Majesty's frequent Proclamations, the unanimous Votes of several Parliaments, and the notoriousness of Fact, That for divers years past there hath been, and still is, a Devilish Plot carried on by the Papists, against the Sacred Life of our Sovereign (whom God preserve), and to subvert the Protestant Religion, and the Government Establish'd. In which horrid Practices the Conspirators have always appeared most Active and Insolent during the Intervals of Parliaments; and from thence, and the continuing Hopes of a Popish Successor, take occasion with greater Confidence to push on their Fatal Designs.

Observing likewise, That amongst the many late Addresses, there hath been One promoted in the Names of some few of our Condition in this Honourable City, which now is represented as the Act and Sense of the Generality of Apprentices; although the far greater part never joyned therein, as fearing lest the same might seem of a tendency dishonourable to Parliaments, whose Constitution we reverence, and humbly apprehend their Counsels highly necessary in such a Juncture.

Wherefore, though out of an awful Respect we presume not to approach His Sacred Majesty, yet we cannot but think it our Duty to declare to your Lordship, (the Chief Magistrate under Him of this Honourable City) and to all the World, That we shall never be behind any of our Fellow-Apprentices in Demonstrations of Loyalty to His Sacred Majesty, even to the last drop of our Blood, whenever His Service shall require it, against any Traitors or Rebels whatsoever: And also to assure your Lordship, That as we do (and through God's Grace ever shall) abhor Popery, and all its Bloody Traiterous Practices; so we do utterly disapprove and dislike any such Proceedings from Private Persons as tend to reproach Parliaments; but do unanimously, with one Heart, and with one Voice, express our Satisfaction in, and Thanks for *The Humble Petition and Address* of your Lordship and the Common-Council, presented to His Majesty in *May* last, and since approved of in Common-Hall, for the Assembling and Sitting of a Parliament.

That the God of Heaven may ever Bless and Preserve His Sacred Majesty, and your Lordship, and this Great and Honourable City; and grant that your Successors in this weighty Trust may imitate your Lordships Piety and Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and His Majesty's Service, shall ever be the daily Prayers of us His Majesty's Humble, Faithful, Loyal, and Obedient Subjects.

THIS Address *was this Second of* September *presented to the Right Honourable the* Lord Mayor, *by a young Gentleman of good Quality, attended with a convenient number of the* Subscribers, *who having modestly represented the Reasons of this Application, did likewise take notice of the* base *and* false *Rumors, which suggested as if the same was promoted by* Dissenters; *assuring his Lordship of the contrary, and that himself, and all the rest, (as far as his Knowledge could reach) were such as could boast of nothing more than their being* true (*though* unworthy) Sons of the Church of England.

To which his Lordship was pleas'd to answer, That he was glad to see so *great* a Number of *Young Men* of the City thus cordially express their due *Loyalty* to His Majesty, and *Zeal* for the Protestant *Establish'd* Religion.

LONDON, Printed for *William Ingol* the Elder. 1681.

k: Campbell of Ard Earl of Argyle 16

A True Copy of the Indictment which is preferred against Archibald Earl of Argile, for High-Treason, who is to be Tryed on Monday the 12th. day of this instant December 1681 as it was taken from the Original Records.

Published for the satisfaction of the People. 16

ARCHIBALD Earl of *Argile*, you are Indicted and Accused, That albeit by the Common Law of all well-governed Nations, and by the municipal Laws and Acts of Parliament of this Kingdom, and particularly by the 21 cap. Stat. 1. *Rot.* 1. and by the 43 Act of Parl. 2 *Jac.* 1. and by the 83 Act of Parl. 5 *Jac.* 6. and the 134 Parl. 14 *Jac.* 6 and by the 204 Act Parl. 8 *Jac.* 6 all Leising makers, and sellers of them, are punishable with tinsel of Life and Goods; Likewise by the 7 Act Parl. 7 *Jac.* 6. it is Statute, That no man interpret the Kings Statutes otherwise than the Statutes bear, and to the intent and effect that they were made for, and as the makers of them understood; And whoso does to the contrary, to be punished at the Kings Will. And by the 1 Act Parl. 1 *Jac.* 6. it is Statute, That none of His Majesties Subjects presume or take upon hand publickly to declare, or privately to speak, or write any purpose of Reproach against His Majesties Person, Government or State; or to deprave his Laws and Acts of Parliament, or misconstruct his Proceedings, whereby any misliking might be moved betwixt His Highness, his Nobility and his loving Subjects in time coming, under pain of Death, certifying them that do on the contrary, they shall be reputed as seditious and wicked Instruments, Enemies to His Highness, and the Commonweal of this Realm, and the said pain of Death shall be executed against them with all vigour, to the Example of others. And by the 2d. Act Sess 2. Parl. 1. *Car* 2. it is Statute, That whoever shall by writing, Libelling or Remonstrating, express, publish or declare any Words or Sentences to stir up the People to the dislike of His Majesties Royal Prerogative and Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastical, of the Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, as it is now established by Law, under the pain of being uncapable to exercise any Office, Civil, Ecclesiastical or Military, within this Kingdom, in any time coming, Likewise by the Fundamental Laws of this Nation, and by the 138 Act Parl. 8 *Jac.* 6. it is declared, That none of His Majesties Subjects presume or take upon hand to impugne the Dignity and Authority of the three States of Parliament, or to procure innovation or diminution of their power and Authority, under the pain of Treason; And it is much more Treason in any of his Majesties Subjects to presume to alter Laws already made, or to make new Laws, or add any part to any Law by their own Authority, that being to assume the Legislative Power to themselves, which is His Majesties best and most incommunicable Prerogative; Yet true it is, that albeit, His Sacred Majesty did bestow upon you the said *Arch.* Earl of *Argile* These Vast Lands, Jurisdictions, and Superiorities, justly forfeited to His Majesty by the Crimes of your deceased Father, preferring your Family to These, who had Served His Majesty in the late Rebellion against it; But also Pardoned and Remitted to them the Crimes of Leising, Making and Misconstructing of His Majesty and the Parliaments proceedings against the very Laws above-written, whereof you were found Guilty, and condemned to die therefore, by the High Court of Parliament *Anno* 1662. And raised you to the Title and Dignity of an Earl, and of being a Member in all His Majesties Jurisdictions. Notwithstanding of all these and many other favours, to you the said *Arch.* Earl of *Argile*, being put to the Lords of His Majesties Privy Council to take the Test appointed by the Act of the last Parliament, to be taken by all persons in publick Trust; instead of taking the said Test, and Swearing the same in the plain Sense and Meaning of the Words, without Equivocation, Mental Reservation, or Evasions, whatsomever, you Declare against, and Defame the said Act, and having to the end you might corrupt others by your pernitious Sense, drawing the same in a Libel, of which Libel, you dispersed, and gave abroad Copies, whereby evil example was given to the Kings proceedings, at a time especially when his Majesties Subjects were expecting that submission should be given to the said Test; and being desired the next day to take the same as one of the Commissioners of his Majesties Treasury, then did give in to the Lords of His Majesties Privy Council, and owned twice in plain Judgment before them, the said Defamatory Libel against the said Test and Act of Parliament, declaring that ye had considered the said Test, and was desirous to give obedience as far as ye could, whereby ye clearly insinuate, that ye were not able to give full obedience.

In the Second Article of which Libel ye declare that ye are confident that the Parliament never intended to impose contradictory Oaths whereby to abuse the people with the belief that the Parliament had been so impious as really and actually to impose contradictory Oaths, and so ridiculous as to have made an Act of Parliament (which should be most deliberate of all Humane Actions) quite contrary to their own intentions; After which ye subsumed, contrary to the nature of all Oaths, and to the Acts above-cited, that every man must explain it for himself, and take it in his own sence;

then

54hen the Oath is impoſed to no purpoſe, for the Legiſlator cannot be ſure that the Oath impoſed by him will bind the Takers according to the deſign and intent for which he appointed it, and the Legiſlative Power is taken from the Impoſer, and ſettled upon the Taker of the Oath, and ſo he is allowed to be the Legiſlator, which is not only an open and violent depriving of His Majeſties Acts of Parliament, but is likewiſe a ſettling of the Legiſlative Power upon private Subjects who are to take ſuch Oaths. In the 3d. Article of the ſaid Paper, you declared, That ye take the Teſt in as far only as it is conſiſtent with it ſelf, and the *Proteſtant Religion*; by which you maliciouſly intimate to the people that the ſaid Oath is inconſiſtent with it ſelf and the *Proteſtant Religion*, which is not only a downright depraving of the ſaid Act of Parliament, but is likewiſe a miſconſtruing of His Majeſty and the Parliaments Proceedings, and a miſrepreſenting to the people in the higheſt degree, and in the tendereſt points wherein they be concerned, and implying that the King and Parliament have done things inconſiſtent with the *Proteſtant Religion*, for ſecuring of which that Teſt was particularly invented. In the 4th. Article you expreſly declared, That you mean not by taking the ſaid Teſt to bind up your ſelf from wiſhing or endeavouring any alteration that ye ſhall think for the advantage of the Church or State? whereby, although it was deſigned by the ſaid Act of Parliament and Oath, that no man ſhould endeavour any alteration of the Government, either in Church or State, as it is now eſtabliſhed; and the duty of all good Subjects in humble manner to obey the preſent Government; yet you not only declared your ſelf, but by your example invited others to think themſelves looſed from that obligation, and that it is free for them to make any alteration in either as they think fit, concluding your whole Paper with theſe words, [*And this I underſtand as a part of my Oath*] which is not only an invaſion upon the Legiſlative Power, as if it were lawful for you to make to your ſelf any Act of Parliament, ſince he that can make any part of an Act, can make the whole Power and Authority in both being the ſame; Of the whilk Crimes above-mentioned, you the ſaid *Archibald* Earl of *Argile* are notar, art and part, whilk being found by Aſſize, you ought to be puniſhed with pains of Death, forfeiture of Life, Lands, and Eſcheat of Goods, to the terrour of others to do and commit the like thereafter.

Here follows a Liſt of the Aſſizers, or Jurors.

Marques of *Montroſe*.
Earl of *Linlithgow*.
Earl of *Wintone*.
Earl of *Strathmore*.
Earl of *Roxbrough*.
Earl of *Haddingtone*.
Earl of *Drumfrice*.
Earl of *Arlie*.
Earl of *Marr*.
Earl of *Hume*.
Earl of *Pearth*.
Earl of *Dumfermling*.
Earl of *Dallhuſi*.
Earl of *Suthesk*.
Earl of *Treddel*.
Earl of *Midletown*.
Lord Roſs.
Lord Elibank.
Lord Dunkel.
Lord Livingſtone.
Lord Sinkler.
Lord Lindoors.
Lord Rollo.
Lord Bruntilard.
Laird Purie.
Laird Leſmore.
Laird Hall-yeards.
Laird Hilltown.
Laird Ormeſtown.
Laird Touch.
Maiſter of *Bamirinock*.
Maiſter of *Roſs*.
Maiſter of *Burly*.
Laird Coſsford.
Sir *Robert Daliel* of *Glennel*.
Laird Ballymain.
Laird Parck Gordon.
Sir *Will. Nicolſon* of that *Ilk*.
Laird Lamingtown.
Laird Claverhouſe.
Laird Longformegous.
Mr. *Cranſis Magomrie*, Brother to the *Earl* of *Eglington*.
Maiſter of *Sallmirinoch*.
Sir *Andrew Ramſy* of *Abitshall*.
Laird Haning.
Laird Gredden-kar.
Laird Londine.
Sir *William Paterſon*.

The Names of the Witneſſes.

Pat. Menzies, Lord Regiſter, *Hugh Stirlingſon*, &c.

Here follows his Explanation of the TEST.

I have conſidered the *Teſt*, and am very deſirous to give Obedience ſo far as I can; I am confident the Parliament never intended to Impoſe contradictory Oaths, and therefore I think no Man can explain it but for himſelf, and reconcile it as it is genuine and agree in its own ſenſe; and I take it in ſo far as it is conſiſtent with it ſelf and the *Proteſtant Religion*: And I do declare I mean not to bind up my ſelf in my Station, and in a Lawful way, to wiſh and endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of *Church* or *State*, and repugnant the *Proteſtant Religion*, and my *Loyalty*: and this I underſtand as a part of my Oath.

The day of Compirance, 12th. *of* December 1681.

EDENBROUGH: Printed for *James Alexander*. 1681.

A

LETTER

Written from the TOWER by

Mr. Stephen Colledge

(the *Proteſtant-Joyner*) To

Dick Janeways Wife.

Dear Jane,

MY Commitment was the more ſurprizing to me, in that it broke thoſe meaſures we had taken for a *Rendezvouz* that Evening, where we were to repeat thoſe ſatisfactions Thee and I have often mutually taſted from the ſolaces of *Venus* abroad, while *Dick Janeway* toil'd contentedly upon his *Mercury* at home; I wiſh him better reward of his Labour, then I am like to reap by mine.

This place affords little pleaſure, beſides the ſweet thoughts of thy Dear ſelf; and my Confinement is the more uneaſie to me, by the ſupercilious behaviour of my *Warder*: yet with the help of ſome yellow-boys, and a few Tools, (both which I deſire Thee to ſend me) I hope to ſet up to that Trade I ſo long neglected, and to become Scaffold, Block, and Nine-pin-maker to the *Tower*.

Encourage thy *Dick* to go on, though I can no longer aſſiſt, in the *True Proteſtant Cauſe*, yet he is hard enough for all their *Obſervators*, *Heraclitus*, and other *Tantivy-Scriblers*; and (as I often told Thee) our beſt Friends are ſtill behind the Curtain, *Men* whoſe Talent is declaiming, and that can out-bark all their *Towzers*, and out-do that She-Tory *Joa— Br—*, with all her *Guns* and *Crack farts*.

Had not this Commitment prevented me, I'le ſwear I was about a piece that would have gone nigh to do their Job; I had Chalk'd out my Deſign, and had Plain'd my Materials, and ſhould have Glew'd them well together, and fitted it for *Dick*'s never-fading Paint.

Return my thanks in the loweſt and moſt proſtitute manner to Sh— *B—l*, (whom next to *Alg. Syd.* I eſteem as the chief Patron of our Cauſe) for his *True Proteſtant Ignoramus-Jury*, which ſo honeſtly diſcharg'd their Conſcience, and gave Verdict againſt thoſe ſeven Tory-Evidence. Thou knowſt, 'tis in the *mouth of two or three Witneſſes a Truth ſhall be eſtabliſh'd*; doth it follow then, *that ſix or ſeven ſhall do the ſame?* And thou knoweſt who teacheth when he holds forth, *That for a few to be Perjur'd for the benefit of the Nation, and True Proteſtancy, is not only Venial, but a piece of Service becoming the Godly Party, and the favourers of the* Good Old Cauſe.

But

but I find that an *Ignoramus* in *Middlesex*, is no *Dimittimus* out of this *Limbo*; and I fear those at *Oxford* may speak other Latine, and that the Jury there may be, at this time, as *Toryish* as their *Terre-filius*: if so, adieu *Colledge*! who promis'd my self last *March* to survive all my Name-sakes there, and to have seen them crumbled down with my Axes and Hammers.

Be sure to convey away all Papers, Cuts, Draughts, *&c.* specially that of *Mac-Cut-throat*, that represents the *Oxford-Gownmen*, and all the *Bishops* too, crouding with Father *Patch* to kiss the Popes Toe, lest Goodman *Hog* seize them, as others did the Sack-full in the Hay-mow, and lest the Original of those *Tories* and *Abhorrers* fall into such hands as will open some mouths wider against me at my Tryal. Which let it come when it will, I hope to make a better bargain then that Goose-brain'd *Mac Fitz-Harys*; though his Jury came short of what was promis'd him, mine shall do more then I can desire, and may help me out with another *Ignoramus*. I'le never trust Mongrel-Solicitor, nor shatter-brain'd *Whitaker*, who thought his Law-quirks as much Treason-proof, as I did my Mail and Blunderbusses, but will as fairly bring himself to Bed, as he did his Client *Fitz-Harys*: I could play with other edg'd Tools then mine own, and this Upholsterer can Hang himself, though not his Room.

I'le have no other Solicitors then those *True Protestants*, that pass like Popes for Infallible, *J—s*, *Win—n*, *T—y*, *W—p*, *Poll—n*, and *Smith*, who are the Pillars that must support the *Cause*, and help me their Champion at a dead lift. If three of them could sway five hundred, they may easily cajole two or three Judges, whose Places they stand fair for next Parliament. These, dear *Jane*, must do the Job, and must not only talk down the *Bishops-Court*, but balder the World out of its Reason, and must deny the King any Money, that they may have the more themselves: and 'tis not *a few Millions* that are yearly swallow'd up by our Lawyers, Attorneys, and other half-starv'd Green-bags and Petty-foggers; 'twas these that *cow'd our Country-Gentry* the last Parliaments, and with a splay-mouth'd little Fanatical Hypocrisie, and a cramp Law-term, appear'd as formidable as *Gorgon's* Heads, and by their tickling and noise became the *Bell-weathers* of the Flock, while the rest were content to bleat *Amen* to their Arbitrary Nonsense: But this to our selves. Above all, retain our Friend *Win—ton*, who with a *Good my Lord! and a peal of Liberty and Property, Our* All *is at stake*, can silence even Sir *George*, or any other such Gigantick *Abhorrer*, and will make more noise for a grain of Popularity, then another for 5 *l.* and let him be Col. *Pury's* Cloak-boy, a bag ful of Nonsense, nay a dull man in *Ignoramus*; yet give me one that will talk for my money, tho' I lose my Cause; And tho' Judge *Jenkins* (who knew them best) gives it as his Advice, and bids us (p. 138) avoid the Lawyers of the House of Commons, yet I must shortly put my self into their Clutches, as to a point of Law or two I intend to start at my Tryal; and let all *True Protestants* pray for my good Deliverance. My next shall be (if this Air, or that of *Tyburn*, choaks not my Muse in the mean time) in such a strain as pleased when thee and I used to meet at the *Swan*; and so Adieu.

To the Cause *and* Thee *most* True *I'le prove*,
Till Ketch *and* Cord *shall end our Love.*

From my Lodgings in *Lob's-Pound*,
near the Duke of *Exeter's* Daughter.

LONDON: Printed for *R. J.* 1681.

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Carolus II.

His Majesties LETTER

TO THE

Artillery Company:

With an Account of their Proceedings at the Choice of several Officers for the ensuing Year, on Wednesday, *the* 9th. *of this instant,* February, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

THE Artillery Company being Assembled according to Summons and yearly Custom, at the *Armory* in the *Artillery Ground*, to choose new Officers, they proceeded to Election without interruption, and chose Sir *Joseph Shelden*, President; Sir *William Pritchard*, Vice-President; and Sir *Matthew Andrews*, Treasurer: Then proceeding to choose their Court of Assistants, which consists of 24 Members, there was read the List of the Old Assistants. Sir *Joseph Shelden* stood up, and told them that according to ancient Custom, they must choose 8 of the 24 to serve again, and the other 16 whom they pleased, out of the Company, which they did, leaving out 4 of the old 16, *viz.* one Captain of the *Yellow*, and 3 of the *Blew*.

Being then to proceed to choose the other Officers, Sir *Joseph* proposed to choose their Lieutenant and Ensign, at which the Company were much disturbed, and cryed out, first let us choose our Leader, Sir *Joseph* standing up again, endeavoured to perswade them from it; telling them, he should think himself much obliged to them, if after the Honour they had done him, in choosing him their President, they would so far condescend, as to think him worthy to give them his Advice, and to entreat them that no heat might arise amongst them in that affair, and forasmuch as they had been well Governed for these 3 years last past, without a Leader, they would try it one year more; and also told them that whatever they might think of him, he did propose it as his best Advice: And withal assured them, that so long as he had had the Honor to be of that Society, he had to the utmost of his power, endeavoured to serve them with his best Services, and still would continue so to do, and that at any, and at all times, when occasion required it, he should heartily venture his Person and Purse, as far as any man alive, in the Defence of the King, the Laws as now established, and the Protestant Religion, upon which the Company returned Thanks by a general---- Then Sir *Matthew Andrews* made a Speech to the same effect, endeavouring likewise to perswade them to defer the Choice of a Leader, and proceed to the Choice of a Lieutenant and Ensign, at which the Company with a great cry, said No, No, No, a Leader first, and would by no means be pacified without a Leader, which Sir *Joseph* perceiving, stood up, and in a short Speech told them; Gentlemen, You now compell me to that, which I was in hopes I needed not to have done, and do protest am yet unwilling to do, before I again endeavour to prevail with you to proceed to the Choise of a Lieutenant, and leaving the Choice of a Leader alone: but still with more violence they cryed No, No, No, a Leader, a Leader, nothing before a Leader. Then Sir *Joseph Shelden* said; Gentlemen, You force me and I cannot avoid it, to tell you, That I have received a Letter from his Majesty, in order to this days business, which I desire may be read, the purport of which was as followeth.

To

To our Truſty and Well beloved, the Preſident, &c. Greeting,

WHereas according to Cuſtom, you are this day to Chooſe new Officers for the Artillery Company; *Our Will and Pleaſure is, That in Order to the well Managing and Governing of the ſaid Society, you Chooſe all your old Officers again, without making any Alteration: Not doubting of your ready Compliance, we bid you heartily farewel.*

After which divers Members ſtood up, one after another, ſaying they humbly conceived that there was not any thing in His Majeſties Letter, which did forbid their chooſing a Leader, but that their proceedings ſeemed rather to comply with it, for that they intended not to change their Leader, but according to Cuſtom to chooſe their old Leader again, *&c.* Upon which the Letter was read again, and a third time, but the reading thereof did the more confirm them in their Opinion, That His Majeſties Letter did no way prohibit their Chooſing a Leader. A Worthy Member that was newly choſen into the Aſſiſtants, ſtood up and ſaid, Mr. Preſident, with your Worſhips favour, I humbly conceive His Majeſties gracious Letter to us, may have relation to a particular Circumſtance in our Affair of this day, it having been noiſed about the Town in Coffee-Houſes, *&c.* that the *Artillery Company* at their next Choice would leave out the Duke of *York* as their Captain General, and chooſe ſome other perſon of Honour in his Highneſſes ſtead, ſome fancying one perſon, and ſome another, but I hope no Member of this Honourable Society came hither with any ſuch Deſign, for indeed it doth not lye before us, nor is it the buſineſs of this Company, now perhaps the noiſe of this Change might come to his Majeſties knowledge, and probably occaſion the ſending this Letter, and no other reaſon, the Aſſembly ſeemed well pleaſed with this motion, by their applauding it with a general Hum. Another ſtanding up, ſaid he Humbly conceived that their paſt Proceedings were more contradictory to His Majeſties Letter than their deſiring to proceed to the Election of a Leader could be, and it being fit that his Majeſties Letter ſhould be obeyed, asked why the ſame was not produced ſooner, that it might have prevented the paſt proceedings, as well as the reſt of the buſineſs of the day. Upon which Sir *Joſeph* ſtood up and ſaid, Gentlemen, I do not know what you dare do, but I aſſure you I dare not do any thing which may ſeem to oppoſe this His Majeſties Letter, Pray conſider what you are doing, and be prevailed with: But they cryed out No, No, No, nothing before a Leader be choſen, a Leader, a Leader, a Leader. Then Sir *James Edwards* ſtood up and made a Speech to the ſame purpoſe as Sir *Joſeph Shelden* and Sir *Matthew Andrews* had done before, but nothing could prevail, they being ſo violently ſet upon their old Cuſtom, nothing but a Leader, a Leader, *&c.* At which Sir *Joſeph* ſeeing nothing would prevail, ſaid Gentlemen, I muſt Adjourn the Court till ſome day next Week, againſt which time you ſhall have fair Summons, and in the mean time I will wait on the King, and Know his Majeſties Royal Pleaſure and meaning in the Letter, in which, as in all other Affairs that may concern the Honour and Welfare of this Society, I do promiſe you to uſe my utmoſt endeavour, at which the major part of the Company ſeemed well pleaſed, upon Condition, that all the Choices they had made ſhould be void, and to chooſe all anew when they met again; and ſo the Court was Adjourned.

London, Printed for *W. T.* 1681.

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A True Copy of a DISPUTE Lately held at ROME,

BETWEEN

Father *Conyer* a Jesuit, and *Alexander Thompson* a Church of England Man, and *Barrister* at Law, concerning the PLOT.

Jesuite, *WELL, Sir, you are willing, I suppose, to vindicate the Execution of your Laws, in every particular, against those* Roman Catholicks, *that were sacrificed to your Countries Vengeance.*

Protestant, I shall give you my Apprehensions thereof; but if my Vindication be not Satisfactory, I will rather believe it to be my own Weakness, than the Justice of your Cause.

Jes. *I appeal to any man of Sence, whether there was any Probability, there cou'd be a design of taking off the King? That very Act wou'd have alarm'd the People, and consequently have dasht the Design; for upon that Juncture, where had we any Forces in readiness to espouse our Cause, and to alter that Government, which cou'd not be subverted, but by Sword? We cou'd not expect any Forreign Assistance to evade, before your Malitia were Embatteled; and to believe that a Caball of some designing Heads cou'd execute it, is Groundless.*

Protest. As to the Fact it self, we know that 'tis nothing but what the Principles of your Religion doth enjoyn you to; 'tis reckoned by your Church as Meritorious, and is very consistent with your Conscience. Now, as to the Probability, why this shou'd be executed, 'twas very apparent; your Party had Conspired to sham it upon the *Presbyterians*, and in order to that, you had given Commissions, and disposed on Preferment to such and such men, as the Discovery of the *Meal-Tub-Plot* doth very clearly confirm; then where was the need of an Army in readiness, when you might expect that Justice wou'd be done upon the *Presbyterians*, whilst you free from Suspition, might unconcernedly look on the Vertigo of the State? Besides, if in the end you had fail'd in this, yet at present such a general Consternation had seized the Kingdom, that you might easily expect some Forreign Auxiliaries, before the Discovery of your Practices, and the Nation in a Military Posture; your Church doth authorize and justifie the Actions of that Nature; and you have daring *Clements*, and zealous *Ravilliats*, that think it their Duty to attempt them.

Jes. *I confess that* Mariana *doth endeavour to maintain that* King-killing Tenet, *but it was damned as Pernicious and Unchristian by the Church: 'Tis also objected against* Bellarmine; *but it was only inserted into his Volumns by an unknown hand, as is apparent in the* Original Copy. *But to revert your Assertion against your self, if Regicide be Authorized by our Church, and Heaven promised as a Reward to the Actor, we have* Clements *in store, that won'd Assassinate Majesty upon the first Summons or Command; we need not have contrived so many several sorts of Death, and have ventured the Abortion of our Plot upon the least Miscarriage. Do you think that* Pickering *would have had the Patience to have waited for an opportunity so long in the Park, when he might easily have had access to the King's Presence, and might with a surer Fate, than an erring Gun, have dispatcht, and consequently merited Heaven? He was unworthy of it, if he durst not dye for't: The very Lashes he had upon the account of his Negligence was worse than the Pains of Death; besides the Forfeiture of those Misses that were promised him, upon the Performance.*

Proteſt. Though your Religion doth warrant Heaven to ſuch as dare propagate its Intereſt by ſuch ſiniſter Means, yet I do not perceive, that any of you are ſo reſerved from the Indulgence of the Fleſh, as preſently to quit your Intereſt upon Earth, and yield your ſelves a Victime to appearing Death, if your Contrivances cou'd but prevent its preſent Execution; you cou'd be content to live a little here, rather than to purchaſe your Imaginary Happineſs, by embracing a Temporal and Bug-bear Death. *Johannes Acutus*, one of your Order, and one that entertained as great a Zeal for the Intereſt of his Church, as the boldeſt Promoter of your all, and though he had a Warrant ſigned, for the immediate Poſſeſſion of Heaven, if he ſhould accidentally be ſeized after the Execution of his Deſign upon the Perſon of *Count Ladowick* of *Naſſhaw*, yet his mean and daſtard Soul durſt not publickly play the *Ruffian*, but omitted his Opportunities, and was Laſh't.

Jeſ. *Our Talent of time is now ſo ſmall, we muſt not employ it in Canvaſſing this Point; let us omit the Opinions of our Church in this* King-Killing Tenet, *and return to our particulars. Can you imagine, that a Deſign of this nature, wherein no leſs than the Death of the* KING, *and the Alteration of* GOVERNMENT *was endeavoured, ſhou'd be communicated to every* Papiſt *of any Note through the Realm? (as the Depoſitions of the Evidence would perſwade you) Or that Letters ſhou'd be ſent, or Correſpondence kept, in order to that, by the common Poſt? Or, that Sir* George Wakeman *and* Groves, *&c. were to have ſo many Hundreds of Pounds for their good Service, and adventure when four Gentlemen that were privy to all the Proceedings, wou'd Aſſaſſinate him for Fourſcore? Or that any of the Conſpirators, which you believe to be ſuch Profligate Villians, wou'd dye and be damned, when they might be prefered upon Confeſſion? or being conſcious to themſelves of the Truth of the Information, that they wou'd not endeavour to make an eſcape, but wou'd skulk about to be ferreted out by Juſtices of the Peace, proſecuted and hanged? Pray reconcile theſe.*

Proteſt. Your firſt Suppoſition I anſwer thus, That although you had confided in the generality of thoſe of your Religion, yet you might believe the *Oath of Secrecy*, you had impoſed upon them, to be ſo Obligatory, as not to be violated by either Fear or Intereſt.

Secondly, You argue an Improbability that ſo great a Deſign ſhou'd be truſted to the duty of the common Poſt; but 'twas apparent, you had ſo far provided, that to prevent the ill conſequence of a Miſcarriage, you had contrived a Character, which none but your Correſpondent cou'd apprehend.

Thirdly, It is no Argument againſt the Probability of the intended *Regicide*, that the four Aſſaſſines were ſo reaſonable in their agreement, it only argues their great Zeal to your general Intereſt.

Fourthly, Although we ſhou'd be ſo candid, as not to inſiſt upon the Merit your Church aſignes to obſtinacy of that Nature, yet ſome of you, for the very fear of an Injury from their incenſed Party, durſt not betray the Cauſe by Confeſſion. Now, whereas they rather ſtood Tryal, than attempted an eſcape upon the firſt Diſcovery, it might be the Effects of their Impudence, rather than Innocence; they might expect their Deſign wou'd be ſham'd upon the Diſſenters, and ſo prevent that inconvenience to their future Conduct, that wou'd have attended their flight.

Finally, That you have endeavoured this before, if we look back to the fifth of *November*, we muſt believe; and why there is now more Simplicity and Innocence in your Religion, is unaccountable: We had not only ſufficient Evidence, but other demonſtrating Circumſtances to perſwade us of the Legality of their Tryals and Execution.

FINIS.

LONDON, *Printed for* John Bringhurſt, *at the Sign of the Book in* Grace-Church-ſtreet, *near* Cornhill, 1681.

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A LETTER
From a Person of Quality in *SCOTLAND*,
TO A
Person of Honour in *LONDON*:
Concerning His ROYAL Highness,
JAMES, Duke of York.

Jacobus. II. James II King &c.

SIR,

THE acquaintance that I contracted with you when I was last in *England* with Duke *H.* and the several Discourses, that with so much freedom we had together, concerning the state of affairs then in agitation, makes me thus familiarly renew that friendship which grew then between us, whereby you will see, how much I am alter'd from my self since that time: You cannot have forgot I am sure, in what opposition I then stood against the *D.* of *Y.* succeeding to the Crown, and then so firm, that all you could say, tho' back't with strong arguments and reasons, could not any ways shake me, and therefore you may now justly wonder how it should come about, that I should now write to you in his behalf: I intended this Letter at the beginning of the Parliament at *Oxford*, and thought it might arrive to you time enough before they might meddle with the Bill of Seclusion, if they should endeavour it at all, knowing the Aversion of his Majesty from putting by his Brother from his *Hereditary* right, and tho' to our wonder, the Parliament was Dissolved, before we could think it was well begun, and before I could Write what I intended, yet since the Duke has many Enemies in *England*, I have, in letting you see my thoughts as to his right of Succession, shewed you that his vertues have begotten here, even in this Cold and bigoted Country, some Friends.

But before I enter upon my Reasons that any man who shall endeavour to put by the D. of *Y.* from his *Hereditary* right, violates the Laws of the Land, scandalizes his Religion, and does Unjustice to his Prince, I shall acquaint you how I came to be thus Interessed for the Duke, who was so much once against him. And first I declare to you, lest you should suspect that it might be the change of my Religion that should have made this change in my Politick opinion, that I am still, and ever shall be, of the same Religion I was born and bred in; that is, a *Protestant*; and that I have as much aversion for the Religion of the Duke, as I have a love and affection for his person. But the greatest motive that begot in me a Veneration for the Duke, and so Consequently for his just Interest, is the personal knowledgde of his very many Excellencies and vertues which has raised in me, not only an ordinary Esteem, but has made me justly think him to be in himself no ordinary man, but one worthy of the greatest Crown in *Europe*. Before I knew him but at a distance, and tho' I had often seen him and been in his presence, yet I had received his Characters at second hand, and found him sometimes represented one thing, sometims another, according to the several opinions and Interests of persons, so as my knowledge of this great man, was very much disguised, and in the dark, till his residing here among us, gave me and many others, a clear prospect both of his Persons Actions, and Vertues. I shall not go about to Characterize him to you, who so well know him, and who so often from those many shining and excellent Vertues in him, has raised up Arguments to bring me from the opinion I had entertain'd against him. But you see that he himself, by his Actions and Convers, in a little time, has been able to do more then all the words and Arguments in the world could do.

Having thus shewed you upon what account I am become the Dukes friend, you cannot now think it strange, that as an Effect of that Reverence and esteem, I have received from so worthy a person, I should write to you in his behalf. And tho' the Parliament be Dissolved, and that we fear not from thence, the prejudice many did expect, yet I shall tell you in few words, my mind; that I think it both unreasonable and Unjust, for any Subject of *England* to attempt his Seclusion from the Crown. And I must here further protest unto you, that although I had never so great esteem for the D. yet were it not just, Lawful, or Right for him to succeed in the *Throne* of *England*, I should never open my mouth, nor use any Arguments in his behalf, but the Right, Justice, and Equity, that I believe him to have on his side, makes me trouble you with these: And I must also beg your pardon, that I presume to tell you my opinion, and to lay down my weak Reasons for the Justice of the Dukes cause, since I know you are already furnished with such, that may in Law and Equity, be a sufficient Bulwork to defend his right against all the opposition can be made from Rational & men, therefore honoured Sir, I shall be oblieged to use the less Arguments to you upon that Subject, nor will the scantling of a Letter give leave for long *Harangues*, or for Oratorious pleadings of the Cause.

In the first place, I suppose there are none, even among his violent oppossers, that any ways question the *D.* right of Succession, so that his indubitable right to succeed his Brother (whom God long preserve) if he hath no Legitimate children,

is not the Queſtion. But whether it be Commodious or profitable to the Nation or the people of *England*, that he ſhould ſucceed, becauſe a *Roman Catholique* is the thing ſtood upon: We ſhall not here at all queſtion the right and power that the King and his Parliament may have to diſpoſe of the Succeſſion, and to cut off the D. from all hopes of ſucceding to the Crown, we will grant it, that it is in their power ſo to do, but all that I have to urge to you, is, That in ſo doing, they would be very unjuſt, or at leaſt give very hard meaſure to the Duke, onely becauſe he has chang'd his Religion, and by which means, they have entertained an Opinion, that he will bring in Popery, and alter the Religion of *England*: But I think it is a Maxim in the Chriſtian Religion, that we ought not to commit an evil, that good might come thereon; and therefore, if putting the D. by his juſt and indubitable Right, be a committing an evil againſt Juſtice, Law, and Right, it ought not to be done in any expectancy of all the good that ſhall follow thereupon; And how they can ſalve ſuch an Act, which is decryed by all Princes, and by many wiſe and great perſons, from injuſtice and wrong, I cannot tell. The jealouſies and fears of the people, ought not to ſtir up thoſe in Authority to do injuſtly: and it is feared likewiſe, that the bringing in of Popery, as a conſequence of his ſucceeding to the Crown, is buz'd about into the peoples ears, and thereby increaſing their fears and Jealouſies, by ſome perſons, who may perhaps have other deſigns in their heads, not only of breaking the Legal-line of Succeſſion, but that alſo of all Kingly Succeſſors: So that, whilſt by this means, the people ſeek to maintain their Religion, they will be forced to looſe their Government, and be reduced again to the many Arbitrary-headed Monſter, whoſe paws will be far more heavy than the Royal Scepter in the Hand of the D. and this I doubt will be all that will be got by Secluding the D. This one thing is enough to make the King fearful of yielding to ſuch an Act, and to cauſe him by all means to endeavour, the ſecuring to his people, the Antient Government of the Kingdome, as well as Religion and Property, ſince there are alſo fears and jealouſies on the one hand, as well as the other.

I ſee my Letter grows long, and therefore beg your excuſe, that I huddle up what more I have to ſay, which might be enlarged upon.

I ſay further, That the Great and Heroick Love, as well as juſt and pious, that His Majeſty has for his Brother, ſhould be ſome Argument to his people, not to urge things ſo violently againſt the Duke, and ſo oppoſite to the Affection of His Majeſty, he having Declared, *That there is nothing that a* Parliament *can demand, to ſecure them in their Religion, and to quiet their Fears and Jealouſies, he will not willingly grant them, excepting this one thing, of utterly ſecluding his Brother from his Right, which is againſt his Conſcience.* I ſay, that methinks in this matter, the People ſhould be as tender of the Conſcience of their King, as he is of the Deſires of his People; and that a medium may be found out, that may ſatisfie both the one and the other, without laying this Axe of Secluſion to the Root of the Tree: And to add to the Weight in the Dukes Scale, and to oppoſe thoſe who would have him to be the Cauſe of the Troubles of the Nation, (tho' nothing yet has been plainly proved, that his Enemies can lay to his Charge) I ſay the people ought not to forget the many Heroick and Valiant actions he has done for his Countrey, how boldly and willingly he has ventured his Blood and Life, in the *Dutch* Wars, expoſing himſelf to all manner of Dangers, for the ſake of his Country, for which, like the Noble *Themiſtocles*, he is in Danger of running the ſame fate, of being Baniſh'd by thoſe people, to whom he had brought the Crown of Victory: But however, juſtly the *Athenians* thought they might do it, his Baniſhment to this day, ſtands as a Brand of their Ingratitude and ill Nature, in the Records of Hiſtory; as no doubt, will this Secluſion of the Duke, after his Valiant Actions, be recorded to the Diſhonour and ingratitude of your Nation.

We ſhould now examine, how far the Religion of the Prince, is conſiſting with the Eſſence of Government, and whether there be that danger to the Proteſtant Religion, from a Popiſh Succeſſor, as his Adverſaries pretend; and many Arguments might hence ariſe, which might give an Eſclariſment to the matter in queſtion, but I doubt I have Treſpaſſed already too long upon your patience, and therefore ſhall not trouble you farther at this time concerning them, believing you ſufficiently furniſhed of your ſelf, with a true ſpeculative knowledge of thoſe Caſes, and that you are able there-hence to raiſe many Arguments, in ſo juſt a cauſe. But before I bid you farewel, I muſt alſo take notice, that in preſſing the King to perform an Act of Violence to himſelf, they mightily diſtruſt Providence, for after all, the Duke being ſo little under the age of the King, he may firſt dye, and by that moſt natural way ſecure them from their many fears and Jealouſies of dangers, that may accrue to them by his Succeſſion, if Providence thinks good; but if not, and that he ſhould ſurvive, I queſtion whether an Act of Parliament would be able to keep him from endeavouring to obtain his Right: It is therefore the beſt way to wait a while, and to ſubmit to Providence, who knows beſt how to diſpoſe of all things, and not to be too anxious and fearful of things, as may never come to paſs, and not to run into unjuſt Actions, in order to prevent them. Pardon me, I beſeech you, the trouble I have given you, ſince I was urged to it by the Affection I have to a perſon, that I believe moſt in the World are miſtaken in, becauſe Ignorant of his Worth, I am

SIR,

Your moſt Humble and Faithful Servant.

Printed for Joſeph Heath-coat, *in the Year*, 1681.

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From Aboard The Van-Herring,

Being a full Relation of the present State and sad Condition of that Ship.

In a New Letter from Legorn, *to a Merchant in* London.

SIR,

SInce what I have formerly imparted to you was so well accepted, I have thought good to continue my correspondence with you, by relating several things that have fallen out on Board us since my last: I told you then, that the great Councel of Officers was called, whereby the Saylers hoped to have had the Ship put into such a condition, as not to have fear'd the attempts either of the *Mahometans* or the *Algerines*, but might have rendred the hopes of the one, and the expectations of the other frustrated; our hopes hereof were very much heightned, when at the opening of the Councel, the noble Captain gave them large assurance of his ready compliance with all the means they should think convenient, to this end the Councel upon serious debate, and mature deliberation, came to this Resolve, That the only way to secure the Ship, and the Christian Religion, against the attempts of the *Mahometans*, was by an order of the Captain and his Councel of Officers, to disable the Lieutenant from succeeding to the Captains place after the Captains death, all other ways being insufficient and dangerous, like the false healing of a Wound, or Building on a rotten Foundation: The Captain not liking their proceeding, sent them word by an Officer, that a small Pinnace belonging to the Ship, was in danger to be taken by some set on and incouraged as it's thought by the *Mahometans* and *Algerines*, especially the latter, from whom it is thought they have been furnished with Powder, Shot, and Guns, wherewith to batter this Pinnace, and therefore he would have them let the Lieutenant alone, and bend all their thoughts to the defence of this Pinnace, since it was of so great consequence to the *Van-Herring*, that if once lost, we can never Trade into the Straits with safety: the Councel after a serious debate on this Message, resolved to draw up an Address to the Captain, wherein they assured him they would withal readiness comply with the motion of relieving the Pinnace, if there might be a satisfying assurance given them, that it would be in order to the securing the Old Ship, which they were humbly bold to tell him, they had found by woful experience hitherto, to be altogether manned with, and mannaged by the *Mahometans*; and they appeal'd to the Captain himself, that he knew it was not long since one of the Arch-Traytors, now in the Hold, for endeavouring to Murther the Captain, and seize the Ship for the Lieutenant, sayled in, and commanded this Pinnace; therefore since the whole Ship was in danger to be lost, they could not hazard the whole Ship by endeavouring to relieve this Pinnace, which had been a Nest of our implacable Enemies the *Mahometans*: they also with all humility shewed him, that all, or most of the supplies they had formerly given to maintain the Captains Honour, and the Ships safety, were abused by ill Officers, the design wholly inverted to serve the *Mahometans* interest. They told him also, that since the best defence this Ship had, was to endeavour the advancing the Christian Religion abroad, they admired to find his Officers endeavouring to procure *Mahometan Chappels* in other Christian Ships: they desired also, that those which endeavoured to render the endeavours of this Councel, as dangerous to the Captains Interest, might be looked on by him as Enemies to him and his Government: The Councel have also punished some persons, that by obstructing Petitions for the meeting of this Councel, have betrayed the Liberty of the Saylers, which we hope will have this good effect, that in the Vacansy of Councel, there will be no more Abhorrors found amongst us. They have also made several Addresses to the Captain, to remove from his Presence several pernicious Officers, who by their fawning words, and flattering Councels, would draw his affection from the Loyal Saylers, one of them was chief Clark to the great Cabbine, him they have got removed, but the rest remain as they were, only one advanced by the influence of the Lieutenant to the dignity of chief Boat-Swain, was by the Councel of the lower Bench charged with Treason against the Captain, and betraying the Liberty of the Saylers, requiring to have him secured, but could not prevail; the Councel of the lower Bench after many debates and consultations, drew up an order to disable the Lieutenant to succeed to the Captains place after the Captains death. Now Sir, I cannot tell you the

different

different humors that filled the Saylers; all men were big with expectation what would become of this order, when presented to the Councel of the upper Bench, all perswading themselves it would be according to their own desires; the Councel of the lower Bench handed it to the Officers of the upper Bench, where the Captain sat, where after some debate, it was rejected, to the great grief of the Christian Saylers, and the Joy of the *Mahometan* Faction; the Officers of the Red Robe were indifferently divided, but those of the White Robe, although they pretend to be the Pillars of the Christian Religion, and have long been thought by some of the Saylers to be so; Yet now to convince the World, their own pretences were untrue, and the Saylers good opinion of them false; they most of them came in as a dead weight, and speedily carried the Scale on the Lieutenants side, which is a thing so strange, that it makes some of the Saylers think, that as they were the Relicks of the *Mahometan* suppression, which remains unpurged, when the rest of their Innovations were expelled this Ship; so they have secret inclinations to return again to the Obedience of the *Mufty*. Yet something has been done to the discouraging the *Mahomitans*, and incouraging the Christian Saylers; for one of the Arch Traytors was at last brought to his Tryal before the Councel, and condemned to loose his Head upon the Capstorm, which was done accordingly; the Counsel notwithstanding the rejecting the Order, consulted of some other way to disable the Lieutenant, which to prevent, the Captain minded them again of the danger of the Pinnis, whereupon they resolved to draw up another Address to the Captain, wherein they gave him great thanks for the care he had taken to prevent the *Mahometan* design, and his gracious promise of complying with all means they should think convenient for securing the Ship; yet they much grieved to find his promise so limited, as to render it wholly useless, by refusing to grant that wherein alone our safety doth consist, there being no safety to him or the Ship, until the Lieutenant be Excluded; all the Answer the Captain returned, was, that the Councel of the upper Bench, by rejecting the Order, had confirmed him in an Opinion, that it is not his Interest to desert the Lieutenant; the Counsel hereat amazed, after some Debate, entred into the Journal of their Proceedings, That it is their Opinion, that there can be no security to the Captain, the Ship, or the Christian Religion, without preventing the Lieutenant from being Captain; and that notwithstanding the Captains promises of complying with all other ways of securing us, that unless this Order be passed, they can give him no supplies, without Betraying the Captains person, the Christian Religion, and the trust reposed in them by the Saylers; and whosoever should advise the Captain to put off this Councel to any other purpose then to the making this Order, are betrayers of the Captain, the Christian Religion, and Promoters of and Pentioners to *Argere*, and that the thanks of this Bench be given to the Saylers in the great Cabbine, for their Loyalty to, and endeavors for the preservation of the Captain, and the Christian Religion; immediately they were put off for a few days, which the *Mahometans* have the impudence to say, it was done in favour to them, but the Loyal Saylers hope the contrary, and that it is only to give the Councel an occasion to bring in the Order again; yet the Saylers of the great Cabbine, fearing the *Mahometans*, might take this opportunity to attempt something against the Cabbine, requested the Master of this Cabbine to take all imaginable care for its preservation. I had almost forgotten one thing that hath occasioned much discourse amongst us; a Loyal Officer made an ingenious Speech, containing a short and true Account of our Affairs: It was condemned by some, although others think it will prove somewhat like a late Treatise, called, *The Growth of Mahometanism*, which when first Published, was generally condemned as a design fallsly to asperse the Captains Favourites, but in short time we found the thing too true. I should have told you also, that while the Councel of Officers were inquiring into this Plot, some came on Board us from on Board the *Harp*, and acquainted our Councel, that Ship also was in danger to be Betrayed to the *Algerines*: We are informed, that the *Algerines*, by the help of the *Mufty* and his Agents, have got a Stout Ship that Rides near us, called, The *Eagle*, to be so Betrayed by the Captains Officers, that it must shortly fall into their hands. As for our Lieutenant, he at present Sayles in the *Lyon*, but is expected on Board us; I suppose his absence will be more welcome to them, then his presence to us: just as I was finishing this Letter, I saw the Sayles flocking about the Main-Mast, whereupon I went to enquire the reason, and found them with great amazement and admiration reading an Order of the Captains for discharging this Councel of Officers, and calling a New one, which are not to meet in the Old Cabbin, which they have done time out of mind, but in the Academy, a small Cabbin in a more remote part of the Ship; this unexpected and prodigious News filled the Loyal Saylers with sad hearts and dejected countenances, yea, the Heavens have put on Mourning, appearing Dark and Gloomy, and the Sun not seen for three or four days together. Thus I have given you a short but impartial account of all or most of the material things that have fallen out since my last.

LONDON, Printed *Anno Dom.* 1680.

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A LETTER From PARIS.

FROM

Sir George Wakeman,

To his Friend Sir *W. S.* in *London.*

Dear SIR,

I Cannot but wonder at your Confidence, in ſtaying in *England* among the National *Betlem* of Reſolute *Hereticks*; for I think the people are all Mad, and reſolve to queſtion the integrity of the Saints, ſince they have Impeached the Juſtice: I hear with great trouble, that you have got your *Quietus eſt*, and have left the Woolpack, and thrown from your Shoulders that great Grievance of the Nation, Juſtice: You are no longer mounted like *Radamanthus* on the Bench, weighing the very eſſence of all Cauſes to a Mite, in the Golden Ballances of Judgement. I ſhould have taken you for *Juſtice* her ſelf, but they ſay She is Blind, and I am ſure you can ſee (as the old homely Proverb has it) *which ſide your Bread is Butter'd on.* Let ever one ſpeak as they find, I am ſure you dealt Juſtly by me, for I proteſt I am as Innocent as the Child that is unborn, and have been acquitted by the Law, and therefore if I pleaſed might return to *England*, but I have ſeveral Reaſons, beſt known to my ſelf, for my ſtaying on this ſide the Water: but *Mor blew*, 'tis not to Plot, I leave that to the *Jeſuits*, who are a ſort of people, I have nothing to do with: I cannot but remember your former Kindneſs, and having no other means, as the *French* Proverb has it, *Je vous paye en Monnoye de Cordelier*, I will pay you with Thanks and Prayers; And I hope to ſee you again Triumphant with the Purſe in your Hand: But in the mean time, I Invite you to *Paris*, I think it would be a great deal of Prudence to ſhun the Storm that is like to blow from *Oxford*, about the 21*th.* of *March* next, as I find predicted by ſeveral Judicious *Aſtrologers*: Here you will be out of Harms way, and who knows but you may become at *Paris* as famous for Law and Juſtice, as I am grown for Phiſick, I am in great practice, and live like my ſelf: I have lately purchas'd the Receipts of Madam ——— of her Heirs, at the value of 300 Piſtols, in which I have found out the Quinteſſence of Poyſons, a Secret I much ſtudied all my Life. I have alſo here met with a *Jew*, and a Diſguiſed *Banian*, who came lately out of the Great *Moguls* Territories, both which, have furniſhed me with moſt choice Druggs, not to be had in *Spain* or *Italy*. I will ſhortly ſend you a pair of perfum'd Gloves, to preſent your Enemies with, never fear the Operation, the Effluvia ſhall blaſt like the Peſtilence, and at ſeveral Leagues diſtance. Every man according to his Calling, for *Medicina eſt ſcientia Inſalubrium*, as well as *Salubrium*, and is *Adjectio* and *Subſtractio*, to Kill *Secundum Artem* requires as much Skill, as to cure, and we are moſt uſeful either way among Mortals. By *Aſculapius* the Bearded Son of *Apollo*, I cannot refrain Excurſions in my own Element, but I hope you will pardon me, and for that I muſt enquire after the ſtate of your Body. It is my Opinion, that this Air will be much more agreeable to your Conſtitution, than that of *London*. The Spring is now coming on, and the latter end of *March*, or the beginning of *April*, will be a moſt Seaſonable time to move your Body, but I beſeech you, not to take any *Parlimentary* Pills, they have too much *Colocinthida* in them,

them, and will work too violently; you have but a tender Body, none knows so well your constitution as my self; I wish I could Inspect your Water, if it be bloody it is an ill sign. I think the *Spaw* or the Waters of *Burbone*, would be proper for you. I desire you will be pleased to remember me to my old Friend, with whom sometimes we used to Dust it; but especially to old Father *J. S.* you know he is a close man, and first brought us together, I wonder where he hides these dangerous times, bid him beware of the 300, and then let the 8000 go whistle; you are acquainted with my *Cyphers*: pray let me have a Letter from you as soon as you can, either by the ordinary *Post*, or by *Monsieur Pritchant*, whom I shortly expect, and who has orders to wait on you before he comes away. I am

SIR,

Your highly oblieged Friend,

and most Humble Servant,

G. W.

Paris, Feb. 25. *New Stile.*

Postscript.

Just as I had concluded, in comes Monsieur Pompone, *my good Friend, who tells me, That though you sit not on the Bench, you still stand in the Cabinet; and though you plead not at the Bar, you give* Chamber-Council; *I am glad of it with all my heart; but that wise Man bid me tell you, that you should Lash the Wheels of your Chariot, they are too much Oyl'd, and run like* Jehu's, *and that you use the Whip of* Zeal, *till you have iaded your Horses* Reason *and* Judgement, *who have drawn up hill so hard, that they are become blind: He bids me also put you in mind of an* Italian *saying*, Piu tosto tardi, che in fretta: *Take Breath, be rather late, than do your business in hast: I advise you therefore, to get an hold-fast, that you loose not Ground, such as Wains have when they draw up a steep hill, that keeps them from running backward, when they are at a stand, and the* Horses *take Breath. The King of* France *his Bitt-maker, has promised me an exact pattern of a* Parlimentary *Snaffle and Cavason, which I will send over to you, for I understand that the* French *Gag which the Earl of* D. *had got, is broke: This is an Excellent device, I assure you, for the* French *King has more than one* Parliament *in his Kingdom, and by this means he has made them as gentle as Asses, and without either wincing or braying, carry his Edicts thorow all his large Territories. He makes no Requests,* Sic volo sic Jubeo, *is all the Language he uses; I am much in Love with his Government, and may shortly send you some of his policies. Be careful of your health this* Spring, *and have a care of changing the Air, unless in* France; *Farewel.*

G. W.

FINIS.

Printed for *T. B.* in the Year, 1681.

PLAIN DEALING: Or,

A *Dialogue* between *HUMPHREY* and *ROGER*,

About Chusing the Next Parliament.

Humph. WEll met, Neighbour *Hodge*: How do'st do? We have strange News, man; Do'st hear it? What do'st think, but the Parliament's Dissolv'd again?

Roger. Ay! Is it so! By my Brown Cow then, *Numps*, I think our Statesmen now-a-days take *Parliaments* for *Nine-Pins*, which they *Set up*, like the Boys, onely to *Knock down again* for sport.

Humph. Hold you there, Neighbour: for whether the Boys learn of our Statesmen, or our Statesmen of the Boys, is too hard a Question for us to Resolve. This I'm sure of, they could never indure the breath of a *Parliament*, since they discover'd the *Popish Plot*; which makes me think those *Statesmen* had *a finger in't*, and are mad to see such a *hopeful Project* in danger of miscarrying. But prethee tell me, which be these *Statesmen?* Are they those of the K's *Private Council?*

Roger. No, you Fool; they are call'd the *Private Council*, because every thing of moment is kept *private* from them. You may see by the Proclamation for this Dissolution, that they did not know of it, till it was Resolv'd. But the *Statesmen* are call'd by a Name which I have almost forgot, somewhat like *Cupboard-Councilmen*, and in truth are a sort of *Whisperers*, that Advise such things in *Private*, that they dare not *own*, and cannot *justifie* with reason, in *Publick*.

Humph. But what kind of men are these? For I never saw any of them.

Roger. Troth nor I, since they were so; but whilst they were honest Countrey Lords or Gentlemen, as all *Statesmen* must be, before they can be made free of that Trade, I have seen some; but they say they alter after, like a Countrey Gentlemans Daughter, that sets up for a *Town-Miss*, who presently grows *much Finer*, *much Falser*, and *less Sound*. Yet to know something more of them, I read all the matter of fact that is publish'd, never minding the interpretation they give it, which generally is a cheat, but by their Actions it seems to me that they are a sort of *English Frenchmen*, and *Protestant Papists*, for all they Pretend is for the *Protestant* Religion, and the lessening of *France*, and all they Do is for the growth of *Popery*, and the *French* power.

Humph. Oh plague, now I see the reason why they advis'd the dissolving of this *Parliament* who resolved to discover their tricks to the whole Nation.

Roger. I'd have these Fellows go like the Serjeants men, dresst *party-per-pale*, the right side after the *French Mode*, the left after the *English*; with a Book in their hands, the one leaf of the Mass, the other of the Common-Prayer: and then my Lord Chief Justice should order *Ketch* to hang up the right sides of them, as high as *Haman*; and let their left sides get down as well as they could, and this is my sentence of an *English* Monsieur.

Humph. Since they preserve the Protestant Religion, by bringing in *Popery*, maintain our Liberties by making us Slaves; Secure *England* by Betraying it to *France*; to be even with them in their own Coyn, I would use them as the *Spiritual-Courts* do those that offend them, deliver them to the *Devil* for the Salvation of their Souls.

Roger. Peace, peace, man, they fear no *Devil* but an *Executioner*, nor no day of Judgment but the meeting of a *Parliament*.

Humph. Why there is to be a new *Parliament* to sit presently at *Oxford*, but who shall we Chuse now Neighbour? You for the City, and I for the Countrey.

Roger. Why, who should we Chuse man, but such as have in these last *Parliaments*, approved themselves to be strongly and heartily against those cursed twins, which our Statesmens Brains are in labour to bring forth, *Popery* and Arbitrary Power? and those we will Chuse whether they themselves will or no; for we chuse them more for our own good, then to Complement them: and since they are not born for themselves but their Country, they must be content to take the necessary trouble; & we must be careful to put them to none that is unnecessary; that is, let us Chuse them without the expence of a peny, or the trouble of a Journey, and if they will not then be at the pains and charge of Attending in *Parliament*, let *Topham* take them, as they, the Abhorrers and all other Betrayers of our Liberties will justly deserve?

Humph. But shall we Chuse them before they come to desire it.

Roger, Desire it, you Simpleton! Prethee tell me, If a pack of Rogues and Papists had seized on thee, brought thee to the Gallows, tied the Rope, and were just ready to turn thee off the Ladder, and some honest Gentleman coming in sight should fright the Rogues a little off: If thou shouldst then in a Sheepish tone tell those Gentlemen, If they wou'd desire you to slip your neck out of the Noose, and come down you wou'd do it, dost not think they wou'd have reason to Answer, They were for the Liberty of the Subject, and wou'd press nothing of that nature, but leave it to thy own pleasure, either to go along with them, or to stay and let the Rogues make an end of their work when they were gone?

Humph. By the Mass *Hodge* thou say'st well, I have a woundy mind to do as thou say'st: but,

Roger.

Roger. But what, *Tony*? Is this a time to be at Ifs, and Ands, and Buts?

Humph. But Mr. *H.* you know is a pretty civil Gentleman, a fine bred man, aske our Country Ladies elſe, treats us nobly both at Table and Tavern, has a good eſtate, and needs no Penſion, and may vote on our ſide, unleſs now and then he give the Courtiers a vote in a Civil way out of gratitude for the new faſhions and good breeding they teach him; or help to ſave a Stateſmans Neck, that hugs him and feaſts him all the *Parliament* time: though he does not know him as ſoon as 'tis up. And he ſwears *dam him* he is as much againſt *Popery* as our Biſhops themſelves, and wou'd have all men hang'd that are not as high for increaſing the power of the Clergy as Biſhop *Laud* was. Now this Courteous Gentleman has deſired me of all Loves to vote for him but this once, and ſays its unreaſonable to make the former Members bear the burden or enjoy the honour of it ſtill, and I vow methinks I can hardly find in my heart to deny him.

Roger. Find in your heart! Can you find in your heart to be made worſe then a GallySlave, have Red-Coats come riſle your Pockets, raviſh your Daughters, and burn your Houſes, & then let the Prieſts ſinge your Hides like Bacon in *Smithfield*, for this you know you muſt expect if your Members will be either brib'd, threatned, or complemented out of their votes: Will his good breeding help you to pay Taxes when they come as thick as in the Penſioners *Parliament*? Will his meat and drink ſtick with you as long as *Chimney-mony*, *Exciſe*, and thoſe other fettering Laws that ſuch civil Members have made us? as for his Eſtate experience ſhews that well bred-men can ſpend the greateſt Eſtates, and quickly come to need a Penſion; but I ſay if he vote as a Penſioner, though he be not ſo great a Knave, yet there's more danger to us from ſuch fools; for theſe will give us up for fair words, which is a Coyn never wanting at Court, but thoſe will ſell us as dear as they can, and prolong the time to get the more by it, as we found by the Penſioners *Parliament*, who whilſt they were thinking to make the beſt of the bargain, God put it in His Majeſty's heart to diſolve them, and now we are freemen again, unleſs ſuch eaſy believers as you will be ſo courteous as to enſlave us again. For what he ſwears about *Popery*, are mens words or actions more to be credited? he he may ſwear ſo, and thoſe learned Gentlemen preach ſo long enough e'er they perſwade me that they ſtickle for a *Popiſh* Succeſſor for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and ſtrive to make the Prerogative arbitrary, for the Liberty of the People; fleſh and blood, Neighbor, cannot endure ſuch impudent lying.

Humph. Ay but my Landlord wou'd ha' me do't, and he's an honeſt Gentleman, you know.

Roger. I think he is, and I am ſorry to ſee he has more Eſtate and Priviledge to loſe, then Wit to know his own Intereſt. But prethee tell me, if he ſhould invite thee to Dinner, take thee by the hand, and tell thee thou muſt needs do him one curteſie, that is, Surrender thy Leaſe *gratis* to him, which thou payd'ſt his Father 500 *l.* for, would'ſt thou not do it?

Humph. No by my Faith would I not.

Roger. Why then wilt thou give up thy Liberty, thy Religion, and all the reſt of thy Eſtate to his diſpoſe? Pay him his Rent well, and all Reſpect imaginable; ſend him a Preſent at a good time, if he uſe to invite thee; lend him thy Teams for his Carriages now and then, or any other common Civility; but in caſes of Religion, Life, Liberty and Property, no Complements. I beſeech thee, *Numps*.

Humph. Well but our Parſon ſays I am bound in Conſcience to vote for thoſe that are for Abſolute Obedience to Prince and Prelate, cites Texts of Scripture for it, ſays all are Rebbels that do otherwiſe; and that 'tis a damnable Sin to Vote for thoſe that were againſt perſecuting Diſſenters, or that enquir'd into the Grievances of the Biſhops Courts. And what canſt thou ſay to that, *Hodge*?

Roger. Faith I ſhall ſay of him as I did e'en now of his Superiours, I ſhall truſt my own Senſes more then what they all ſay: Believe him in the Pulpit, when he preaches of Faith and a good Life, joyn with him in the Publick Prayers, pay him his Tythes, and receive the Sacrament of him like a good Chriſtian; But when they undertake the *Politicks*, either in the Pulpit or out of it, to perſwade me to part with my Birthright, 'cauſe 'tis profound Obedience; and to ſubmit to Popery, becauſe 'tis the Providence of God; and to ſuffer the Cheats and Oppreſſions of the Biſhops Courts, becauſe they have Gods Authority; I cannot much blame them, for all men are apt to follow their own Intereſt, and this is theirs: But I muſt deſire to be excuſed, for as good Reaſons as they preſs me to it: For if Arbitrary Power will Raiſe the Clergy, by conſequence it will Depreſs the Layety; If Popery will add to their Benefices Abſolution-Money, Indulgence-Money, Purgatory-Money, and a hundred other Perquiſites, beſides all the Abbey-Lands, and take nothing from them but their Wives; I am ſure it muſt take juſt ſo much from our Pockets, and add ſo much more of their kind Bleſſings upon our Wives: And if our Spiritual Courts muſt be more burdenſome, they may very well ſupply the place of a Purgatory, and torment us ſufficiciently without it. I do not ſpeak this to reflect on our Clergy, which I think as good as any other, but to ſhew they are not ſo proper Judges in theſe Caſes: If the Law were to be Regulated, would you refer it to Lawyers in general? If the Phyſicians Fees, would you conſult the Colledge? If the Oppreſſions of the Spiritual Court, would you truſt the Civilians? And for the ſame reaſon, will you rely on theſe men as to Arbitrary Power, who have neither Dignity nor Biſhoprick, but from the Court? Or as to the danger of a new Religion, by which they are to have twice as much Power and Wealth as before? And to do them right, whilſt the Pope gave the Preferments they were generally for the Liberty of the People, and keeping the Prerogative in its due Limits; but all's now in the Crown, the Reaſon is alter'd, and their Practice with it.

Humph. I vow, *Hodge*, I ne'er underſtood till now why they *Talk'd ſo Much* againſt *Popery*, and *Acted ſo Little*, why they hate *Fanaticiſm*, that would *leſſen* their Power, more then *Popery*, that would *enlarge* it; and why they weaken *Proteſtantiſm*, not onely by *Diſallowing* the *Foreign Churches*, but by *Diſowning* the major part of thoſe at *Home*, all that do not, like Fools, eſpouſe the Power of the Clergy more then the Articles of their Creed. But what ſhall we do with thoſe Old Members that voted as the *Stateſmen* would have them?

Roger. Turn them off, and get others in their Places that we know to be of good Principles for the Freedom of an *Engliſhman*; but do not believe too eaſily: Remember one bad Choice may inſlave you for ever; and one bad Vote turn the Scales, when the queſtion is, *Whether we ſhall be Freemen or Bondmen*. But talk no more of it, all hands to work, and about your buſineſs, your All is at ſtake; inform thoſe you find ignorant how their caſe ſtands; and I hope we may have as good a *Parliament* as the laſt, and then the *Stateſmen* will deſpair of playing any more tricks, and we and our Children may be happy.

Humph. Well I vow thou ſpeak'ſt ſo much reaſon, I'll do as thou bid'ſt me, and about preſently. *Farewel.*

LONDON, Printed for *Francis Smith* at the *Elephant* and *Caſtle* near the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhil*. 1681.

Anglia

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Englands Appeal

TO THE

PARLIAMENT

AT

OXFORD,

March 21st. 168$\frac{0}{1}$.

Most Worthy Senators,

OUR Distempers are many and Grievous, our pressures heavy and Burthensom, our Application we make to you, through the Blessing of God you are the means of our help, and as Parliaments are constituted by *Law*, called by the *King*, Chosen by the *People*, and all this for these ends? Either Humbly to Counsel the *King*, to provide for the safety of the *Subject*, to prevent the Conspiracies of our *Enemies*; of which we have many; principally the Papists, who for these hundred years have Persecuted and Demolished the Protestant Interest in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and likewise in all parts of *Europe*; their implacable rage hath transcended all the Malice and Mischief of former Ages Cruelty, whether of the *Assyrians* and *Philistins* of old to the *Israelites*, or the last ten Persecuting *Heathen Emperours* to the *Primitive Christians*.

But those (*most Worthy Senators*) which are the Supplanters of our Protestant Interest, which indeed is our best Interest, are certainly a pernicious woven Knot of malignant active Spirits Combining and Confederating to supplant the fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, on which the Religion and Government of the Kingdom are firmly established, and of this sort must there be these four. *viz.*

1. The *first sort* are *Jesuited Papists*, whose Teeth have long water'd for, and their ravenous Appetites hungered to devour our Religion.

2. The *second sort* are *Perfidious Papists* in *Protestant Masques*, of these too many have we lurking in *England*; these are Enemies very dangerous, because most indiscernable, their Enmity is hid under a Vizard of Friendship, and if in high places and great Imployments, do harm; for under a pretence of plucking down Popery they set the Structure the firmer; if possible, though secretly, they Act as much or more than the professed Papists.

3. The *third sort* are *Treacherous Courtiers* who may in a Pensionary way for beggarly selfish ends engage themselves to Foreign Princes, to the prejudice of their natural King and State at home; (*I don't say there are such in* England, but I wish there be none,) these may harm us exceedingly, being politick men, and not unable through deficiency of parts to set on work their evil designs, having also the advantage of place added to the former; and generally it tends these four wayes.

Either first to work and win the *King* to stand stifly to his *Royal Prerogative*, and the People for the maintenance of their *Liberties* and *Priviledges*, thus seeming to side with the *King* against the Subject, would seem his faithful Servants and truest Friends, when for the World he would not, but the People also should stand up for their *Liberties*, and so he fish in troubled waters to engross the more to himself.

Or Secondly, To Suppress Religion in its Purity, lest that having a free course should be an irresistable stop to their designs, and tend to pull down that Religion which he imagines most likely to set up his Interest.

Or Thirdly, in Countenancing all of their own Stamp, to Disgrace, Vilifie and Dishearten all their opposite Party, rendering none the loyal party but themselves and their adherers.

Or

Or Fourthly, By Scandals to work in the *King* to diſaffect *Parliaments*, by miſconſtructions, *&c.* which is much to our loſs; *I pray God* England *may have none ſuch evil Councellors.*

4. But the *fourth ſort* of our Enemies are *baſe Pamphletecrs*, who would gladly ſet us together by the Ears; which very much want ſuppreſſing.

Now theſe *four Enemies* of ours call us to take heed.

But (*moſt Worthy Senators*) to you do we appeal, and as we have choſen you our repreſentatives, to you do we refer it, whether or no theſe be not our Enemies, and if they be, that you would act as the caſe requires.

Beſides other miſchiefs we ſuffer; As *firſt*, but that eſpecially in the Country, our faithfull Miniſters are thruſt into corners by ſuſpenſions and deprivations.

And ſecondly, with many the name of a Papiſt is exalted above that of a Presbyterian, a very horrid Shame, yea a Judgment, that Diſſenting Proteſtants ſhould be reckoned worſe than real Papiſts: But we humbly conceive none do this but Papiſts in Proteſtant Maſques at the beſt.

And thirdly, The Plot to Aſſaſſinate his Majeſty, to Subvert the Government, ſo plainly proved, is with many not acknowledged, but rather turned into ridicule, and the Evidences ungratefully diſparaged.

And fourthly, Theſe times of uncertainty are a great let to *Englands* Proſperity, very few Sun-ſhining dayes have we enjoyed ſince this thick Cloud of Popiſh Plots have hung over our heads.

Fifthly, *England* hath been greatly Oppreſſed by reaſon of the Suppreſſion of Religion, it hath Suffered in Fines, Stigmatizings, *&c.*

Sixthly, Evil Councellors, which Craftily Confederate that which tends to our harm; but let them remember, *Malum Conſilium conſultori peſſimum*, which may prove ſo in the long run.

Seventhly, Generally in the interval of the Parliaments Sitting (*moſt Worthy Senators*) how uſual is it for you to be Vilified and greatly contemned, your procedings to be aſperſed and beſmeared.

Eighthly, Our Enemies that have begun are reſtleſs till they finiſh; as impoſſible believe it (*moſt Worthy Senators*) to be for a ſtone caſt up in the Air when deſcending towards the Earth to reſt before it attains it center; their center is Miſchief, their Motion thereunto is reſtleſs: were it otherwiſe moſt, certainly they muſt be treacherous to themſelves, becauſe unanimouſly joined to deſtroy us.

Having alſo attempted great things againſt us, and being unvailed, ſuch an *Odium* ſtains their Name, that doubtleſly nothing leſs than our blood will ſerve turn for them to waſh it off.

They alſo (we conceive) are grown to ſuch a height of Inſolency, that no leſs than a univerſal propagating of their wicked Cauſe over the *European* Parts, will ſatiſfie their Ambitious and Covetous projects, faced with the pretence of a zeal to a ſuperſtitious Religion.

All their Tricks, Evaſions and Shamming Deſigns be laid as open as themſelves, and hereby their *Odium* much aggravated muſt needs enrage their deſperateneſs.

Which is a means of not abating our Jealouſies, which incite us to Vigilancy; for we expect no Mercy from them when upon us; but *England* has been made an Aſs of to bear the heavieſt Burthens, but now it is more skittiſh, and it's danger the more *mans* it with Valour.

And (*moſt Worthy Senators*) to your Conſideration refer we theſe two principal Props of our Proſperity. Firſt, Obſtructing a Popiſh Succeſſor from Inheriting the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And Secondly, In Uniting his Majeſties Subjects, which are to us of high Concern: For we appeal to you; what Mercy, Favour or Compaſſion would a Popiſh Prince exerciſe over Proteſtant Subjects? whether or no he would be falſe to his own Profeſſion, were he true to us, our Religion, Liberties and Property? Our union alſo is a great Branch of our Felicity, in that it diſheartens all our Foes.

Therefore (*Moſt Worthy Senators*) as our Grievances are heavy, our Enemies many, our Jealouſies numerous and fearful, as all with us is at hazard, as *Religion*, *Liberty*, *Property*, and that you would be pleaſed to conſider your own and the Nations Good; which that you may do, Prayeth the *Engliſh Nation*.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Janeway*. 1681.

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THE POPES Dreadfull Curse.

BEING

The FORM of an EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE Church of Rome.

Taken out of the Leger-Book of the Church of *Rochester* now in the Custody of the Dean and Chapter there. Writ by *Ernulfus* the Bishop.

BY the Authority of God Almighty the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and of the holy Canons, and of the undefiled Virgin *Mary*, the Mother and Patroness of our Saviour, and of all the Celestial Virtues, Angels, Arch-Angels, Thrones, Dominions, Powers, Cherubins and Seraphins, and of the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, and of all the Apostles and Evangelists, and of the holy Innocents, who in the sight of the Holy Lamb are found worthy to sing the new Song, and of the holy Martyrs and holy Confessors, and of the holy Virgins, and of all the Saints, and together with all the holy and Elect of God; We Excommunicate and Anathematize him or them, Malefactor or Malefactors,—and from the Thresholds of the Holy Church of God Almighty We Sequester them, that he or they may be tormented, disposed and delivered over with *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and with those who say unto the Lord God, *Depart from us, We know not thy wayes.* And as Fire is quench'd with Water, so let the light of him or them be put out for evermore, unless it shall repent him or them, and make satisfaction. *Amen.*

May the Father who Created Man Curse him or them. May the Son who Suffered for us, Curse him or them. May the Holy Ghost who was given

given to us in Baptiſme, Curſe him or them. May the holy Croſs whom Chriſt for our Salvation Triumphing over his Enemy aſcended Curſe him or them. May the Holy and Eternal Virgin *Mary* Mother of God Curſe him or them. May St. *Michael* the Advocate of holy Souls, Curſe him or them. May all the Angels and Arch-Angels, Principalities and Powers, and all the heavenly Hoſt, Curſe him or them. May the Laudable Number of the Patriarchs and Prophets, Curſe him or them. May St. *John* the Chief fore-runner and Baptiſt of Chriſt, Curſe him or them. May St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and St. *Andrew*, and all other Chriſts Apoſtles, together with the reſt of the Diſciples and the four Evangeliſts, who by their Preaching converted the Univerſal World, Curſe him or them. May the holy and wonderful Company of Martyrs and Confeſſors, who by their holy Works are found pleaſing to God Almighty, Curſe him or them. May the holy Quire of the holy Virgins who for the Honour of Chriſt have deſpiſed the things of the World, Curſe him or them. May all the Saints who from the beginning of the World to Everlaſting Ages are found to be the Beloved of God, Curſe him or them. May the Heavens and Earth, and all the holy Things remaining therein, Curſe him or them. May him or them be Curſed where ever he or they be, whether in their Houſe or in their Field, or in the High-way, or in the Path, or in the Wood, or in the Water, or in the Church. May him or them be Curſed in Living, in Dying, in Eating, in Drinking, in being Hungry, in being Thirſty, in Faſting, in Sleeping, in Slumbring, in Waking, in Walking, in Standing, in Sitting, in Lying, in Working, in Reſting, in Piſſing, in Shitting, in Blood-letting. May he or they be Curſed in all the Faculties of their Body. May him or them be Curſed inwardly and outwardly. May he or they be Curſed in the hair of his or their head. May he or they be Curſed in his or their Brain. May he or they be Curſed in the top of his or their Head, in their Temples, in their Forehead, in their Ears, in their Eye-browes, in their Cheeks, in their Jaw-bones, in their Noſtrils, in their fore-Teeth or Grinders, in their Lips, in their Throat, in their Shoulders, in their Wriſts, in their Arms, in their Hands, in their Fingers, in their Breaſt, in their Heart, and in all the interior parts to the very Stomach. In their Reins, in the Groins, in the Thighs, in the Genitals, in the Hips, in the Knees, in the Legs, in the Feet, in the Joynts, and in the Nayles. May he or they be Curſed in all their Joynts, from the top of the Head, to the ſole of the Foot: May there not be any Soundneſs in him or them.

May the Son of the Living God with all the Glory of his Majeſty, Curſe him or them; and may Heaven with all the Powers which move therein, riſe againſt him or them to Damn him or them, unleſs it ſhall repent him or them, or that he or they ſhall make Satisfaction. *Amen, Amen. So Be it.*

THE Publication of this is to ſhew what is to be Expected from the Pope, *if he come to be Supream Head of the Church in this Nation.*

London, Printed and are to be Sold by *L. C.* on *Ludgate-Hill:* 1681.

ANIMADVERTIONS
ON THE
Papists Most Wicked
AND
Bloody Oath of Secrecy

Given to *Robert Bolron* by *William Ruston* a Jesuit,

For the Murdering of *Kings*, *Princes* and their *People*, and carrying on their *Deviliſh* and *Helliſh Deſigns* for Subverting the *Proteſtant* Religion in *England* and *Ireland*.

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; *Amen.*

I Robert Bolron, *being in the Preſence of Almighty* God, *the bleſſed* Mary *ever Virgin, the bleſſed* Michael *the Arch-Angel, the bleſſed St.* John Baptiſt, *the holy Apoſtles, St.* Peter *and St.* Paul, *and all the Saints in Heaven, and to you my Ghoſtly Father, do declare, and in my Heart believe the Pope, Chriſt's Vicar General, to be the true and only Head of Chriſt's Church here on Earth, and that by virtue of the Keyes of Binding and Looſing, given his Holineſs by our Saviour Chriſt, he hath Power to depoſe all Heretical Kings and Princes, and cauſe them to be Killed. Therefore, to the utmoſt of my Power, I will defend this Doctrine, and his Holineſſes Rights, againſt all Uſurpers whatever; eſpecially againſt the now pretended* King of England, *in regard that he hath broke his Vows with his Holineſſes Agents beyond Seas, and not performed his Promiſes in* bringing into *England* the holy Roman Catholick Religion. *I do renounce and diſown any Allegiance as due to the ſaid pretended King of* England, *or Obedience to any of his inferior Officers and Magiſtrates; but do believe the* Proteſtant *Doctrine to be Heretical and Damnable, and that all are Damn'd which do not forſake the ſame; and to the beſt of my Power will help his Holineſſes Agents here in* England, *to extirpate and root out the ſaid* Proteſtant Doctrine, *and to deſtroy the ſaid pretended King of* England, *and all ſuch of his Subjects as will not adhere to the holy* See of Rome, *and the Religion there profeſſed. I further do promiſe and declare, That I will keep Secret and Private, and not Divulge directly or indirectly, by Word, Writing or Circumſtance, whatever ſhall be propoſed, given in Charge, or diſcovered to me by you my Ghoſtly Father, or any other engaged in the promoting of this pious and holy Deſign; and that I will be Active, and not Deſiſt from the carrying of it on: and that no hopes of Rewards, Threats or Puniſhments, ſhall make me Diſcover the reſt concerned in ſo pious a Work; and if Diſcovered, ſhall never confeſs any Acceſſaries, with my ſelf concerned in this Deſign. All which I do Swear by the Bleſſed Trinity, and by the Bleſſed Sacrament, which I now purpoſe to receive, to perform, and on my part, to keep inviolable; And do call all the Angels, and Saints in Heaven to witneſs my real Intention to keep this Oath. In Teſtimony whereof, I do Receive this moſt Holy and Bleſſed Sacrament of the Euchariſt.*

A few Words to the *Papiſts* of *England*.

O Ye *Papiſts*! your own Reaſon cannot but tell you, That every Word in this Oath is Hypocriſie, Perjury, Murder, Rebellion and Treaſon, both againſt God, the King and his People, and your own Souls, thus to call your damnable Plot a Holy and Pious deſign, to call Evil Good, and Good Evil, to put Darkneſs for Light, and

Light

Light for Darkneſs; and all this for nothing but to ſatisfie a filthy Humour in you, in a blind Hope of a blind Reward, ye know not what your ſelves, a little Worldly preferment, a releaſe out of Purgatory, or a Pardon from the *Pope*, (a ſinful Wretch that cannot get Pardon of Chriſt for himſelf) a falſe Vicar, and a *Judas* Traytor to Chriſt in ſelling him for Money, in hiding his Commandments from People to maintain Mammon, and to gull the People by a few gawdy Shrines, Buildings and Pictures, juſt like the Heatheniſh Religion of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, or like *Diana* at *Epheſus*. The Lord lighten your Darkneſs and open your Eyes, that ye may ſee the Truth and be ſaved, in turning from theſe Wayes of Hell, and from being thus blinded in Religion and miſ-led by thoſe Agents of the Devil, and his Vicar the Pope; for ſurely the Pope is the Devil's Vicar, (rather then Chriſt's Vicar) becauſe the Pope deludeth Souls, which is the Devil's buſineſs; conſider it well, and ye will find it ſo.

Why are ye ſo bewitched as not to read the Bible, but to believe Errors and Lyes?

Why do ye pin your Belief upon the Sleeves of your Prieſts, as to think all is true whatſoever they tell you, never looking into the Scriptures to ſee whether they ſpeak true or no?

If ye be Subjects to the Roman Emperor, then indeed the Pope of *Rome* is your Arch-Biſhop, otherwiſe not; for if ye be loyal Subjects to the King of *England*, then the chief Biſhop of *England* is your Arch-Biſhop, and not the Roman Pope. How can ye imagine that the *Roman Emperors Arch-Biſhop* (or *Pope of Rome*) ever had any right in *England* ſince the Departure of the Roman Emperors from the Government of *England*; or that *Auſtin* the Monk was not ſent on purpoſe to ſeduce the *Saxon* Kings then in *England*?

How can ye prove that Images, Croſſes, Altars, or any work of mens Hands may lawfully be adored, worſhipped, or bowed towards?

How can ye prove there is a Purgatory after this Life, where Souls may be prayed out for Money?

And how can ye prove that either the Roman Pope, or any of his Prieſts are the true Miniſters of Chriſt, or have the Keys of binding and looſing, in regard they obtained their Offices by Siniſter means, only for Lucre of Preferment in this World? And how dare ye truſt that they or any of them can pardon your Sins?

How can ye prove that the words of Conſecration ſpoken by them, or any of them, can turn Bread and Wine, or Wafers, into the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, or that our Saviour did not ſpeak thoſe words in a Parable or Similtude, ſeeing it is written, *Without a Parable ſpake he nothing?*

Do ye not know that your Prieſts have left out God's ſecond Commandment, both in your Maſs-Books and in your Catechiſms, and made two of the tenth to make up the number of the Ten Commandments? And is it not on purpoſe to delude you, and to make you Worſhip Images? And is not the Bible kept from you on purpoſe to delude your Souls from knowing the Truth?

How can ye prove that the Souls of St *Peter*, St *Paul*, or any of the Saints in Heaven can hear Peoples Prayers on Earth? or that there is any Interceſſor betwixt God and a Sinner but our Saviour himſelf?

How dare ye ſay that all People on Earth are Hereticks, but *Papiſts*? or that it is Meritorious to kill a Heretick?

O Repent, and be Converted, for we do aſſure you, that ye do Err greatly, not knowing the Scriptures nor the Precepts of God.

FINIS.

LONDON, Printed for *J. B.* 1681.

A MODEST ADDRESS TO THE Livery-men of London,

Upon their Choice of SHERIFFS,

June 24. 1681.

IT has hitherto been a Proverb, *That the Net is ſpread in vain in the ſight of any Bird:* But ſuch is the matchleſs Impudence of the Conſpirators, and (as they think) ſo fatal the ſtupidity of the preſent Age, that though their Predeceſſors in the Gunpowder Treaſon have given us ſufficient warning of Papal Artifice and Malice, by their attempting, in thoſe days, to caſt the puniſhment and odium of their own Villanies upon Innocent Proteſtants; yet have the preſent Conſpirators, and their Adherents, the confidence to play the ſame game over again; and do endeavour to skreen themſelves from the Eye of Juſtice, and to turn its keeneſt edg upon their opponents, by bare ſuggeſtions, or ſuborned Evidence of Imaginary dangers to the Government, from the Loyal Subjects and True-hearted Proteſtants. For proof whereof, we need only conſider, what ſort of men in all probability, were more immediately aimed at, by their Sham-Accuſations of Mr. *Claypole*, by their Meal-Tub Plots, and late impudent pretenſions of a New Diſcovery of Sir *Edmondbury Godfreys* Murder, by *Mac-Graff.* All which, and much more, have undeniably confirm'd the Truth of Mr. *Dugdale*'s Evidence; wherein he tells us, That had their Deviliſh Attempts upon His Majeſties Life ſucceeded, even the Guilt, the Horror and Deteſtation of ſo Deteſtable a Crime, would by thoſe Helliſh Conſpirators, have been charged upon Diſſenting-Proteſtants: And it's worth the obſerving, how after the Conviction of *Fitz-Harris*, a known Papiſt, though it openly appeared at his Tryal, that he himſelf gave the Heads and Inſtructions to Mr. *Everard* for compoſing that Abominable Libel, and encouraged him therein by promiſes of a Reward from the *French* Ambaſſador: Yet after this, could not *Heraclitus* and his Tribe forbear to publiſh their ill-timed zeal to the Cauſe, but in deſpite of Humane Reaſon they would perſwade the World, That this Treaſon alſo was to be filed to the account of ſuch, as they believe they ſtigmatize by the very Name of *True Proteſtants.* For which, and their Impudent Reflections upon *Fitz-Harris*'s Jury, they are highly Reſponſable to the particular perſons they have Injur'd, and to the Common Juſtice of the Nation.

But to proceed, When Mrs. *Fitz-Harris* and her Maid (for Reaſons beſt known to themſelves, and which it's to be hoped, will hereafter be better known to the Nation) were pleaſed to Accuſe the Lord *Howard*; and when thereupon on *Sunday* the 12*th* Inſtant, the Lord *Howard* was committed to the *Tower*, and the day after cloſely continued; It's not to be thought, with what Attention the *Maſqueraders* prickt up their Ears in every Coffee-houſe, in hopes to have ſure and certain Tidings of a *Presbyterian Plot*; nay, he was a modeſt Man that told you of but ſixteen or ſeventeen Warrants to Apprehend an equal number of Proteſtant Lords; and it was ſcarce pardonable to doubt, but that ſome of them did abſcond and fly away from Juſtice: As for the Lord *Howard* himſelf, they gave him up for a loſt man; becauſe, forſooth, he had ſuch Papers found in his Pockets (beſides all other Evidence), as would, no

doubt,

doubt, in a little time run away with his Breeches. I am apt to think indeed there is ſomething extraordinary in the caſe, either on the one ſide, or the other; and whether it were exceſs of Charity to prevent Infection, or what other Myſtery there were in it, I know not; but though a ſtranger may be permitted to ſee a Nun through a Grate, yet I have heard that it was (on the 18*th* Inſtant) as much as the Noble Priſoners Lady could have, a glimpſe of her own Husband through the Bars of a Window.

On the 20*th* Inſtant the Lord *Howard* was brought up by *Habeas Corpus* to the *Kings-Bench*, where he did not only make ſtrong Profeſſions of his own Innocence, but to the great Grief and Affliction of the Conſpirators, He publickly proteſted, before the Reverend Judges, and that great Audience, in the moſt ſignificant and binding expreſſions he could make uſe of, That he knew of no other, nor did believe there was any other Plot againſt the Government, but only that which was carried on by the Papiſts. So that the *Obſervator* is yet at a loſs how to contrive an Intriegue to the prejudice of ſuch Proteſtants, whom for his own convenience he is pleaſed to call *Fanaticks*.

After all this, there was great noiſe of a clear and ſubſtantial Evidence againſt the Lord *Howard*; and on the One and Twentieth Inſtant, an Indictment was preferred againſt him to the Grand-Jury of *Edmonton*, though excepting the Caſe of *Fitz-Harris*, that of *Oſwoulſton* (I am told) has moſt commonly been made uſe of in matters of this nature.

The Witneſſes that gave Evidence to the Jury, were Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Everard*, Mrs. *Fitz-Harris*, and her Maid. And if Yeſterdays Print of the Evidence be true, I ſuppoſe it will not be pretended, that the Two firſt Witneſſes ſaid much to ſupport the Indictment. The Account that the others give, is indeed very extraordinary; for upon further Examination, they contradicted each other, which the Publiſher thought good to conceal; and it's the firſt time that I have heard, that Mr. *Fitz-Harris*, a known Papiſt, was employed in a deſign ſo much to the diſadvantage of D. *Y.* and in favour of D. *M.*

However, it's not to be thought, that any thing of moment could eſcape the obſervation of the Jury, eſpecially when aſſiſted with the advice of *A. G.* and *S. G.* who were pleaſed to favour them with their good Companies, for near the ſpace of Two hours (a civility that I have not heard of, till of late.)

And yet after all that could be ſaid, and a full and deliberate hearing, and Re-examination of Witneſſes, Fourteen in Nineteen of the Jury came to a Reſolution, to find *Ignoramus* on the Bill; the other Five, it ſeems, were under ſome ſcruples; and the Fourteen that were agreed, preſſed to have the Bill endorſed accordingly; but Mr. *Ward* (a Clerk of the Crown-Office, who attended the Jury), putting the Bill up, and deſiring to take it with him, but withal promiſing to bring it back to them the next Morning; and the Major part of the Jury, being ſatisfied, that nothing was wanting to perfect their finding an *Ignoramus*, but the bare Formality of an Endorſement, which might quickly be diſpatch't; They therefore conſented to an Adjournment till the next Morning, *viz.* the 22*th* Inſtant; and then meeting again, they called to Mr. *Ward* for the Bill, that it might be endorſed; but inſtead of that, Mr. *Ward* told them, the Bill was withdrawn by an Order from the Attorney-General; and the Jury apprehending this practiſe to be of dangerous Conſequence, applied themſelves to the Court, that their Bill might be returned; but there was no Rule of Court made to that purpoſe, and ſo the Grand-Jury of *Edmonton* was diſmiſt; but Mr. *Ward* was preſently after Indicted by the Grand-Jury of *Oſwoulſtone*, for his practice about the aforeſaid Bill.

And whoever conſiders this whole Affair, will find a new Argument to perſwade him, that there cannot be too much care taken in chooſing thoſe Officers of Juſtice, to whom the Law has entruſted the returns of our Juries.

LONDON, Printed for *Richard Janeway* in *Queeens-Head-Alley* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*, M. DC. LXXXI.

The LOYAL ADDRESS

Of the Eminent Town of

LYNN-REGIS,

In the County of

NORFOLK.

WE Your Majesties Obedient Subjects, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, and other the Chief Inhabitants of Your Antient Borough of *Lynn Regis* in the County of *Norfolk*; In all Loyalty and Dutiful Reverence, do give Your Majesty Our Humble and Hearty thanks for Your Royal Affection, and Continuance to the Excellent Constitution of the Church of *England*, and constant care to defend it against the ill designs of *Popery*, and all other Oppositions whatsoever; For Your Firm Resolution, to maintain both the Just Rights of the Monarchy, and the Liberty and Property of Your People; Particularly, for Your late Gracious Declaration, and those Instances of Your Princely Goodness, and Condescentions contained therein, which We think sufficient to Allay the Fears, and remove the Miss-understandings of all well meaning and Reasonable Men; And with Gratitude to Your Majesty, We Account Our selves highly obliged to Praise Almighty God for the manifold Blessings We enjoy from, and under Your Majesties Government, Exercised with great Justice, Wisdom, and Clemency; Wherefore, as *Religion* and *Allegiance* engage Us, We in a deep and grateful sense, of Your Princely Grace & favour, do Beseech the King of Kings, that he will Grant Your Majesty, a long and Prosperous Reign, And to Our utmost We shall endeavour with Our Lives and Fortunes, the Preservation of Your Royal Person, and the Support of Your Royal Authority.

This Address is Seal'd with the Town Seal, and was delivered by the Mayor, &c. of the Town.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Addres of Your most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects of the City of HEREFORD.

May it please Your Sacred Majesty,

SInce we are very sensible that no Age ever yet produc'd any Prince that hath with more Justice, Goodness and Mercy sway'd the Scepters of these three Kingdoms, (Blessings which our Forefathers never had in a more eminent degree of Perfection, and all other Nations never yet knew) We conceive it our Duty to manifest to Your most Sacred Majesty, and all the World, our just value and grateful apprehensions of the Happiness we enjoy under the best of Kings, and most upright of Governments. And however some Ill men, to accomplish their Black Designs, by attempting to subvert the Government, slily insinuate to the credulous People causless Fears, *and* false Jealousies *of Arbitrary Power growing upon us, yet the publick Manifestations your Majesty has at all times given to your People, of your Governing by the Laws of the Land, and by no other Method, (which we find your Majesty holds inviolably, and maintains as Sacred) keep us as safe from such mean Apprehensions, as we are secure from the dismal Effects of such a way of Government, which we have no cause to suspect, unless it be from those that suggest it; nor from them neither, till they have subverted a well-temper'd* Monarchy, *and introduc'd their beloved* Tyrannick Republick. *We cannot but with all humble Duty, loyal Gratitude, and Excess of Joy, observe your Majesties constant Endeavours to give satisfaction and ease to the Minds of your Majesties Subjects, not only in your strict Adherence to, and Favour of the true* Protestant Religion, *but more especially in your late* Declaration, *which cannot but stop the mouths of the Seditious and Factious, preserve from Apostacy the Doubtful, and confirm the Loyalty of your best settled Subjects. And that your Majesty may see we are not poyson'd, or likely to be so, by any Seditious or Factious designers, We do unanimously and heartily assure your Sacred Majesty, that we will stand by your Majesty in the Preservation of your Person, your Heirs and lawful Successors, and the Government in Church and State as it is now by Law Establish'd, with the last drop of our Bloud, and the last peny of our Fortunes; and shall be ready on all occasions chearfully to give You such large Assistances, as, joyn'd with the proportionable Supplies of other Your Majesties Loyal Subjects, may make Your Government great and easie to Your Self at home, and valu'd and fear'd by all Your Allies and Neighbours abroad. We humbly beg Your Sacred Majesty to give a gracious acceptance to the steady Resolutions of Us your most Obedient and Loyal Subjects, which no Time, no Treachery, no Power, no Fraud or Faction shall ever make us in the least decline or alter.*

Your Majesties most Humble, most Loyal,
and Obedient Subjects and Servants.

THis Addres, subscrib'd by the greatest part, and most Eminent of the City of *Hereford*, was presented to His Majesty on *Sunday* last in the Evening, by Mr. *Aubrey* one of the Members in the late Parliament for that City. His Majesty most graciously received it, with Thanks to them for their Loyalty, and further Assurances of his Resolution to stand firm to the *Laws of the Land*, and secure the *Protestant Religion* as by Law establish'd.

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TO THE

KINGS Moſt Excellent MAJESTY.

The moſt Humble Addreſs of the MAYOR, ALDERMEN, SHERIFFS; *and* COMMON-COUNCIL *of the City of* GLOUCESTER.

May it pleaſe Your moſt Sacred Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt humble, loyal, and obedient Subjects, out of a deep ſenſe of Your moſt Princely Tenderneſs, and tranſcendent Care, for us, and all Your good Subjects, as well in reſpect of our Religious as Civil Concerns; Do make this our moſt humble and faithful Addreſs, returning all poſſible Gratitude for Your Majeſty's moſt gracious late Declaration, which hath like a Flood of Goodneſs iſſued from your Royal Heart toward all Your Subjects, whereby all Men that have not wilfully blinded their Intellects, may be abundantly ſatisfied of Your Majeſty's Fatherly Love to us all.

We cannot but remember by what Frauds and Machinations the Subjects of this Your Majeſty's Realm in the late Times were beguiled, and under pretext of Religion (and particularly this City, by which there was a moſt deſerved Infamy brought upon us by Men of Sedicious Principles, the Dregs of which ſtill remain always watching to diſturb our Peace) cheated into a Rebellion, the Conſequences whereof were a ſad Devaſtation of all, and the loſs of the beſt of Kings. And we have reaſon to believe the ſame deadly Poiſon was again preparing, and had certainly been given, had not GOD put it into Your Majeſty's Heart timely and moſt ſpeedily to prevent it.

And therefore as we are bound to glorifie God for his Mercy, ſo we make our moſt humble and grateful Acknowledgment to Your Majeſty for Your moſt intent Vigilance to ſave us from ſo portentous a Storm; and do therefore with all Humility and Faithfulneſs proſtrate our ſelves at Your Majeſty's Feet, ſolemnly vowing before God and the whole World, that we are and will be ready to the laſt drop of our Blood, and Mite of our Eſtates, to ſtand by, and defend Your moſt Sacred Perſon, Your lawful Succeſſors, and the juſt Laws by which You govern, both in Church and State.

The God of Heaven and Earth by whom Kings reign bleſs you with length of days, health, and all affluence of Wealth; eſtabliſh Your Sacred Perſon in the Hearts of Your People; diſſipate your Enemies, and confound their Devices; and let the Scepter of *Great Britain* be ſwayed by You, and Your lawful Succeſſors, to the end of Time.

This Addreſs was preſented to His Majeſty on Friday, *the Sixth of this inſtant* May.

LONDON, Printed by *A Godbid* and *J. Playford*, 1681.

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A VINDICATION OF DR. OATES

From that Scandalous PAMPHLET CALLED, AN HUE and CRY.

THere came out the other day a Paper intituled an Hue and Cry after, &c. but very unſeaſonably as to the preſent time and Juncture of Affairs in the Judgment of many grave and ſober Perſons, and highly Scandalous; if we conſider the merits of the Perſon againſt whom it was directed: (unleſs our dangers from the Plot being almoſt over, we have quite forgot there ever was any ſuch thing in agitation againſt us.) For no ſooner was the Doctor diſlodg'd by order from *Whitehall* (for reaſons queſtionleſs conſiderable, and of which I own my ſelf to be an Incompetent Judge) but the Jeſuites immediately lookt upon him as turned out not only of his Majeſties good Favour, but even of his Protection too, and no ſooner was he at the outward Gate, but theſe men and their Accomplices were at his Heels with an hideous *Hue and Cry*, as againſt a Thief and a Murderer, &c. So when God Almighty has withdrawn his Grace and Favour from ſome obſtinate Sinner, all the Devils in Hell are at hand to diſcharge their Malice and pranks upon him. By this Paper our ſubtle Enemy is obſerved to have gratified his revenge two ſeveral ways; *firſt*, by expoſing their old Adverſary to the Fury and violence of the Multitude, as a great Villain and Impoſtor, and laſtly by publiſhing their Malicious Libels and Scandalous Suggeſtions at ſo Critical a Juncture, they ſeem to make 'em paſs with a *Cum Privilegio*, or Allowance from the State.

It is certain that His Majeſty has given pregnant and ſufficient Teſtimony of his Belief of the late horrid and moſt execrable Plot againſt his moſt Sacred Perſon and happy Government, and upon the clearneſs of the Evidence, according to the Law Signed ſeveral Warrants for the Execution of ſome of the chiefeſt Conſpirators: Now upon the Doctors departure from *Whitehall* to make his Majeſties Good Subjects believe that he has quite deſerted and given him over, what is it, but in the higheſt nature to aſperſe that Government they ſo lately endeavoured to ſubvert, and a perfect Vindication of their own innocence and unjuſt late Sufferings; and though the Demure Jeſuit is very forward in all Companies he can ſafely converſe with to Preach up his own Innocence and Loyalty: yet any Man (though as Moon-eyed as the Doctor) may diſcover the contrary, if he conſiders, how watchful he is upon all occaſions to inſinuate his own advantage and intereſt, notwithſtanding all diſparagements whatſoever may thereby fall upon his Majeſties Government.

But perhaps it may be demanded, How I know this to be the deſign of the Jeſuites and their Adherents? I Anſwer, That his Majeſties Government being ſo mild & eaſy even to the worſt of Criminals; and he himſelf a Prince, under whom the Misfortunate fall gently, would never allow or ſuffer any of his Subjects whatſoever to follow any perſon expell'd his Family for ſome imprudent action with Indignities and Affronts in ſo unmannerly and reviling a manner, nay I am perſwaded, that one under ſuch Circumſtances muſt rather fall under the pity then contempt of every True Proteſtant Engliſh-man: But that tis the uſual practiſe and

conſtant Method of the Jeſuite to proſecute his enemy with Faggot and Sword, &c. and where that cannot be done, to load and afflict him with ſuch contumelies and invectives as Art and Malice are able to invent, is well known to any one, that knows the Temper of their Spirits.

There are two things they mainly labour by this Pamphlet to have the World believe, the one is, That the Doctor is Moon-eyed (tho formerly they complained, that he was over-quick-ſighted in his Diſcoveries to their Coſt) and therefore they kindly give us to underſtand, that they have now abſolutely got the blind ſide of the old Enemy, and in a jolly humor, they plainly tell us, that the Doctor did not ſee half ſo much of their Rogueries as he might have done; and how, that they like ſubtle Juglers to their unſpeakable Roguery, can when they pleaſe deceive the wiſeſt lookers on, but be their drift and meaning in this thing what it will, 'twas never thought a Jeſuite in ſo ſhort a time could have got an Eye upon the Doctor in *England*.

The other is, that his Library at the Court conſiſted only of *Tom Thumb*, the *Seven Champions*, &c. and that he was never created Doctor at *Salamanca*, but whether he was, or was not, is not much material, they deny it, and the Doctor ſtiffly affirms it, and at preſent a great many men *acquieſce* in his *Ipſe dixit*, but however theſe men may value themſelves upon their gradually commenceing, and their large Libraries, yet till they prove ſomething ſubſtantially (which hitherto I have not perceived they have done) againſt the Morality of his Life, we ſhall (with their good leave in *England* ever reckon honeſty as far more requiſite quality in a Witneſs, then Titles or Learning.

Different were the Judgments of men upon the ſight of this Paper, ſome as ſoon as they heard the confuſed noiſe of this tumultuous *Hue and Cry*, merrily ſaid it was a *Hunting-Match of the Jeſuites after their own Senſes* (for of late you muſt know they have been bad husbands, run conſiderably out of that Stock of Wit and good Conduct for which they were formerly famous) which being too ſublim'd and ſubtle to be diſtinguiſhed or deſcribed, their Paſſions being at a loſs: Malice and Spite (in ſuch Men ever foremoſt in the purſuit) unhappily miſtaking the Gown, lighted upon the poor Doctor in his Pilgrimage. The younger ſort of Curs began to hang an Arſe, and ſtunck back, as 'tis ſaid in a *Cold-Sweat*, with ſuch terrible Apprehenſions of their preſent Sport, that (as 'tis thought) they had quite given over that Game, had not two eminent Dogs, *Bourman* and *Kingwood*, who long had the Doctor in the Wind, by their own Example annimated the reſt of the Pack on to the purſuit; by opening unto 'em, that while this noble Stag was impaled in the Park-Royal, they confeſſed ſuch a Chaſe to be bold and unſafe. But now looking upon him as an Out-lying-Deer, they might without any danger purſue their advantage. But the Doctor knowing the Malice of theſe Curs, and underſtanding the eagerneſs of their Hunting after him, wiſely and betimes hearded himſelf in the City, where only the Malice of their Pens could reach him, whom, could theſe *Blood-Hounds* conveniently have overtaken, had queſtionleſs made him a Sacrifice to their Rage and Fury. Sometimes (a little to vary the Sport) they turn him into a *Badger*, making him with one Leg ſhorter than the other. Then as if they had caught him, they fall to take his foreparts in pieces which particularly they deſcribe with a great deal of ill Nature and perſonal reflection, and from this inſpection, or from ſome better or more ſecret way of Intelligence, they determined the Doctors Fate, with as much cetainty, as if they were of the Bench, or the Council, then they wheel about, and Charge him in the Rear; ſpitefully objecting the means of his followers againſt him, which in my mind rather tacitely reflects upon the Government than the Doctor.

But others, and they more wiſely, affirmed this to be a real *Hue and Cry*, as was given out and pretended, and that it was juſtly raiſed by the peaceable and injured Spirits of St. *Omers*, who having entertained the Doctor ſome years ſince, for the uſe and ſervice of the Society, he contrary to the intent and good meaning of his Maſters, on a day, watching his opportunity, Treacherouſly, Felonioufly, and like a Rogue as he was, ran away with ſeveral important Secrets, to the value of—— to the everlaſting prejudice and Dammage of that *Society*. Hereupon, was obſerved a great Cry; but little Wool, and notwithſtanding their great noiſe, and ſeveral Proteſtations the Dr. 'tis ſaid has found good City-Bail, and may hereafter, whenever the Parliament ſhall ſit, live to vigorouſly proſecute his purſuers.

LONDON, Printed for *John Baron*, 1681.

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A HUE and CRY after Dr. T. O.

O Yes! O Yes! O Yes!

IF there be any Man, Woman, or Child in City, Town, or Countrey, that can tell Tale or Tidings of a *Salamanca* Doctor, ſtolen, ſtray'd, baniſh'd or kidnapp'd out of *White-hall* on *Tueſday* laſt. His marks are as followeth; The off Leg behind ſomething ſhorter than the other, and cloven Foot on the nether ſide; His Face Rain-bow-colour, and the reſt of his Body black: Two ſlouching Ears, ready to be cropp'd the next Spring, if they do not drop off before; His Mouth is in the middle of his Face, exactly between the upper part of his Forehead and the lower part of his Chin; He hath a ſhort Neck, which makes him defie the Pillory; A thin Chin, and ſomewhat ſharp, bending up almoſt to his Noſe; He hath few or no Teeth on the upper Jaw, but bites with his *Tongue*; His voice ſomething reſembles that of the *Guinney*-Pigs; His Habit is covered with a black Gown, which was made at *Salamanca* and *Oxford* both at once, becauſe he took his Degrees at both places at one time; His eyes are very ſmall, and ſunk, and is ſuppos'd to be either thick-ev'd, or Moon-blind, by reaſon he did not know C——*m* by Candle-light, tho' he had before ſworn *Treaſon* againſt him; He has a natural Bob-tail, becauſe he never was dock'd nor gelded; He ſeldom frequents the Company of Women, but keeps private Communication with four *Bums*, to make good the old Proverb, *Lying together makes Swine to love*; His Food is the Intrals and Bloud of *Loyaliſts*; His Drink the Tears of Widows and Orphans; He is one that hath endeavoured to make the King Great, by taking away the Lives of his Friends by *Perjury*; which by conſequence muſt expoſe His Sacred Majeſty to the Fury of the *Mobile*; He is one that brought 40 Commiſſions from St. *Omers*, and diſtributed them all for old Hats and old Shoes to the *Papiſts*, tho' no body ever ſaw one of them but himſelf; He hath 40000 *Black Bills* under his Gown, which he hath concealed theſe 3 years, and no body ever ſaw them but himſelf; His uſual haunts are *Dick*'s *Coffee-Houſe*. *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, *B*——'s Conventicle, and St. *Lobb*'s Convent in *Swallow-ſtreet*; He is one that preached *B*——*y* before the Weavers, in reſpect to his Father being one of the ſame Trade and Tribe; He is one that ſwears quite thorow *B*——*l*'s Conſcience, or the thick Baſis of the *Monument*; He is one whoſe ingratitude to his Benefactors calls them *Rogues* and *Raſcals*, and endeavours to ſwear their Lives and Eſtates away by *Perjury*; He is one that brought nothing but Rags and Lice into *White-hall*, but carried away Cart-loads of Goods, whereof part was his Famous Library, (*viz.*) That Famous *Hiſtory of Tom Thumb*, *Guzman*, *The Spaniſh-Rogue*, *French-Rogue*, *Don Thomazo Dangerfieldo*, *Engliſh-Rogue*, *All the Famous Hiſtories of Robin Hood and Little-John*, *The Hiſtory of* Wat Tyler *and* Jack Straw, *All the Infamous Works of* Smith, Janeway, Curtis, *and* Care; *As alſo the great Works of that Unreverend Divine* R. B——r, *and another brave Book*, *much admired by the Doctor*, *called*, Hobbs's Leviathan; *alſo two brace of* Bums, *with a Maſculine Chamber-maid*, *which he keeps to ſcour his* Yard: All which, and a great deal more, he hath purchaſed by *the price of Bloud and Damnation*, ſince he creep'd into *White-hall*, and created himſelf *Savieur of the Nation*; He is one that has ſworn it to be his duty to the Devil to make the K—— to proſecute the Q——, and to diſ-inherit his Royal Brother, and to make the Son rebel againſt the Father.—— 'Tis ſuppos'd he herds ſomewhere in the C——.

Theſe are ſome part of the Marks of the Beaſt; *Whoever can give any a count of him*, *let them repair to* Dick's Coffee-Houſe, Lying Curtis, Elephant Smith, *or Mrs.* Richard, *and they ſhall have the Doctor's Wheel of Fortune for their pains*, *and perhaps be called as many Raſcals to boot as the Doctor uſed to call the King's Life-Guards.*

LONDON: Printed for *Alex. Banks*, 1681.

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THE

SPEECH

Of the RECORDER of Oxford, to His Majesties at his Entrance into that City.

Most Gracious Sovereign;

I *Have Read in the* Roman *History that* Marius *was wont to say, That he that durst speak to* Cæsar, *was ignorant of his* Greatness; *And he that durst not speak to him, was Ignorant of his* Goodness: *Of the* latter *whereof we and all your People have had so large Experience, that I am emboldened to beg the stay of the* Wheels of your Chariot *for some few minutes, and that I may find so much favour in the sight of my Lord the King, as to speak a few Words in the Name of the Loyal Citizens of this place, which is but to let Your Majesty understand the infinite Joy and Gladness, wherewith their Hearts are filled, in beholding the Royal Presence of Your Self, and our most gracious Queen in this place; I say, to behold You after so many* Wicked Designs of Bloody and Unreasonable men *against Your Royal Person; and the many and singular Deliverances of You from them, (for which the Name of God be praised) here at this time in the heart of Your Dominions Reigning in Glory and Safty is a Joy so unspeakable to all* true English Hearts, *That if I had an hundred Tongues I could not be able to express it.*

And that you should at this time make this City the Royal Chamber *and place of the Recep-*

tion

tion of Your Parliament, is a Grace and Favor ever by us to be Recorded in the Register of Time and Fame.

And we hope that it may prove as auſpicious to Your Majeſty for that purpoſe as any other place whatſoever, notwithſtanding any ſurmiſes that have been made to the contrary, ſince there has been Famous *and* Good *Parliaments held here, as might be proved by our Ancient Records and Hiſtories if there were time to do it. But* Great Sir, *we muſt not preſume to be too tedious in ſo great a Preſence, eſpecially after your long and tedious Progreſs this day, and therefore I ſhall preſume to ſay little more, but for all the good you have done us, what can we render to you again?* Ariſtotle *ſaith, we can never render equal things to God and our Parents; You are the* Bleſſed Father *of our Country, and under the ſhadow of Your Royal Protection, we do injoy all our Rights, both* Religious and Civil, *and confeſs that our Obligations are greater than our Acknowledgments can be; Yet ſuch as they are we beſeech your Gracious acceptance of them: we have alſo one Preſent more to make to Your Ma^ty, which is our Prayers devoted to Your Service, and we proſtrate all the* Enſigns of Authority *which we hold under You at Your feet, and ſhall become daily* Votaries *to Heaven,* That our Gracious Sovereign Lord, King *Charles* the Second may long and happily Reign over us, and may always be a Terror to his Foes, and to all his Good and Loyal People a Tower of Defence, *and let all Good People ſay* AMEN.

London, Printed by *T. D.* 1681.

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Mr. Francis Jenk's Speech

Spoken in a *Common Hall*, the 24th. of *June* 1679. for which he hath been ever ſince maligned and ſcandalized by the PAPISTS and their Abetters.

Mr. Common Sergeant,

IT ſeems a vain thing for this Court to be ſerious about the Choice of Magiſtrates and Officers for the well Government of the City, except they firſt take care to remedy thoſe many Miſchiefs and Grievances, which the City now groans under, and which ſeem to threaten the ruine and deſtruction of the whole, that if there be not ſome ſpeedy redreſs, there will be little need of Magiſtrates and Officers; for there will be no City or People left here to be Governed.

London has once already been burned to aſhes, and firing is now become ſuch a Trade, that not only *London*, the Burrough of *Southwark*, and the places adjoyning, but all the Cities, Burroughs, Towns Corporate, and places of principal Trade throughout the whole Kingdom, are perpetually in danger; ſo that no rational or conſiderate man amongſt us can promiſe himſelf, his Wife, his Children, or Eſtate one nights ſecurity, but they may all be devoured in the conſuming flames, except ſome ſpeedy and effectual courſe be taken.

But this is not all; For were our Houſes ſecure from fire, yet ſuch is the general decay of Trade, as if not remedied, muſt unavoidably bring the whole City to poverty and ruine; and it is conceived, that this is very much occaſioned by the *French*, who have laid ſuch great Impoſitions upon our Woollen Cloth, Stuffs, and other Manufactures, that we have almoſt loſt our Trade with *France*; they have ſpoild our Trade with *Holland*, *Flanders* and *Germany*, by a deſtructive War; they have ruined our Trade at home, and beggared many thouſands of our honeſt and induſtrious Weavers, and other *Engliſh* Manufactors and Traders, by the vaſt quantity of their Silks, and other unneceſſary Commodities imported hither: ſo that upon an exact ballance of the Trade between us and them taken, it has been demonſtrated, that this City and Kingdom doth

doth loſe *Eleven hundred thouſand pounds* every year. By means whereof, they who in Queen *Elizabeths* time might not be ſuffered to build Men of War are now grown ſo powerful at Sea, as to be able to beat both *Dutch* and *Spaniard*, and have made themſelves in a manner ſole Maſters of the *Mediterranean* Sea: And they are grown ſo preſumptuous as daily to injure and affront our *Engliſh Merchants*, and ſometimes in his Majeſties own Ports. Their Privateers daily take our Merchants Ships, plunder others, ſtrip, impriſon and torment our Seamen to the great diſcouragement of our *Engliſh Navigation*, and almoſt ruine of the Merchant.

I ſhall inſtance but in one thing more, but that is worſe than all the reſt, *That is the juſt apprehenſion that is upon the minds of good men of danger to his Majeſties Perſon and the Proteſtant Religion.*

I had not ſpoken this at this time and place, but having the honour to ſerve this City in Common Council, I have endeavoured at ſeveral times to bring theſe things before that Court, but could not. In the end of the laſt Common-Council I did deſire my Lord Mayor that a Common-Council might ſpeedily be held to hear and conſider of a Petition about trade, ſubſcribed by a great number of Citizens of good quality, and his Lordſhip did then promiſe that a Common-Council ſhould ſpeedily be held; But it is a good time ſince, and there have been many Fires and Loſſes, but no Common-Council. Wherefore me-thinks it doth become the wiſdom and gravity of this Court not to admit of any longer delay in a matter wherein their *All* is concern'd. And I do humbly move (and I conceive it is not only my ſenſe but the ſenſe of the far greater part of this Court) that ſome Members of this Court may accompany the Sheriffs and Mr. Common Sergeant before we proceed to any other matter, to wait upon my Lord Mayor, aud the Court of Aldermen, to deſire that a Common-Council might ſpeedily be held, humbly to Petition His Majeſty, That for the quieting and ſatisfying the minds of his liege People, and for remedy of the many miſchiefs and grievances we now groan under, He would gratiouſly be pleaſed (according to the Statutes of 4*th.* and 36*th.* of *Edvv.* 3.) immediately to call a *New Parliament.*

FINIS.

Paul Grebners

PROPHECY

Concerning Theſe TIMES.

WRITTEN

In the Reign of Queen *ELIZABETH*, *Anno* 1582.

Taken out of the Original Copy from *Trinity Colledge* in *CAMBRIDGE*. with a Paraphraſe thereupon, *By a Perſon of Honour.*

READER,

THIS Prophecy received from an Honourable Perſon, coming ſo opportunely to my Hand, I thought it but Duty to transfer it to the publick View; not daring to commit ſo great a Sin in the ſecret Concealment of a buſineſs of ſo general a Concernment.

Touching the Author Paulus Grebnerus, *he was a great Aſtronomer, and a man of ſurpaſſing Piety, and known Integrity, whoſe Erudition likewiſe and excellent Endowments, have received a publick Character from this and other Kingdoms.*

His Prophecy here need no Panegyrick; and a farther Amplification, by way of Apology, would prove impertinent where ſo many thouſands have been ſo throughly prepoſſeſt in the Truth of his Predictions.

In a word, Schiſmaticks (that ſpeak evil of Dignities and deſpiſe Propheſies) *may perchance perſiſt ſtill obſtinate; I am ſure all* Royaliſts *will reſt here well ſatisfied.*

For my part, I ſhall therefore pray for the Converſion of the Firſt; and Confirmation of the Laſt; wiſhing the one more Faith, *and the other better* Fortune.

Farewel.

Grebner's Prophecy.

Paulus Grebnerus was here in *England* with Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1582. and preſented her with a fair Manuſcript in *Latine*, deſcribing therein the future Hiſtory of *Europe*, here and there limming in Water-Colours ſome principal Paſſages.

Dr. *Nevil*, Clerk of the Cloſet, being in favour with the Queen obtained this Book of her, and beſtowed it on the Library of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where it hath been publiſhed to the view of all perſons, till about five or ſix years ago, by much peruſing and ill handling it was much ſlurred and defaced.

In his Predictions,

He deſcribeth the Troubles of *Ruſſia*, and the Election of a *Swediſh* King *SIGISMUND* by name, to be King of *Polonia*, by which he ſhall irrecoverably loſe his own Inheritance.

That of the *Swediſh* Race there ſhould be one *GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS* by Name, that ſhould take heart from the Diſtractions of *Germany* to invade the Empire with a ſmall Army; fight many Battels proſperouſly, but ſhould at laſt periſh in a pitcht Field.

That about that time ſhould Reign *Rex-Septentrionalis nomine* CAROLUS, *qui ducit Uxorem Mariam Papiſticam, ex quo evadet Regum infeliciſſimus. Tunc populus ipſius Ditionis eliget ſibi alium Imperatorem, Comitem; qui durabit in Imperio tres annos aut circiter. At poſtea idem Populus eliget alium Imperatorem Equitem, non ejuſdem Familiæ nec Dignitatis, qui detrudet omnia ſub pedibus ſuis: durabit aliquanto longiore tempore: & poſt hunc eliget nullum.*

Poſt hunc apparebit quidam CAROLUS *è* CAROLO *deſcendens, cum immenſâ Claſſe in Litore Ditionis Patris ſui, & cum Auxiliariis* Danicis, *Suedicis*, Holandicis, Francicis *poſternet Adverſarios ſuos, & adminiſtrabit Imperium perfeliciſſimè, & longè latéque dominabitur, & erit* CAROLO *Magno major.*

Engliſhed thus,

About that time a Northern King ſhall Reign, *CHARLES* by Name, who ſhall take to Wife *MARY* of the Popiſh Religion; whereupon he ſhall be a moſt unfortunate Prince. Then the People of his Dominion ſhall chuſe to themſelves another Commander [*or Governour*] *viz.* an Earl; whoſe Government ſhall laſt three years or there about. And afterwards the ſame People ſhall chuſe another Commander [*or Governour*] *viz.* a Knight not of the ſame Family nor Dignity, who ſhall trample all things under his Feet: He ſhall endure ſomewhat longer time: and after him they ſhall chuſe none at all.

After him ſhall appear one *CHARLES* deſcending from *CHALES*, with a mighty Navy, on the Shore of his Father's Kingdom; and with Aid from *Denmark*, *Swedeland*, *Holland*, *France*, ſhall overthrow his Adverſaries, and ſhall govern his Kingdom wonderful happily, and ſhall bear Rule far and near: and ſhall be Greater than *CHARLES* the Great.

A Short Paraphraſe on the Fore-going Prophecy.

HOw well could *Grebner* in thoſe blind Times ſee!
And in theſe ſeeing-Times how blind are we?
Our *New-found-Lights* are loſt, thoſe ſquint-ey'd-elves,
And purblind *Seekers*, may now ſeek themſelves;
Who have thus err'd, imagining Prediction
Of *Sacred Propheſie*, but ſome feign'd Fiction.
But we (bleſt *Grebner!*) who have ſtill admir'd,
And look't upon thee as ſome Soul inſpir'd;
Will hold thy *Saws* no longer in Suſpenſe, (Senſe;
Which now w'have reach't with th' Opticks of our
Since what was once *Apocalyps* is known
The unridl'd Truth of *Revelation*.
Thoſe two *grand Champions* (that trode on the Neck
Of Nations, and had Kingdoms at their Beck)
Are both extinct; and Fame can only give
A bare Relation that they once did live.
But Thou Renowned *Charles*, whoſe matchleſs Fate
Deſign'd Thee a *Victim* to the Peoples Hate;
(Maugre the Malice of Thy Foes) wer't hurl'd
With *Hallelujahs* from the wondring World,
A Conqueror o're thy doom; from whence we may
Infer, thou only livd'ſt, we di'd that day.
And now look back, look back, and have recourſe,
From whence theſe ſtreams of miſchief had their ſourſe,
Whiles thoſe promiſcuous *Hodg-podg-powers* oppoſe,
Like high-ſwoln floods that *River* whence they roſe.
The *Eagle* thus diſlodg'd; a Wren-like race
Of *Dunghil-Dors* ſoon pierch't up in His place.
And *Lapwing-Liberty* e're *fledg'd* takes *Flight*,
Firſt hath her *Champion-Earl*, the next a Knight,
Whoſe heavy preſſure hath ſo imp'd her Wings,
She hath loſt by *Conſuls* what ſhe got by Kings.
And now (but Life's in Propheſie) we might
Die, and deſpair to ſee thy *Second Light*,
Great *Charles* who like the *Bridegroom of the day*,
Shalt gild ſad *Britain* with thy glorious *Ray*; (new
Whiles all thoſe Shower-ſhot Muſhroms, and thoſe
Created Brats melt like the Morning Dew;
And all thoſe *Ignes Fatui* ſhrink and run
Like Exhalations at the *Riſing Sun*.
This is the Wiſh Great *King* and Pious Care
Of thoſe who piece-forth *Propheſie* with their *Prayer*;
O may bleſt *Grebner* be added to the Small
Prophets! and prove each Line *Canonical*;
Whiles what in th' old *Queen's Reign* he did divine,
May be fulfil'd and ratifi'd in *Thine*:
O may'ſt thou Reign in thy known Realms who art
Inthron'd already in thy Peoples Heart! (whole
O may'ſt thou rule! and ſpend thy Fame through th'
Earth; from the *Artick* to th' *Antartick* Pole.
Till the juſt World with *Grebner* ſhall maintain
Thee a mightier Monarch than brave *Charlemain*.

FINIS.

London, Printed for *Thomas Burrel*, 1680

VINDICATION
OF
Sir Thomas Player,
AND THOSE
LOYAL CITIZENS
Concerned with Him:
In a Seasonable REPLY
TO
A late *Sawcy and Dangerous* Pamphlet, pretending to be *AN ANSWER* to the said Sir *Thomas*'s Speech.

---Sir, *By your Priesthood tell us who you are?*
Doctor Donn.

THE disguis'd Author of this scurrilous *Libel* (for 'tis no less in Effect upon the *whole City*) calls himself *A Citizen*, and were he *so*, That Epithet of *Unworthy*, which himself puts to it, would most *meritoriously* suit him. But there is good Reason from the *matter*, *manner*, and *timing* of his Pamphlet to believe him rather some *Ghostly Citizen* of *Rome*, A Papist in *Masquerade*, one of those restless Traiterous *Make-bates*, who in a thousand shapes make it their Business Night and Day, for the hiding, or shuffling off all prosecution against their *Damnable Plot*, to Involve not only this City, but all the Three Kingdoms in fresh Combustions, and *Lull* us asleep in supposed Security, till these Popish *Butchers* may gain an opportunity to Erect their old Parisian *Shambles* in our *London*-streets. He calls his *Paper-Fire-ball*, *An Answer to that Excellent and Elegant Speech of the Worthy Chamberlain, &c.* Here's *Jacob*'s voice, but *Esau*'s hands, which speaks him the right Spawn of *Judas*, that would *betray* and *murther* this Honourable Gentleman's Fame, with an *Hail Master*, and a *Kiss*.

But let us *Review* the Business — This Worthy Patriot Sir *T. P.* (Posterity shall call him so in *Earnest*, which this infamous Incendiary does but Sarcastically) taking notice of the Eminent danger that this City (the best *Bulwark* of the Protestant Religion under His Sacred Majesty, whom God long preserve) is in, by the horrid *Popish Plot*, which 'tis apparent is still *driving on Jehu*'s pace, and the Conspirators as *audacious* as ever (manifest by their *Carriage* and Swarms of *Insolent Papers* daily scattered abroad, especially having taken *fresh Encouragements* from some late Transactions) and being *Importuned* to this necessary service by a considerable part of the most *able and Judicious Citizens*, did at their Request *Condescend* in a modest respective way to Represent such their Just Apprehensions to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; which he performed with weighty *Reasons*, and without Reflections — Now what has the unknown *H. B.* to say against All this?

His first *Carp* is at the *Manner* of the Address, because so *well attended*; This he impudently says, *looks like a tumultuous Number of Apprentices doing Execution upon Bawdy-houses!* The man sure is afraid his Mother, the *old Whore of Rome*, should receive some prejudice by it.) But what pretence is there for this *scandal*? Is every *large Assembly* a Tumult? in good time he'l call our Parliaments *Routs*, our Courts of Judicature, shall be Indicted for *Riots*, and my Lord Mayors *Show* stigmatized for a *Conventicle*. What resemblance had the appearance of so many *Grave Citizens* to an Hubbub of *Prentices*? or a *peaceable* humble Application to their Chief Magistrates, to the *madness* of pulling down *Brothel-houses*? But here's the knack on't, had Sir T. come *alone*, or with a *few*, then it had been an *Inconsiderable Caprich* of his, or their single Heads; Now he went so *honourably accompanied*, it must be *fam'd* as a *Tumult*. 'Tis plain therefore, That 'tis the *Matter*, not the *Manner* that sticks in our *Unworthy* Respondents Gizzard, and so let that *That* be next Considered; Only by the way take notice, That his *pretence* of an *old Grudge* is a slander equally *malicious* and *silly*; For Sir *Thomas* is well known to be a person both more *Loyal* and *Discreet* than to maintain a particular Controversie with *such Superiours*, and of such *good nature* and *zeal* to his Country, as to *postpone* private Resentments (were there any Reason for them) and not Intermix them with the Concerns of the *Publick*.

As to the *Matter*, he wilfully mistakes it, The *Libelling Intelligencer*, was only an occasional Circumstance, and yet even *That* deserv'd a *Publick animadversion*; For being *false*, how otherwise could the *City* secure themselves in *other* future Cases from the *Calumnies* of every daring *Pamphleteer*?

'Tis acknowledged the City and Nation did formerly Congratulate His Royal Highness, for His Services at *Sea*, and we hope still conserves an honourable and respectful Memory thereof; and for His Person as the sole Brother of their King: But 'tis conceiv'd the *present Case* was somewhat different; For His *Highness* being commanded away by His Majesties *Express Order*, and His *Return* being (as was signified to the Lord Mayor from Court) *unexpected*, it might be very *undecent* for them in a solemn manner to complement His *Arrival* (under such Circumstances) till they knew whether the same Agreed with their *Soveraign*'s good liking.

Nor did the Calumniated *Address* Intermeddle with His Highnesses *Title*, (That's left with all dutiful observance to His Majesties great Wisdom in *Parliament*) much less insinuate any *Malice* in His *Royal Breast* against the *Metropolis* of His Brothers (and Soveraigns) Kingdoms, as this Incorrigible Libeller *villanously* suggests.

But since 'twas *not impossible*, that the bold Popish Conspirators *taking* Encouragement where none might be *given*, and to prevent the (to them only *dreadful*) Access

of

Parliament might, in [illegible] ce (for the *Malice* they never want) ting their *Long-hatched Bloody Designs* this City, and the Protestant Religion, into Execution; It was therefore submissively *offered* to Consideration, Whether stricter *Guards* might not be Necessary?

NIMIS CAUTELA NON NOCET.

The Eyes of the *Nation*, ever since the Detection of the *late* (we may say still *present*) *Conspiracy*, have been fix'd upon *London*, from thence they usually take their *Measures*; and if this City should now (when the Danger is no whit *abated*, but rather seems *increased*) decline in their *Vigilance*, it might occasion such a general *Lethargy*, as may readily Expose us to the *Ill-wishes*, and too far *Tempt* the bad *Practices* of the profest Enemies of our Peace, both at Home and Abroad.

The *Respondent* talks of some (whom he seems to distinguish from *Papists* amongst us, *That are sorry they can't speak otherwise than well of our most Gracious King, and have designs of Enslaving us*, &c. If he *knows* them, why does he not, like a good Subject, detect them particularly? If he do *not know them*, why does he amuse the People, and go about to sowe Seeds of *Division* and Rancor amongst Protestants? That there is *a Plot of the Papists on foot*, is certain; He undoubtedly has an *hand*, at least an *heart in't*, that goes about by any extenuating Art, to make it *disbeliev'd*. But that any others have any design against the Government, there is neither *Proof*, nor *Credibility*, only *Imagination* and *Surmise*. Nothing indeed but a *Collateral New Popish Plot*, to divert us from the thoughts of, and to palliate and continue their *Old One*.

Our *Author*, next (though quite besides his Text) falls foul on the *whole City* (his Quarrel with Sir *Thomas*, and all the rest of that Honourable Corporation, you may hence perceive, is at bottom, the *same*) he Arraigns them of *Arbitrary Government*. But how does he justifie this Charge? The *Usages* of this City are confirmed by almost as many *Acts* of Parliament, as *Magna Charta* it self; and all the knowing World have applauded the *Justice, Moderation*, and *Prudence* of their Customs. But Four or Five Hundred Pounds apiece is got by *Chusing* Sheriffs, that will not hold. Where's the wrong? They are liable to the Office, or else they may discharge themselves; and if for such Sums they may (with Honour) be acquitted of *three* times the Charge necessarily attending the Duty, how are they Injur'd? *Who* are the Gentlemen concern'd, that have complain'd of this *Grievance*? And if *none* have, what regard is to be had to this *Varlets* Murmurs, who, 'tis probable, was never yet capable of the Office of a *Scavenger*?

But many *Young Citizens* are *Undone*, by Monies paid for coming upon the *Livery*. 'Tis believ'd he cannot name *one* meerly on that account. Each *Company* in this, pursues its ancient method, there are (if I mistake not) fixed Rules for this matter, he that is *not capable*, may avoid it; and those that *are*, considering future Advantages, do rarely *repent* it. But suppose all this were as *true*, as 'tis false and groundless, what contributes it to *an Answer* to Sir *Thomas Player*'s Speech? Only *this*, Sirs! The *Hated Heretical City* must be rendered *odious* and *contemptible* at any rate; and if we can but create *Factions* amongst them, our *Catholick Work* is done.

But now the Serpents *Sting* begins to appear in the *Tail* of the *Libel*; Your *Guards* must down, and why, I pray? They are *Unnecessary, Illegal*, and *Dangerous*? 'Tis roundly *said*, but not squarely *prov'd*; give us Leave then, (or at least I hope we shall *take it*) to consider a little.

The Man is angry, *That our Militia is mis'd, and the City made a Garison, for Preservation of the King's Person*. Yet *confesses* the King *thank'd* the City for doing it. To which let me add, That the *late Parliament* were pleas'd to express their very grateful Resentments thereof; Does not then this *Rascally Lurking Scribler*, shew himself an open *Enemy* to the *King* and *People*, that dares *Reprehend*, what such awful *Authority* both *allow'd*, and highly *approv'd*?

But *oh the Charge!* the Charge! *'Tis little* (quoth he) *to us that are the PRINCIPAL MEN, but the poor Tradesmen had more need be minding their Business*. You are then one of our *Principal Men*, God defend us from such, either *Principals* or *Accessaries*; yet a *Principal* you may be, for I remember there are no Accessaries in *Treason*. Come, Sir! we are well *content* to be at the Charge, *Volenti non fit Injuria*. We know what you would be at, you would have us be *Niggards* of our *Money*, that you may be *prodigal* of our *Blood*.

This necessary *Caution* and *Discipline*, is far from *Debauching our Servants, or City-Youth*, most House-keepers [illegible] more freely do it, were there actual Service for their *King* and *Countrey*, when their Lives, Estates, Wives, Posterity, Liberties, *All*, were at stake: And you mistake egregiously, if you think our *City-Guards*, a *Black-Heath Camp*; our meanest persons, 'tis true, will hereby be rendered *fit* for any of your Popish Rebellions, that is, to *crush* them, *try when you dare*.

In the next Paragraph, our crafty Author turns *Petti-fogger*, and will prove by *Dint of Law*, That we ought to sit still, and have our Houses *fir'd* about our Ears, and our *Throats* decently Cut, whenever his *Popish Ruffians* please to do it, without offering any *Guard* at all to *prevent* them; To this purpose he cites two *Statutes*, one that now signifies *nothing*, the other nothing to his *purpose*.

The Act 14 *Car.* 2. *Car.* 3 does indeed Regulate the *Militia*, and directs that the *ORDINARY* [pray mark] *Exercises or Musters shall be but so oft in the year, and continue but so two or four days at a time*; *And that in case of Invasion, Rebellion, or Insurrection*, [when they are to march, and lie out constantly and continuedly from their Habitations] *the Soldiers are to have a Months Pay, which is to be Reimbursed by the King*, &c.

But as the City of *London* is not in all things still tyed up by the Rules of that Act, but left in many Cases to its ancient Usages, as by the Act it self appears in regard of *EXTRAORDINARY DUTIES*. So neither doth this Act in any kind prohibit their present keeping up *their Guards*, for how vastly different is *an ORDINARY Muster*, from this Extraordinary Occasion; and the *marching abroad*, and being in a Camp continually, and the *Guarding the City at home* by Turns, one Day or Night in so long time, which is customary to be done, in Times of Danger, by the Burgers of all the Cities of the World? Here's a *Rebellion* actually begun, in the Murder of an Eminent Magistrate; The King's Sacred Life sought to be taken away by Shot, by Poyson, and by Stabbing; Commissions granted out to Levy War against Him; An *Insurrection* every moment ready to break out at Home; An *Invasion* threatned and design'd from abroad; The Conspirators resolv'd to root out our Religion, burn our Houses (as once they have done already;) Rifle our Estates, and Murder our Persons, our Wives and Children, by a general Massacre: And was it not time then to stand upon our *Guard*? And if the same *Hellish Design* be carried on as vigorously as ever, is this then a time to *lessen* our Security? Did I say the Act does *not prohibit* such our Guards, in truth it *allows* and *confirms* them in such a Juncture, by expres's, though general terms; For these are the words — *In regard of the Extraordinary Duties which the Forces of the said City have been, and MAY AGAIN* [pray observe] *be put to, for the Safety of His Majesties Person, and for Suppressing, or PREVENTING of Insurrections*; There is a special Provision that they may raise Money, &c.

So much for his *Law*, but would you know his *Policy*? 'tis just the same with the *Wolves* in the Fable, who, upon a Treaty of Peace with the Sheep, would needs have one Article to be, That they should dismiss their *Dogs*; this was no sooner yielded to, but presently the *Wolves*, notwithstanding the League, fell upon them, & worried them.

The rest of his Sheet consists of Wheadle and Lullabies, *You will never thrive in the City, whil'st you amuse your selves with these kind of Fears*. What kind of Fears, Sir? Both the King and Two Parliaments have thought them *Just Ones*, and the English of your Rhetorick is no more but this, Pray lie still good People, you will never thrive, unless you give us Leave to cut your Throats. We do, Sir! Trust God and the King with the Government, who we doubt not, will defend it against all your Machinations, and therefore we would not be wanting in our Duty, to endeavor its preservation in our particular Stations. You say, *When there is Danger, we shall hear of it TIME ENOUGH*; I am glad that you will give us *fair warning*, and doubt not but we shall be provided for you. But have we not sufficiently heard of *Danger* already? What mean all those reiterated *Royal Proclamations*, repeated *Votes of Parliament*, &c? Or have you some further and yet unseen Danger to bring upon us? We have neither the *Vanity* to expect, nor the *Ambition* to wish to be of His Majesties *Privy Council*; yet would approve our selves, good, dutiful and vigilant Subjects, by endeavouring all that lies in our power, for the Safety of His Person, and the Tranquility of the Nation. And this Duty the City, (as we humbly conceive and think, hath been demonstrated) cannot sufficiently discharge, nor answer in point of Loyalty and Prudence, if they do not keep up competent Guards in a time of such Eminent Danger.

FINIS.

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WARD, MAYOR.

IT was now agreed and Ordered by this Court (nemine contradicente,) *That the Humble* Petition *and* Addreſs *to His Majeſty from this Court now drawn up, and here read, be Preſented to His Majeſty as ſoon as conveniently may be; And the Right Honourable the* Lord Mayor, *attended with* Mr. Sheriffs, *is Deſired from this Court, to Preſent the ſame to His Majeſty accordingly.*

WAGSTAFFE

To the Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The Humble Petition and Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, *and* Commons *of the City of* LONDON.

WE Your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects being deeply ſenſible, and apprehenſive of the great Danger Your Royal Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the good Conſtitution of this Kingdom, have been, and [as we have reaſon to fear,] are ſtill in, do with all Humble Thankfulneſs acknowledge your Majeſties great Grace and Goodneſs in cauſing the Parliament to meet, and ſit, to the great Satisfaction of this City, and of all your good Subjects at home, and the Comfort & Encouragemnt of all your Proteſtant Neighbours abroad, and for your moſt Gracious Speech at the opening thereof, in thoſe aſſurances You were pleaſed to renew for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, and in Recommending to their Care the ſuppreſſion of Popery, and the proſecution of the Horrid Popiſh PLOT, with a ſtrict and impartial Inquiry, without which, neither Your Royal Perſon, nor Your good Subjects can be in any ſafety.

And We being alſo ſenſible how much the Happy Concluſion of this Seſſion of PARLIAMENT will conduce to thoſe Ends, do moſt Humbly Beſeech Your Majeſty, that You would be Graciouſly Pleaſed to hearken and Incline to the Humble Advice of That Your great Councel, for the Safety of Your Royal Perſon, the Preſervation of the PROTESTANT RELIGION, the Quieting and Uniting the Minds of all Your Good Subjects, and for ſecuring the PEACE of this your Great CITY, and the whole KINGDOM.

And We do in Moſt Dutiful manner, and with Unanimous Conſent, Humbly aſſure your Majeſty, that in Purſuit of Thoſe Councels, Your Great City of LONDON will be ready at all times to promote your Majeſties Eaſe and Proſperity, and ſtand by your Majeſty againſt all Dangers and Hazards whatſoever.

And as in Duty bound ſhall always Pray for Your Majeſties Long Life, and Happy Reign, &c.

LONDON; Printed for *Francis Smith* at the Sign of the *Elephant and Caſtle* in *Cornhil* near the *Royal Exchange*. MDCLXXX.

Pope. 97 37

A LETTER FROM An Impartial HATER OF THE PAPISTS TO A FRIEND.

SIR,

IT cannot be denied but that the death of that worthy Gentleman Sir *Edmund-Bury-Godfrey* was that which first created so unanimous a belief of the reality of the Plot, but why it should be charged upon the Papists, I could never yet see the least ground of reason for: But to wave that and to come to the Parties executed for the Fact: For the two first, That allegation (though non-sensicall to common reason) of an absolution, seeing at their Execution they professed themselves Romanists, may suffice: But should a sober Enquirer ask, how came *Berry* the last of them, both to profess himself a Protestant, according to the ettlabished Church, and that more then seemingly he was never otherwise? and likewise so positively to deny the Fact, or any knowledge thereof? sure he could not be lull'd into any blinde zeal for promotion (as termed) of the Cause, all mental reservations as well as Indulgences being there out of doors: But it may well be said of this his Confession or Declaration (which you please to call it) as was of the Evidences against Sir *George Wakeman*, and the rest, *That it was sham'd over*: Give me leave to note to you the strangeness of a Vote in Parliament, much about that time, *viz.* that it being a hellish and damnable Plot of the Papists, *Should his Majesty miscarry* (without exception by what hand) *that his Death should be revenged upon the fore-mentioned Parties*; This being but a Vote, and that now no Parliament, I think it cannot be over-criminal to mention who were the proposers, and what sort condescended I shall leave you to judge: however I could not but observe in his Majesties late indisposition, how busy the small Agents were, at every end of the Town, buzzing about, his being Poysoned; the end is easily gues'd at; and no doubt, but them styled Masked Papists, would equally have participated of the malice, not for Religion, but Loyalty sake; I shall instance 2 or 3 reasons why (in my opinion) the reall fire ought to be sought for, at another door, then the smoak seems to come forth at: and therefore, to cast an eye towards the merits of the Good old Cause, shall fix a jealousy there: First, the Rebellion in *Scotland*, which though the Glorious *Monmouth* no sooner appeared, then defeated, yet had they succeeded, no doubt but would have found (or rather were assured of) a great deal of encouragement from this our Nation; but what they would have done for such a Shooing horn devise, as the second Article in the late Covenant was, I know not, (though the fained care of his Majesty and People doth much resemble those times) as also for a General; for I am sure none but a very young one would accept it from their hands especially, and have put confidence in them, for *Richard Cromwells* sake: Secondly, it may be observed,

that few or none (the Leſſer men excepted) are the ſticklers for a Plot, but what were either actually in the Late Rebellion, or whoſe Father was: and it were pity to ſpoil the old Proverb, too be of other opinion then that what was bred in the Bone would not eaſily out of the fleſh: and to add further, there hath ſcarſe been an Election for the New Parliament, where any ancient Royaliſt was a Competitor, but that ſome Raſcall would brand him, with the Title of masked Papiſt, or Courtier; which is now a Character almoſt as obnoxious to the Rebellious Commonalty as the Former, a reſemblance too much of the Late Rebellion; And laſtly, to confirm this my belief, the daily endeavours of your ever-oppoſite Party to Monarchy to ingratiate themſelves with the Eſtabliſhed Church, by their printed Papers, in which they ſtile themſelves only Diſſenting Brethren; And to prevent impartiall Eyes from being caſt that way, they repeat the expreſſions of a Reverend Father, when moved in Late Parliament, that they ought to be looked after as well as the Papiſts; whoſe Reply was, that the one might take him by the ſlieve, but the other would by the throat: but by the Reverend Lords favour, if not forgot, when took by the ſlieve, I think his Cap had a remove too. Its true, we have bare ſuggeſtions of the one, but too late experience of the other; it is likewiſe worthy obſervation the Conformity of theſe Grandees of late in appearing once a moneth at their Pariſh Churches; a bare Cloak for their deſigns: for when there in the Morning, you ſhall not fail of them, at Rebellions, School (I mean the Meeting houſes) in the Afternoon, for fear of giving ſcandal to a weak brother, and ſo loſe a Vote when in Computation for a Lay Elderſhip: and no doubt but theſe ſort of Monſters have an itching deſire to be examining (that is) into Crown and Church-Lands: but to return to the Hinges of the Plot: give me leave to put you in minde of the Iriſh Ruffians, heretofore ſo often mentioned; which materials being at laſt found, the devil's in't, after ſo much conſideration, and pains, the Eggs ſhould prove addle: No, for at the meeting of the Parliament you may well expect more of them: (that is) by that time the Birds will not only be fledg'd but likewiſe have their feathers, ſo artificially placed, as to ſet defiance both to wind and weather; but then ſhould their ambition ſo decked, make them ſo high flyers, as to aim at Eclipſing the Sun; and by that means cauſe ſo great a diſlocation in their plumes, as nakedly to reveal themſelves, the Workman, if not damn'd impudent, ſurely muſt ſneak It is not eaſy without pre conſideration to judge how far crooked revenge, though lapped in a decrepid carcaſe, yet annexed to an unlimited Conſcience, may extend: but for fear of being too troubleſome to you, I ſhall conclude according to the dictates of my ſpirit, that is, to pray, that God would grant his Majeſty long Life; and that he may know his real friends from them crept under that Cloak; as alſo never want power to controul them, nor a Legitimate Heir to ſucceed, without tripping over the Right of ſucceſſion: So if what already alledged, is not a ſufficient excuſe for not being vulgarly Credulous, yet I doubt not but will neceſſitate you to conclude him impartial, that is,

SIR,

Yours,

W. L.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN caſe this ſhould ſcape your pocket, and the Finder prove too inquiſitive, let this ſuffice, the Firſt Letter ſtands for Well wiſhers, and the Second for Loyalty.

FINIS.

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Notes of the

EVIDENCE

Given againſt the

Lord Howard of Eſcrick

To the Grand Inqueſt of the Hundred of *Edmonton* and *Gore* in the County of *Middleſex*; Taken by Sir *Charles Lee* their Foreman, and agreed to by all the reſt of the Jury, who offered to ſubſcribe their Names as an acknowledgment of the Truth of them.

Mr. Smith's *Evidence.*

HE heard Mr. *Fitz-Harris* ſay to Mr. *Everard*, That he could give no further Inſtructions that night; for that he was to go that night to *Knights-bridge*, and when Mr. *Fitz-Harris* was gone, *Smith* asked *Everard* whither Mr. *Fitz-Harris* was gone that night? He ſaid, he was gone to the Lord *Howard of Eſcricks* Houſe at *Knights-bridge*; And further ſaith not.

Mr. *Everard*'s Evidence ſaith, That he asked when he ſhould compleat his Inſtructions? *Fitz-Harris* told him, That he could not do it that Night, nor the next Morning, for that he was to go to *Knights-bridge* that night, or the morrow morning; and afterwards told him, he was to go to the Lord *Howards of Eſcrick* at *Knights-bridge*; and *Fitz-Harris* came the next day towards night, and compleated the ſaid Libel, and corrected it in ſeveral places: And Mr. *Everard* ſaith, at the finiſhing of this Libel, *Fitz-Harris* gave *Everard* directions to take the *Quæries* out of a Printed Pamphlet called, *The Intercepted Letter to Roger L'Strange*, and to infert them into the ſaid Libel.

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Mrs. *Fitz-Harris* ſaith, She ſaw the Lord *Howard* at her Husband's Lodgings (ſome ſhort time before her Husband was made Priſoner) deliver a Paper to her Husband, and ſaid, *They were notable Heads*; and withal ſaid, *That when thoſe things were put in order, the People would riſe, and then they would ſeize the King, and keep him until he had paſſed the Bill of Excluding the Duke of* York, *and ſettling the Succeſſion upon the Duke of* Monmouth. And ſaith, (reading the Paper left in her Husband's Chamber by the Lord *Howard.*) ſhe remembers theſe Expreſſions in that Paper; *As it was the undoubted Right of the People to oppoſe a Popiſh Succeſſor, ſo it was to oppoſe a Poſſeſſor that would follow evil Council, and not be ruled by his Parliament:* At which time Mr. *Fitz-Harris* call'd for a Pen and Ink, and told his Wife that he had promiſed not to deliver that Paper in that hand; and ſhe asking whither he was going? her Husband anſwered, He was going to Mr. *Everard*'s Chamber to have that Paper drawn up. And before the Lord *Howard* went out of Mr. *Fitz-Harris*'s Chamber, Mr. *Fitz-Harris* asked the Lord *Howard* what he ſhould do for money? to which the Lord *Howard* replied, *Let me alone for that*: And that within a day or two her Husband brought home the Libel to his Wife, and read it to her; upon the reading of which, ſhe asked him whether *Everard* had drawn that Book out of thoſe few Heads? her Husband anſwered, Yes; for that Mr. *Everard* was a man of Parts.

Mrs. *Terriſha Peacock* ſaith, that being in her Maſters Chamber, or Dining-room, ſhe found the Lord *Howard* in the Dining-room, and ſaw the Lord give her Maſter a Paper, and told him it was a notable thing, and bid him read it; and ſaid, *If this were once Publiſhed about, the People would riſe, and then we will ſeize upon the King, and keep him, until ſuch time as he paſſes the Bill, concerning the Excluſion of the* Duke of York; *and ſettle the Crown upon the* Duke of Monmouth; And Mr. *Fitz-Harris* asking him what he ſhould do for Money? The Lord *Howard* ſaid, *Mr.* Fitz-Harris *ſhould have enough within a Week*; and ſhe ſaith, he gave it for his Wife to Read; and after ſhe ſaw her Maſter Copy it out; and asking whether he would come in to Dinner? He anſwered, he had earneſt buſineſs at *Grays-Inn*, whither he was going.

This was the true Evidence given before Us Gentlemen of the Grand Inqueſt, June *the* 21. 1681.

Charles Lee.
William Blucke.
Joſ. Beale.
John Nichol.

This is a true Copy of the Original Paper.

LONDON, Printed for *S. Carr*, 1681.

Hastings [illegible] Earl of Huntington
K.

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REASONS, *for the Indictment of the* D. *of* York, *presented to the Grand Jury of* Middlesex, *Saturday*, June 26. 1680. *By the persons hereunder Named.*

I. BEcause the 25*th. Car.* 2*d.* when an Act was made to throw Popish Recusants out of all Offices and Places of Trust. The Duke of *York* did lay down several great Offices and Places (as Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Generalissimo* of all his Majesties Forces, both by Land and Sea; Governour of the Cinque Ports; and divers others) thereby to avoid the Punishment of that Law against Papists.

II. 30*th. Car.* 2*d.* When an Act was made to disable Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament; There was a *Proviso* inserted in that Act; *That it should not extend to the Duke of* York. On purpose to save his Right of sitting in the Lords House; though he refuseth to take those Oaths which the Protestant Peers ought to do.

III. That his Majesty in his Speech *March* 6. the 31. year of his Reign, doth give for a Reason to the Parliament, why he sent his Brother out of *England*; because he would leave no man room to say, that he had not removed all cause which might influence him to Popish Counsels.

IV. That there have been diverse Letters read in both Houses of Parliament, and at the secret Committees of both Houses from several Cardinals and others at *Rome*; and also from other *Popish* Bishops and Agents of the *Pope*, in other Forreign parts, which do apparrently shew the great Correspondencies between the *D.* of *Y.* and the *Pope*. And how the *Pope* could not choose but weep for joy, at the reading of some of the Dukes Letters, and what great satisfaction it was to the *Pope*, to hear the Duke was advanced to the Catholick Religion. That the *Pope* has granted *Breev's* to the D. sent him *Beads*, ample *Indulgences*, with much more to this purpose.

V. That the whole House of Commons hath declared him to be a *Papist* in their Votes, *Sunday*, *April* 6*th.* 1679. Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, **That the Duke of *York's* being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming such to the Crown, has given the greatest countenance and incouragement to the present Conspiracy and Designs of the Papists against the King and Protestant Religion.**—— What this Conspiracy and Design is, will appear by a Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, *March* 25. 79. **Resolved**, *Nemine Contradicente*, **by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament Assembled; That they do declare, That they are fully satisfied, by the proofs they have heard, there now is, and for diverse years last past, hath been a horrid and Treasonable Plot and Conspiracy contrived and carried on by those of the Popish Religion, for the Murthering of his Majesties sacred Person, and for the subverting the Protestant Religion, and the ancient well Established Government of this Realm.**

VI. That besides all this Proof, and much more to this purpose, it is most notorious and evident, he hath for many years absented himself from Protestant Churches during Religious Worship.

These are the Reasons why we believe the Duke of *York* to be a Papist.

Huntington,
Shaftsbury,
Gray of *Wark*.
L. *Russel*,
L. *Cavendish*,
L. *Brandon*.
Sir *Edward Hungerford* Kt. of the *Bath*.
Sir *Hen. Calverly*,
Tho. Thyn, Esq;
Will. Forrester, Esq;
John Trenchard, Esq;
Tho. Wharton,
Sir *William Cooper*, Borronet.
Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Barronet.
Sir *Scroop How*.

The Jury was sent for up by the Court of Kings-Bench, whilst they were on this Indictment, and Dismist, so that nothing was farther done upon it, saving that the Jury received the Presentment. And by the Dismission of the Jury, a very great number of Indictments were Discharged. A thing scarcely to be parallel'd, and of very ill consequence, not only to many private persons, but chiefly to the Publick,

Die Martis, 25 Martii. 1679.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, *by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled; That they do declare, That they are fully satisfied by the Proofs they have heard, There now is, and for divers years last past hath been a Horrid, and Treasonable Plot and Conspiracy, contrived and carryed on by those of the Popish Religion, for the Murdering of his Majesties sacred Person, and for subverting the Protestant Religion, and the ancient, and established Government of this Kingdom.* *Jo. Browne* Cleric' Parlimentor'.

Sunday, April 27. 1679.

Resolved,

Nemine contradicente, That the Duke of *York* being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the greatest Incouragement and Countenance to the present Conspiracies and Designs of the Papists against the King and Protestant Religion.

Ordered,

That the Lord *Russel* do go up to the Lords to desire their Concurrence to this Vote.

Ordered,

That the Secret Committee bring an Abstract of all those Letters they have, or can come by, that concern the Duke of *York* as to the Plot, with all speed.

Sunday, May 11. 1679.

Ordered,

That a Bill be brought in to disable the Duke of *York* to Inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

Resolved *Nemine contradicente*,

That in Defence of the King's Person and the Protestant Religion, this House doth declare, that they will stand by His Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if His Majesty should come by any violent Death, (which God forbid) that they will revenge it to the utmost on the Papist.

Ordered,

That these Votes be drawn in the form of an Address, to be presented to His Majesty, which is as follows.

May, 14. 1679.

Most Dread Soveraign,

We your Majesties most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do with all humble gratitude acknowledge your most gracious Assurances your Majesty hath been pleased to give us of your constant care to do every thing that may preserve the Protestant Religion, of your firm Resolution to defend the same to the utmost, and your Royal Endeavours that the Security of that Blessing may be transmitted to Posterity. And we do humbly represent to your Majesty, That being deeply sensible that the greatest hopes of Success against our Religion in the Enemies thereof the Papists, are founded in the Execrable Designs which they have laid against your Sacred Person, and the Life of your Majesty; which it is not only our Duty, but our Interest, with the greatest hazard to preserve and defend. We have applied our Councils to the making such provisions by Law as may defeat these Popish Adversaries, their Abbetters and Adherents of their hopes of gaining any Advantage by any Violent Attempts against your Majesty, and may utterly frustrate their expectation of subverting the Protestant Religion thereby in time to come. And further, to obviate by the best means we can all wicked Practices against your Majesty, while any such Laws are in preparation and bringing to perfection. It is our Resolution, and we do declare, That in Defence of your Majestys Person, and the Protestant Religion, we will stand by your Majesty with our Lives and Fortunes, and shall be ready to revenge upon the Papists any Violence offred by them to your Sacred Person; In which we hope your Majesty will graciously please to be the more assured, as we ourselves are the more incouraged, in that the hearts of all your Majesty's Protestant Subjects with the most sincere Affection and Zeal joyn with us herein.

May the 19th. The House of Commons attended His Majesty with this Address, whereunto His Majesty was pleased to return this Gracious Answer following:

Gentlemen,

I thank you for your Zeal, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and my Person; and I assure you I shall do what in me lies to preserve the Protestant Religion, and am willing to do all such things, as may tend to the good and benefit of my Subjects.

Wednesday, May 21. 1679.

The Chairman of the Committee of Secresy report several Letters, most of them tending to the great Assurance and Confidence the Popish Party had, by reason of the Duke of *York*'s being a Papist: After which the Bill to dis-inable the Duke of *York* to Inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm, was read a second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on *Friday*, next then following.

FINIS.

Short *Memorandum's* upon the Deaths of M. *Philip Evans* and M. *John Lloyd* both Priests, who were Executed at *Cardiff* in *Glamorganshire*, the 22. day of *July*, 1679.

ABout Nine of the Clock in the morning, the Under-Sheriff M. *Charls Evans* came to the Cellar in the Goal, where the Gentlemen were kept, and immediatly a Smith was sent for to take off their Irons, which were so hard set on, that the Smith was above an hour in taking off Mr. *Evans's* alone, which, was not done without great pain to him; notwithstanding which he never gave the least signe of Impatience or trouble, but encouraged the Man to go on with his work, without fear of hurting him: When they were brought out of the Cellar, they desired to walk on foot to the place of Execution, but were refused, and put both upon one Cart; their arms pinnioned; all the way reading in their Books. When they arrived at the place of Execution, they followed St. *Andrews* Example, saying, *Welcome good Cross*, and falling upon their knees, kissed the Post of the Gallows, and remained praying there a good while: When they had done, they asked which was to die first, the Sheriff answered, Mr. *Evans*; He bowing, spake these few words.

I need not tell you why we are brought here to suffer; our sentence of Condemnation is a sufficient witness, that it was not for a Plot, or any other Crime, but for being Priests; consequently I do die for Religion and Conscience sake: I shall not speak much of the goodness of my Cause, because I think it will be needless; but it is so good, that I would not give the happiness of dying for it, for all the Crowns of the World. Sure if a Man ever speaks truth, it must be at the hour of death, therefore I hope no body will doubt of what I say; If I have or had any Enemies in the World, which I do not know that ever I had any in my Life, I do heartily forgive them, for any thing done or said against me; and if I have offended any body I am heartily sorry for it, and ask them forgiveness; I pray God bless and prosper the King: I beg the prayers of all, and in particular of the Catholicks here present; That done, he kneeled down again with some friends about him, and having said some Prayers, he took his leave of them, and went up the Ladder; upon which he spoke again these words, Sure this is the best Pulpit a Man can have to Preach in, therefore I cannot forbear to tell you again, that I die for God and Religion sake, and I think my self so happy, that if I had never so many lives, I would willingly give them all for so good a Cause; if I could live, it would be but for a little time, though I am but young, happy am I that can purchase with a short pain an Everlasting Life; I do forgive all those that have had any hand in my death, accusation or Condemnation: I ask again forgiveness of every body, *I* give thanks to all those that have been kinde to me, and to you M *s*heriff; Adieu Mr. *Lloyd*, tho' for a little time, for we shall shortly meet again; pray for me all, and I shall return it, when it pleaseth God that I shall enjoy the beatifical Vision, if any of you that see me die thus willingly for my Religion, have any good thought upon it, I shall think my self happy; then he made a stop, and after a little while, said with a clear and cheerfull voice,

In

In manus tuas, Domine, commendo Spiritum meum ; and ſo giving the ſigne, the Executioner turn'd him over, and the Ladder being very ſhort, it ſtirr'd with him, then Mr. *Richard Jones* one of the Sheriffs Bailiffs took his legs from it, and turn'd them after his body ; all that were preſent can juſtify, that he never looked better, nor more cheerfull then he did then ; All this will be teſtifyed (if need be) by credible Perſons as well Proteſtants as Catholicks.

DUring the time of Mr. *Evans*'s Execution, Mr. *Lloyd* ſtood by with as much conſtancy and cheerfulneſs as any Man could have, and before he went up the Ladder, he ſaid theſe words following more diſtinctly and heartily then ever he did in his Life, by the Report of thoſe that have known him theſe many years. My fellow-ſufferer has declared the Cauſe of our death, therefore I need not repeat it ; and beſides I never was a good ſpeaker in my Life ; I ſhall onely ſay, that I dye in the true Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith, according to theſe words in the Creed, I believe the Holy Catholick Church, and with thoſe three Virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, I forgive all thoſe that have offended me ; and if I have offended any body I am heartily ſorry for it, and ask them forgiveneſs. I beg the prayers of all, and in particular of the Catholicks here preſent, deſiring them to bear their Croſſes patiently, and to remember that paſſage of Holy Scripture, *Happy are they that ſuffer perſecution for Juſtice, for theirs is the Kingdome of Heaven :* Then he went up the Ladder, and there gave thanks to all thoſe that had been kinde to him, and in particular to the Sheriff, then he made a little ſtop ; after which he ſaid ; Mr *Carne*, you have been always my benefactor, pray for me now : then he knocked his breaſt three times, and ſaid in Latine, *Lord have Mercy upon me a Sinner*, and, *Into thy hands, Lord, I recommend my Spirit* ; So gave the ſigne and was turned over.

FINIS.

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THE SPEECH OF Mr. William Plessington,

Who was EXECUTED at

CHESTER

(For being a Priest of the Church of *Rome*) *July* 19. 1679.

Dear Countrymen,

I Am here to be executed, neither for *Theft*, *Murder*, nor any *thing* against the *Law* of *God*, nor any fact or *Doctrine* inconsistent with *Monarchy* or *Civil Government*, I suppose several now present heard my *Tryal* the last *Assizes*, and can testify that nothing was laid to my charge but *Priest-hood*, and I am sure that you will find that *Priest-hood* is neither against the *Law of God* nor *Monarchy*, or *Civil Government*. If you will consult either the *Old or New Testament*, (for it is the Basis of Religion) for no *Priest* no *Religion*, *S. Paul* tells us in Hebrews, the 7. and 12. The *Priest-hood* being changed, there is made also of necessity a change of the *Law*, and consequently the *Priest-hood* being abolish't, the *Law* and *Religion* is quite gone.

But I know it will be said, that a *Priest* ordayned by authority derived from the *See of Rome*, is by the *Law of the Nation* to die as a *Traytor*, but if that be so what must become of all the *Clergy-men* of the *Church of England*, for the first *Protestant Bishops*, had their *Ordination* from those of the *Church of Rome*, or none at all, as appears by their own writers, so that *Ordination* comes derivatively to those now living.

As in the *Primitive* times, *Christians* were esteemed *Traytors*; and suffered as such by *National Laws*, so are the *Priests of the Roman Church*, here esteemed and, suffer as such. But as *Christianity* then was not against the *Law of God*, *Monarchy*, *or Civil Policy*, so now there is not any one *Point* of the *Roman Catholique Faith*, (of which *Faith I am*) that is inconsistent therewith, as is evident by induction in each several Point.

That

That the *Pope* hath power to depoſe or give licenſe to *Murder Princes*, is no point of our *Beliefe*. And I proteſt in the ſight of *God* and the *Court of Heaven*, that I am abſolutely innocent of the *Plot* ſomuch diſcoureſd of, and abhor ſuch bloody and damnable deſigns, and although it be Nine Weeks ſince I was ſentenced to die, there is not any thing of that laid to my charge, ſo that I may well take comfort in *S. Peters* words, 1 Pet. 14, 15, 16. *Let none of you ſuffer as a* Murderer, *or as a Thief, or as an Evil doer, or as a Buſie Body in other mens matters, yet if any man ſuffer as a Chriſtian let him not be aſhamed or Sorry.* I have deſerved a worſe death, for though I have been a faithful and true Subject to my *King*, I have been a grievous ſinner againſt *God*; *Theeves* and *Robbers* that Rob on High-ways, would have ſerved *God* in a greater perfection then I have done had they received ſo many favours and graces from him as I have.

But as there was never ſinner who truly repented and heartily called to *Jeſus* for mercy, to whom he did not ſhew mercy; ſo *I* hope by the *merits* of his *Paſſion*, he will have mercy on me, who am heartily ſorry that ever I offended him.

Bear witneſs good hearers, that *I* profeſs that *I* undoubtedly and firmly believe all the *Articles* of the *Roman Catholique Faith*, and for the truth of any of them, (by the aſſiſtance of God) *I* am willing to die, and I had rather die then doubt of any Point of *Faith*, taught by our *Holy Mother* the *Roman Catholique Church*.

In what condition *Margaret Plat* one of the chiefeſt witneſſes againſt me was before, and after ſhe was with me, let her neereſt relations declare.

George Maſſey, another witneſs ſwore falſely, when he ſwore, *I* gave him the Sacrament, and ſaid Maſs at the time and place he mentioned, and *I* verily think that he never ſpoke to me, or *I* to him, or ſaw each other but at the *Aſſizes* week; the Third witneſs *Robert Wood* was ſuddenly killed, but of the Dead why ſhould *I* ſpeak? Theſe were all the witneſſes againſt me, unleſs thoſe that only declared what they heard from others. *I* heartily and freely forgive all that have been or are any way inſtrumental to my Death, and heartily deſire that thoſe that are living may heartily repent.

God bleſs the *King* and the *Royal Family* and grant his *Majeſty* a proſperous *Reign* here and a *Crown* of glory hereafter, God grant peace to the Subjects, and that they live and die in true *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*, That which remains is, that *I* recomend my ſelf to the mercy of my *Jeſus* by whoſe merits *I* hope for mercy, *O Jeſu* be to me a *Jeſus*.

F I N I S.

Lords

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12.

A SPEECH

Lately Made by a

Noble PEER

OF THE

REALM.

My Lords,

IN this great Debate concerning the King's Speech, *the ſad State and Condition we are in*, and the Remedies thereof, I have Offered You my Opinion, and many Lords have ſpoken admirable well to it, with great Freedom and Plainneſs, as the Caſe requires.

Give me leave to offer you ſome few words, in anſwer to two or three of my Lords of the Earls Bench, that have maintained the contrary Opinion.

My Lord, near me, hath told your Lordſhips, that the Preſident of *Hen.* the 4. that I offered to you (who was a Wiſe and Magnanimous Prince; and yet upon the Addreſs of his Parliament, *put away a great part of his Family, and Councils at one time,*) is no proper inſtance, becauſe he was an Uſurper, had an ill Title, and was bound to pleaſe the People.

My Lords, I meddle not with his Title, I am ſure our King hath a very undoubted one; But this My Lord muſt allow, that that wiſe Prince having *need of the People*, knew no better way to pleaſe them, and to create a good intelligence between them and him, than to put away thoſe from Court and Council that were unacceptable to them.

If our King hath the ſame Neceſſity to pleaſe the People, (though for other Reaſons than want of a Title;) Yet I am ſure the Preſident holds, that a Wiſe Prince, when he hath need of his People, will rather *part with his Family and Counſellors, than diſpleaſe them.*

My Lords, This Noble Lord near me hath found fault with that Preſident, that he ſuppoſes I offered your Lordſhips concerning the Chargeable Ladies at Court; But I remember no ſuch thing I ſaid; but if I muſt ſpeak of them, I ſhall ſay as the Prophet did to King *Saul*, *What means the bleating of this kind of cattel?* And I hope the King will make me the ſame anſwer, *that he reſerves them for Sacriſice, and means to deliver them up to pleaſe his People.*

For there muſt be, (*in plain* Engliſh) My Lords, a *change*; We muſt neither have *Popiſh* Wife, nor *Popiſh* Favourite, nor *Popiſh* Miſtreſs, nor *Popiſh* Counſellor at Court, or any new Convert. What I ſpoke was about another Lady that belongs not to the Court, but like *Sempronia* in *Catalines* Conſpiracy, does more Miſchief than *Cethegus*.

In this time of Diſtreſs I could humbly adviſe our Prince would take the ſame courſe that the Duke of *Savoy* did, to ſuffer neither Strangers nor Embaſſadors to ſtay above ſome few weeks in his Country; for all the Strangers and Embaſſadors here, have ſerved the *Plot*, and Deſign againſt us; I am ſure they have no tye to be for us.

But my Lords, what I roſe up to ſpeak, was more eſpecially to my Lord of the *Earls Bench*, that ſpoke laſt, and ſits behind me: Who, as he hath the greateſt Influence in our preſent Councils, ſo he hath let fall to you the very Root of the matter, and the hinges upon which all turns; He tells you that the Houſe of Commons have lately made offers to the King, and he wonders we do not expect the Kings Anſwer to them, before we enter into ſo hot and high Debates.

He tells you, if the King be aſſured of Supplies, we cannot doubt of his Complyance in this and all we can ask; for otherwiſe the King ſhould fall into that that is the worſt condition of a Prince, to have his People have no confidence in him. My Lords, This is that I know they put the King upon, and this is that *we muſt be ruined by*, if we may not with *Freedom* and *Plainneſs* open our Caſe.

My Lords, 'Tis a very hard thing to ſay *that we cannot truſt the King*; and that we have already been deceived ſo often, that we ſee plainly the apprehenſions of *Diſcontent* in the People is no Argument at Court. And though our Prince be in himſelf an Excellent Perſon, that the People have the greateſt Inclinations imaginable to Love; yet we muſt ſay he is ſuch an one, *as no Story affords us a parallel of:* How plain and how many are the proofs of the *Deſign to murther him? How little is he apprehenſive of it?*

The Tranſactions between Him and his Brother are Admirable, and Incomprehenſible; His

His Brothers designs being early known, to aim at the Crown, before his Majesties *Restauration* to this Kingdom.

This Match with a *Portugal* Lady, not like to have Children, *Contrived by the Dukes Father-in-Law*, and no sooner effected, but the Duke and his Party make Proclamation to the World, that we are like to have no Children, that he must be the certain Heir.

He takes his Seat in Parliament as Prince of *Wales*, his Guards about him; the Princes Lodgings at *Whitehall*, his Guards upon the same Floor, without any interposition between him and the King, so that the King was in his hands and in his power every night; all Offices and Preferments being bestowed by him, *Not a Bishop made without him.*

This Prince changes his Religion to make himself a Party, and such a Party that his Brother must be sure to *die* and be *made away*, to make room for him; nothing could preserve him, but that which I hope he will never do, give greater earnest to that wicked Party than his Brother could; and after all, this *Plot* breaks out, plainly *headed by the Duke*, his Interest, and his Design.

How the King hath behaved himself even since the breaking out of it the World knows; we have expected every hour that the Court should joyn with the Duke against us. And it is evident more hath been done to make the *Plot a Presbyterian Plot*, than to discover it.

The *Prorogations*, the *Dissolutions*, the Cutting short of *Parliaments*, not suffering them to have time or opportunity *to look into any thing*, hath shew'd what reason we have to have confidence in this *Court*. We are now come to a *Parliament* again, by what Fate or what Council for my part I cannot guess, neither do I understand the *Riddle* of it.

The Duke is quitted and sent away; the House of Commons have brought up a Bill to disable him of the Crown; and I think they are so far *extremely* in the right; but your Lordships are wiser than I, and have rejected it; yet you have thought fit, and the King himself hath made the *Proposition*, to make such *Expedients* as shall render him but a *Nominal Prince*.

In the mean while where's *this Duke*, that the King and both Houses have declared unanimously *thus dangerous?* Why, he is in *Scotland raising of Forces* upon the *Terra firma*, that can enter dry-foot upon us, without hazard of Winds or Seas, the very place he should be in to raise a Party there, to be ready when from hence he shall have notice: So that this being the case, *where is the trust?* We all think the business is *so ripe*, that they have the *Garrisons*, the *Arms*, the *Ammunition*, the *Seas* and *Souldiery* all in their *hands*; they want but one good *Summe of Money to set up*, and *Crown the Work*, and then they shall have *no more need* of the *People*; and I believe whether they are pleased or no will be no great trouble to them.

My Lords, I hear of a *Bargain* in the House *of Commons*, and an *Address* made to the *King*; but this I know, and must *boldly say it* and *plainly*, that the Nation is *Betray'd* if upon any Terms we part *with our Money* till we are *sure the King is ours*; have what *Laws* you will, and what Conditions you will, they will be of *no use* but *wast Paper* before *Easter*, if the Court have *Money to set up for Popery and Arbitrary Designs* in the mean while.

On the other hand give me leave to tell you, my Lords, the King hath no reason to distrust his People; no man can go home and say, that if the King *comply* with his *People* they will *do nothing for him*, but tear all up from him; we want a *Government*, and we want a *Prince* that we may *trust*, even with the *spending* of *half* our *Annual Revenues*, for some time, for the *Preservation* of these Nations.

The growing Greatness of the *French* cannot be stopt with a little Expence, nor without a real and hearty *Union* of the King and his People. It was never known in *England* that our Princes wanted Supplies either for their Forreign designs, or for their Pleasures; nothing ever shut the *English Purses* but the fears of having their *Money* used against them.

The hour that the King shall *satisfie the People*, that what we give is not to make us *Slaves* and *Papists*, he may have what he will; and this your Lordships *know* and all mankind that know us: Therefore let me plainly tell your Lordships, the *Arguments* that the present Ministers use, is *to Destroy the King* and not *Preserve* him: For if the King will first see what we will do for him, it is impossible if we are in our *Sences* we should *do* any thing.

But if he will first shew that he is *intirely ours*, that he *Weds* the *Interest* and the *Religion* of the *Nation*, 'tis impossible he should *want any thing* that we can *give*.

But I see how the Argument will be us'd: Sir, they will *do nothing* for you, what should you do with these men? But on the other hand I am *bold* to say,

Sir, You may have any thing of *this Parliament*; *put away these Men*, *change your Principles*, *change your Court*, *and be your self*; for the King himself may have any thing of us.

My Lords, if I have been too *plain*, I beg your Pardon; I thought it was the *Duty* of an *English Nobleman* at this time to speak *plain or never*.

I am sure I mean well: and if any man can answer and oppose Reason to what I say, I beg they would do it; for I do not desire or propose any Question.

I Beg this *Debate* may last for *some days*, and that we may go to the *bottom* of the *matter*, and see if these things are so or no, and what Cure there is of the Evil we are in; and then the Result of your Debates may produce some proper Question.

However, we know who *hears*, and I am *glad* of this, that your Lordships have dealt so *Honourably* and so *clearly* in the *Kings presence*, and in the *Kings hearing*, that he cannot say he wants a *right State of things*; he hath it before him, and may take Council as he thinks fit.

London, Printed for *F.S.* at the Elephant and Castle near the Royal Exchange in *Cornhill*. 1681.

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Francia [1]

GREAT and WONDERFUL
News from FRANCE,

Communicated in a
LETTER
From *PARIS*, to a Gentleman in *LONDON*,

Concerning the Great Deſigns of that *Monarch*: As alſo an Account of the Anſwers of the Embaſſadors at *FRANKFORT*, to the *French* Embaſſador's Propoſitions lately made there.

WE having very lately received this following Letter from *Paris*, dated *April* 8th. and the News being ſomething extraordinary, we have without diminiſhing or adding any thing to it, given it you, as it was communicated to us; and as to the Verity of it time will ſhortly ſhew; but we think it more than poſſible, yea, probable, that it is true, or at leaſt, the moſt part of it, and may revive the Hearts of the perſecuted *Proteſtants* of that and other Nations, with hopes, that upon the like Cauſes the like Effects may follow; and that in another Age, if not ſooner, by the Actings of this Monarch againſt the Church of *Rome*, that that great and flouriſhing Kingdom may more purely receive the Goſpel, and that a thorow Reformation may be there made, as it hapned in *England* after the Death of our King *Henry* the 8*th*. But as to the Letter take it as it follows.

SIR,

I Received yours, *&c.* and in return of your many Favors, ſhall communicate freely to you the moſt eminent Occurrences I have met with. You have heard, I doubt not, of the determinations of the Clergy of *France* concerning the *Regalia*, and of the *Manifeſto* of the Moſt Chriſtian King, concerning the Emperor, and the Princes of *Germany*; but ſince that, I underſtand there hath paſſed in the Cabal, or Cabinet Council of this King, what will ſurprize all the Catholicks of *Europe*, *viz.* theſe Votes following, Firſt, That His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is deſired with an hundred thouſand Horſe and Foot, to make this next Campaign a Deſcent into *Italy*. Secondly, To reduce *Rome* to his Obedience. Thirdly, To declare himſelf Emperor of *Rome*. Fourthly, To remove the Pope to *Avignion* in *France*, the place of their Reſidence formerly for two hundred Years. This I have from the beſt hand, and therefore to be credited. If His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall purſue the Deſigns of theſe Councellors, theſe Concluſions will aſſuredly follow. Firſt, If his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall declare himſelf Emperor of *Rome*, the Emperor of *Germany* is but an Uſurper and Intruder upon his Dominions and Rights; and then you may gueſs what may be the Conſequence.

Conſequence. Secondly; The Donation of *Conſtantine*, the Conceſſions of *Pepin* and *Charlemain* will be reſcinded and made *null* to his Holineſs, and the moſt Chriſtian King may reſume thoſe Dominions by them formerly granted to the Popes; and his Holineſs is anſwerable for the mean Profits ſince they have been held and enjoyed by the Apoſtolick See. Thirdly, The Nomination or Appointment of the Popes, will be by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty (being Emperor) as formerly they uſed to be by the Emperor of *Rome*. Fourthly, All General Councils will be called by him, and no Article or Canon (tho' of Faith) ſhall therein paſs without his Imperial *Fiat*. Fifthly, All matters concerning the Church, will be ſolely in his Majeſty to declare and determine, ſo that there will be no more need of a Pope, than of a Sun-Dial in the Grave. Sixthly, His Holineſs being ſeated *Avignion*, will in a ſhort time, inſtead of Chriſt's Vicar, (or Supream Head of his Church on Earth) become a *French* Curate. And it will concern ſome ſeriouſly to conſider, if that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may not be tempted (the better to diſable all the Clergy of *France* to give any Oppoſition to ſo vaſt Deſigns) to ſeize upon the Patrimony of the Gallick Church (which is by ſome accounted a fourth part of *France*) as your *Henry* 8th. did in *England*. I ſhall give you no farther trouble; but I muſt tell you, that in a ſhort time you may expect the greateſt Changes and Revolutions that have happened in *Europe* for many hundreds of Years. I am

Your Faithful Servant,

Paris 8. Apr. 82.

J. P.

The Anſwer of the Embaſſadors aſſembled at Franckfort, *to the* French *Embaſſador's Propoſitions lately made there.*

THE High and Illuſtrious Embaſſadors of the Princes of the Empire met at this preſent Conference, by Order of his Imperial Majeſty, do declare, that after they the ſaid Embaſſadors having duly deliberated on the Propoſitions delivered them as aforeſaid, return this Anſwer;

That His Majeſty of *France* his deſire of conſerving the *Nimeguen* and *Munſter* Peace is very acceptable to the aforeſaid Miniſters, and that they wiſh nothing more; and that they will labor with all their Might the keeping thereof, hoping and believing, that whatever places have been poſſeſſed by his Majeſty of *France* (ſince the Treaty of *Nimeguen*) ſhall be reſtored to its former Eſtate; and that due Satisfaction be made for Damages ſuſtained by the aforeſaid Occupation; and that all Grievances that have been complained of (either at *Ratisbone* or here) by any Princes, Towns, or People, ſhall be redreſſed, and for the future forborn; and that then any other Points inſerted in the *French* Propoſitions ſhall be farther treated of between the aforeſaid Deputies and the Embaſſador of *France*, with all readineſs, according to the Peace concluded at *Nimeguen*, *&c.* and ratified by the whole Empire conformable to Juſtice and Equity; as alſo to the Power they have received from their Principlas.

Signed the 9th. of April, 1682.

LONDON, Printed for *L. C.* 1682.

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TO THE

Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty,

THE

HUMBLE ADDRESS

OF

Your moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects of the City of HEREFORD.

May it pleaſe Your Sacred Majeſty,

SInce we are very ſenſible that no Age hath ever yet produc'd any Prince that hath with more Juſtice, Goodneſs and Mercy, ſwaid the Scepters of the three Kingdoms (Bleſſings which our Fore-Fathers never had in a more eminent degree of Perfection, and all other Nations never yet knew) We conceive it our Duty to manifeſt to your Majeſty and all the World our juſt value and grateful apprehenſions of the happineſs we enjoy under the beſt of Kings and moſt upright of Governments: And however ſome ill Men to accompliſh their black deſigns by attempting to ſubvert the Government, ſlily inſinuate to the credulous People, cauſeleſs Fears and falſe Jealouſies of Arbitrary Power growing upon us, yet the publick Manifeſtations Your Majeſty hath at all times given to your People of your Governing by the Laws of the Land and by no other Method (which we find Your Majeſty holds to inviolably and maintains as ſacred) keep us as ſafe from ſuch mean apprehenſions, as we are ſecure from the diſmal Effects of ſuch a way of Government, which we have no cauſe to ſuſpect unleſs it be from thoſe that ſuggeſt it, nor from them neither till they have ſubverted a well temper'd Monarchy, and introduc'd their belov'd Tyrannical Republick. We cannot but with all humble Duty, Loyal Gratitude, and Exceſs of Joy obſerve your Majeſties conſtant Endeavours to give Satisfaction and Eaſe to the Minds of Your Majeſties Subjects, not only in Your ſtrict Adherence to and Favour of the True Proteſtant Religion, but more eſpecially in Your late Declaration, which cannot but ſtop the mouths of the Seditious and Factious, preſerve from Apoſtacy the Doubtful, and confirm the Loyalty of Your beſt ſetled Subjects; And that Your Majeſty may ſee that we are not poyſon'd or likely to be ſo by any Seditious or Factious Deſigners, we do unanimouſly and heartily Aſſure Your Sacred Majeſty that we will ſtand by Your Majeſty in the Preſervation of Your Perſon, Your Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors, and the Government in Church and State, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſhed, with the laſt drop of our Blood, and peny of our Fortunes; and ſhall be ready on all occaſions chearfully to give You ſuch large Aſſiſtances as (joyn'd with the proportionable Supplies of other Your Majeſties Loyal Subjects) may make your Governmens Great and Eaſie to Your Self at home, and valued and fear'd by all Your Allies and Neighbours abroad. We humbly beg Your Sacred Majeſty to give a Gracious Acceptance to the ſteddy Reſolutions of us Your moſt Obedient and Loyal Subjects, which no Time, no Treachery, no Power, no Fraud or Faction, ſhall ever make us Decline or Alter.

Your Majeſties moſt Humble, Loyal and

Obedient Subjects and Servants,

London, Printed for *Walter Davies*. 1681.

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

Earl of DANBY's PAPER

Touching the MURTHER of

Sir Edmondbury Godfrey,

THE pretended Answer to the Objections against the Earl of *Danby*, about the Murther of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, is so far from excusing him, or making that Narrative appear unlikely, that, if the Author be Dr. *Tong*, as is reported, he could not have invented a more certain way to confirm the opinion that Paper is likely to produce amongst considering men, of the Earl of *Danby*'s being the main Contriver of that detestable Villany; for allowing his Poetical flourishes, in his Common place Harangue, about the difference between Prosperity and Adversity, to be as true as he in frothy Nothings seems to teach us; and that his station stands at this time a remarkable Example of Fortunes mutability, as well in being dissected by false and feigned Friendships, as exposed to the furious gusts of Revenge, proceeding (to use the Author's own words) from such Foes as his wilful Passion, which overflowed all bounds of Reason, made Enemies to his Purple greatness, when Ambition got the Reins: And truly Purple greatness may that well be call'd, which Dyes it self so deep in the Purple Goar of Innocence.

But to take all matters as they stand; Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* once an active, worthy, honest, judicious, learned, zealous and impartial Magistrate, now a most Villainously-murder'd Person, which both by the Laws of God and Nature, cries out for Vengeance against the Authors and Contrivers of his horrid *Exit*.

The Earl of *Danby*, once a flaming Meteor, above our Horizon, pretending by his ill-acquired and worse-dispenc'd Power, nothing but ruine and destruction to all that Region he had influence on; now a Prisoner to stand or fall as his abused Prince, and Justice shall agree: but however undoubtedly liable to an *Hue and Cry* from the Nation, for all those undeniable Villanies and Crimes he tacitely confesses in his Pardon.

A Pardon so drawn up, that were there nothing in the World but that, to point out what is chiefly here enquired for, it certainly would trace us to the Action beyond all Circumstances yet revealed, but what is right down sworn of the Murther. For as a States-man merely, and to fence against all those trayterous Stratagems of prostituting the Honour of his Prince and Country, to the designs of an Ambitious Neighbour; or his weak contrivance to enslave us, and rule us by an Army, with other the like half-spun, raw, untaking Politicks; a Pardon for Treason, Misprision of Treason, Conspiracies at home or abroad, and other matters, with which the first and Pardoning clause of his was fill'd, relating to matters of that nature, would have been enough: but it is to be observed, that the second reciting clause of his, seems to Pardon him all Felonies, *&c.* Crimes none but Murdering-States-men, as he is now thought to be, could ever need.

And it's very likely he surpriz'd his Master, his loving Master, (and, but for him, perhaps the best of Princes) into that Pardon for those latter Crimes, by reading but the former part unto him; for it may be doubted, he durst not read the names of Crimes so remote to his Imployment, and from which he could never hope his Majesty would shelter him, by taking all upon himself, as he, in his unbounded goodness to him, has done for very great ones of the first Nature.

Nature. But to our first point, which is, that Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* is murther'd, and the Earl of *Danby*, a Prisoner, stands suspected of it, which how he is clear'd from, by his Poetical Advocate, we will examine.

First, the Paper infers, that because *Danby* could not hope to be much greater, therefore he needed not to do that mischief: But (to speak the Author's stile) that is but a very weak Inference; for Ill men will do as much mischief to continue, as to obtain Power: otherwise *Cromwell*, and other Tyrants, are foully be-ly'd. Then too, he wilfully mistakes the Paper he pretends to Answer; for that intimates the design of the Murder likely to proceed from *Danby*'s fear, that Sir *Edmond* should make apparent to the King and Kingdom, as he had done to the Duke, that *Danby* was either the Inventer of the Plot, or Concealer of it, for purposes of his own. But it may be asked, What purposes of his own? To this might readily be answered, To prevent an Impeachment against him, upon one head more, (*viz.*) for keeping up an Army, beyond the time limited by Parliament for their Disbanding: since 'tis demonstrable from his own Letters and Practises, that he long before knew there should be none of the intended foreign use for them; and if so, what use could they be continued for but the enflaming of the Nation; or what pretence so justifiable for keeping them up, as a dangerous Plot amongst so obnoxious and hated a People as the Papists, on whom he might be reveng'd too sufficiently, for the Popish Lords voting against his design of keeping the Earl of *Shaftsbury* (and other zealous Patriots for Liberty) in the *Tower*. Therefore not to charge him with conspiring with the Papists, as this Paper would foolishly hoodwink us with the reasons suggested, are sufficient to shew he might politickly contrive that horrid Murder.

Next to what is said about the opportunity, is suggested against the Earl of *Danby*, by the being of Sir *Edmond* at his House that day, we will, with the Author, allow, that all men who have opportunity, do not causelessly murder their Friends: But it is before suggested, that he could not esteem Sir *Edmondabury Godfrey* his Friend, who had discovered his malice to his too long blinded Patron the Duke; nor did *Danby* treat him as such, after he had knowledge of that honest man's love to that well-meaning Prince, in sending *Coleman* to him; but upon several meetings and applications to him, revil'd him (though a Gentleman as well born as himself) with the foul and opprobrious names of *Rogue*, *Knave*, and *medling Rascal*. And though Murther be so execrable a crime, that no Christian can think of without horrour and amazement; yet we find men often call'd so, accus'd, and found guilty of it. Nor is there one generous or heroick action in all the notorious life of *Danby* recorded, but on the contrary, it has been a summary of base ingratitude to his first Raisers, and constant Preservers, of falshood and injustice to his Equals, of tyranny and oppression to his Inferiours, of dishonour and Treason to his Prince and Countrey; in fine, a life of lies and infamies, therefore when provok'd, no doubt capable of any the most unnatural villanies: and that this may not be thought a mere uncharitable suggestion, I will refer my self to the known custom of the honest Earl of *Lindsey*, his Lady's Father, who when he heard any notorious Lie, in respect to his Son in Law's most notable virtue, still would call it an *Osbourn*.

But to follow our Paper, which concludes on a Supposition taken from what is proved by the Witnesses against those already Executed for the Murder, and those, he says, have deposed, he was traced from his own House towards *London* in the morning, *&c.* inferring from thence, he could not be at *Danby*'s that day; but if all things concluded thereupon be but as true, as that he was waiting at the Earl of *Danby*'s that day till one a clock, to speak with him, then is *Danby* as surely guilty of the Murder, as 'tis sure that Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* is dead. For 'tis notoriously known to Sir *John Banks*, Mr. *Mules*, and twenty other people of business that waited with him that day that Sir *Edmond* was there; he complaining then to divers of them how he was fallen into *Danby*'s displeasure, besides his being there, has not onely been declared to the Privy Council by the Lady *Prat*, but has been attested by the King himself in open Discourses, acknowledg'd by a great Countess, *Danby*'s own Relation, and confess'd by himself: nor can it be any wonder the Witnesses should mistake the story of his constant progress that day, since it is so notoriously known, they often change their tales of the Rooms the Body was laid in, in *Somerset-house*, during its supposed continuance there. But to waste time no farther, it is as likely *Danby* might be deceived in his Instruments as other men, if guilty, it is plain have been. But to clear himself from so probable surmises and presumptions which are made against him, his onely way is generously to wave his Pardon (at least) till after Judgment, and take his Trial for this and other things charged upon him by the whole Nation: For all scribling for him is but washing the Blackamore. And it is more than to be suspected, that those who take that pains, or any other ways publickly to defend him, who so plainly confesses Treasons and Felonies, by sheltering himself under a Pardon for them, has been some of his Accomplices in these Crimes, of which, believe it, there will not want Witnesses, when it is as safe and lawful to speak truth, as 'tis now meritorious to do the contrary: Which time, sweet JESUS, in thy good mercy send us speedily.

FINIS.

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The Briſtol Addreſs.

To the Right Worſhipful

Sir RICHARD HART, Kt. and THOMAS EARLE, Eſq;

NOW CHOSEN

Repreſentatives in Parliament

For this City of

BRISTOL.

WE Citizens and Freeholders of this City, hold our ſelves obliged to return you our hearty thanks for your exemplary Loyalty to the King, and preſent eſtabliſhment in Church and State, notwithſtanding all the Deſigns, here or elſewhere, to vilifie or ſubvert them under the ſpecious pretences of *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery*, hoping you will act with all expreſſions of Duty and Allegiance to the King, of whoſe good affections to his people and the eſtabliſhed Religion, we have no doubt, though ill men have indeavoured to ſuggeſt other opinions to his Subjects. And, as you are our Repreſentatives, we lay before you theſe ſeverals.

I. That ſome expedient by Law may be endeavoured to puniſh ſuch as ſhall inſinuate into the people any deſigns in our King or Government to ſet up Arbitrary Power, or ſhall calumniate the profeſſed Sons of the Church of *England* (His Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects) as Papiſts, and men of Arbitrary Principles.

II. That no Laws be Repealed whereby the Church or State may be leſs ſecured againſt their Enemies, but ſuch new Laws may be added to thoſe now in force that may effectually defend them from the Horrid and Helliſh Plots of the Papiſts, and from a ſecond Ruin and Deſolation by the underhand-contrivances, and reſtleſs endeavours, of ambitious and Fanatical Parties.

III. That

III. That you preſerve the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Propety of the People: That the King and His Succeſſors may be aſſured of our Duty and Allegiance, and we receive from them Mercy and Juſtice: Then will God bleſs us whilſt we ſerve him and his Anointed, *and Righteouſneſs and Peace ſhall kiſs each other.*

IV. That you endeavour to preſerve us from illegal Impriſonments and exactions of Fees by our Fellow-Subjects, leſt we be enſlaved under Arbitrary Power (as in the late Rebellion) contrary to *Magna Charta*, and other good Laws; but if any ſhall offend let them be puniſhed in ſuch ſort as the Law directs.

V. That the King be ſupplied with money to ſecure us from the power of *France* at Land and Sea, that what Alliances the King hath or ſhall make for defence of *Europe*, and the Proteſtant Religion, may be performed; and our Merchants encouraged to ſend forth thoſe large Adventures they are inclined unto, if they could be ſecured by good Fleets in the four Seas and remoter parts: They being at preſent greatly apprehenſive that the *French* may poſſeſs their Eſtates at pleaſure at Sea, as he doth thoſe of the Subjects to the Empire on Land, from whence cometh a Diminution of Trade in the Kingdom.

In endeavouring theſe particulars you will truly repreſent Us.

Briſtol, this 7th. *March* 1680.

Subſcribed by moſt of the Aldermen, Council, and ſeveral Hundreds of His Majeſties Loyal Subjects of the ſame City.

LONDON:

Printed for *Henry Brome.* 1681.

An Account of the Arraignment, Tryal, Escape, and Condemnation, of the *DOG* of *Heriot's Hospital* in *Scotland*, that was supposed to have been Hang'd, but did at last slip the Halter.

SIR,

KNowing that you are disirous to hear newes from *Scotland*, I thought fit to show you that that Act wherby all publick Officers are obleadged to take the Test, is rigorowsly put in executione, and therby many persons baith in Kirk and State, throughout the haill Kingdome, by reasone they are not free to take the said Test, are Incontinently turned out of ther places, whilk severitie gave occasione to a wheen Loun Ladd's belonging to the hospittal of *Hariots* Buildings in *Edenbrough*, to divert themselves with somewhat like the following Tragi-Commedy.

The Lounes it seems fell intil a debate amongist themselves, whither or no, ane Mastiffe Tyke, who keept the outmost gate, might not by reasone of his Office of Trust, come within the compasse of the Act, and swa, be obleadged to take the Test, or be turned out of his place,

The Tyke therupon was called, and interrogat, whither he wold take the Test, or run the hazard of forfaulting his Office, whilk was asked again, and again.

The silly Curr boding no ill, answered all their Queries with silence, whilk had been registrat as a flat refusal, had not on of the Lounes, mair bald then the rest, taken upon him to be his Advocat, who standing up, pleaded that silence might as wel be interpreted assent, as refusal, and therupon insisted, that it might be tendered to him in a way maist plausible, and in a poustar maist agreeable to his stomack.

This Debat lasted not long, untill all agreed, that ane Printed Copy should be thrumbled of as little boulke as it could, and therafter smured over with Tallow, Butter, or what else might make maist temping to his appetit; this done, he readiely took it, and after he had made a shift, by rowing it up and down his mouth, to separat what was pleasant to his pallat, and when all seemed to be over, on a sudden they observed somehat (ilke piece after another) droped out of his Mouth, qwhilk the Advocats on the other side said it was the Test, and that all his irksome champing and chowing of it, was only, if possible, to seperat the concomitant nutriment, and that this was mikel worse then an flat refusal, and gif it were rightly examined, would upon Tryal be found no less then Leiseing-making.

To this his Advocat oppened, That his Enemies having the rowing of it up, might perhaps (through deadly spite) have put some crooked prin intil it, and that all the fumbling and rowing of it up and down his mouth, might be by reason of the prin, and not through any scunnering at the Test it self, and that ther was nought in the hail matter, that looked like Leiseing-making, except by interpretation, and his Adversaries allowed to be the only Interpreters. Yea, what was mair offered, that his Client should have a fair Tryal before competent Judges, qwhilk was unanimously granted.

A Court therupon being convocat, ane assize constitut, the Indictment being read, ther fell out warm pleading upon baith sides, amongst the Advocats, those against him pleaded, that he was ou'r audacert, to take so mikel upon him, and that the chaming and cherking of the Test belonged nought to him, nor to none like him, who served only in inferior Offices, and that his trust and power reached nought so far, and by what he had done, he had made himself guilty of mair nor a bare refusal, according as was Libelled. Those for him pleaded, That he could be guilty of nather, since he had freely taken it in his Mouth, willing to have swallowed it down, and that ther was no fault in him, bot in its self, that it passed not, since it fell a sqwabeling, one part of it hindering another fighting in his hasse, and if wold have agreed in its self, to have gone down all one way, he wold blaithly swallowed it, as he had done many untouthsome morsel before, as is well known to all the Court, ane other pleaded, that he had officiat very dutifully, and was niver known to balk his Trust: bot that was answered with this, all his former good Service could not excuse his present guilt; guilt qwoth an other, if that be guilt, he hath many marrows, and why should he be worse handled then all the rest? bot what ever could be said in his favors, when the business came to the Jury, they found that he had so mangled the Test with his explanatory tongue and teeth, and swa misleardly abused it with his slaver, that it was right soon agreed upon, to be at least Interpretative Treason, and consequently brought him in guilty of Leiseing-making. Wherupon he was ordered to close Prison, till ane other time, that the Court call him forth to receive his doom, to be hanged like a Dog.

(As the Lounes was removing him from Court to Prison, ther chanced a Curat to be present, who asked, what was the matter, what ailed them at the Dog? one of the Limmers answered, That he being in publick Trust, was reqwired to take the Test, and had both refused it, and abused it, wherupon he was to be hanged; the Curat storming, said, They deserve all to be hanged for such presumptuous mockery; the Lounes laughing aloud, cryed out with one consent, That he and his Brethren deserved better to be hanged, then any of them, or the Tyke eather, since they had swallowed that which the Tyke had refused.

This surprising Verdict, you may be sure, created no small grumbling of the gussorne with the Advocats and others, who spared not to utter ther private sentiments, and blaze abroad the Arguments *Pro*, and *Con*, and what further might have been homologating, had not the Court halsted to have the Tykes Life, take a few of them as they come to hand.

Some suspected deadly fewd in the Chancelor of the Jury, alleadging that ane Enemy was not fit to be a Judg, this was answered with, that he was of more Noble Extract, then to stain his Honor with so base an Act, and that his own Reputation wold make him favored; an other objected, that a Tykes refusing so good a Test, might be of ill example to Creatures of better reason; to this a pikle Loun answered, That it could not be good, since Lyon Rampant, King of Tykes, nor none of his Royal Kine, wold not so much as lay ther Lips to it, far less to swallow it, and therfore, ... this was interrupted by on, who was a principal Limmer among them (a contradiction reconciler) who wold needs help him with a Logical distinction, wherby he like ane *Aberdens* man, might Cant and Recant again.

Bot he was soon snibed by an other, who said, That the Tyke wold nather sup Kail with the Div'l, nor the Pope, and therfore needed not his long Spoon; well said ane other, this is mair nor needs, since we

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are all sure that the Tyke cold not have kept his Office so long, bot he most needs have swallowed many a buttered Bur before this time, and it was bot gaping a little wider, and the hazard was over. Nay, qwoth his Nighbour, the hazard was greater then ye imagine, for the Test, as it was rowed up, had many plyes and implications in it, one contrary to another, and swa the Tyke might have been quelkened ere it had been all over, ilk ply as it were rancounterling another wrestling and fighting in his hass.

Prait, quoth an other, this last Apologie is needless, since the Tyke hath (in my opinion) swallowed the better part, if not the hail Test, though I most confess, he hath vomited it up again, let us therfore try him, if like a Dog he will lick up his own vomit, bot this project was universally rejected, bait by the maist charitable, as bootless, and by the mair severe, as to great a favor.

Favor (qwoth a Chield, who had been skeeping all the while, and only heard the word favor) what, show favor to such a Loun as he? na, rather let him who hath the longest Arm, thrust it so far down his Throat, so that an other may pull it out at his Tail, then be thus fasht with him, though he were my own Brother, and then we may be sure he hath taken it, and all the parts of it; bot this only moved Laughter, for none was found that wold undergo so foulsome a hazard.

But to return to the Tyke, for some will be curious, to hear what came of him, matters being thus precipitat, and all hopes of reprieve uncertain. A Wylie Loun advised him to lay by the Sheeps (which had done him so little good) and put on the Foxes skin, who covertly through fear, hiding his own tail between his Legs, and griping an others train, passed through all the Gates undiscovered, and swa is a missing.

This he was forc'd, when right did fail
To give them the slap with a Foxes Tail.

Now what is become of him sine syne, and what proclaimations was issued out after him, you may probably hear hereafter.

Mean while, because the contradiction reconciler was so soon (contrary to the Laws of disputation) interrupted, before he could bring forth his Logical distinction; and since the curious have sorely tortured ther Ingines, searching which of the Schoal nicities that might; I shall only trouble you with a few of ther conjectures, and leave it to the Judgment of the Learn'd to determine, which had been maist suitable.

One fancied that it was this, that the Tyke might take the Test, *Secundum Quid*, though not *Simpliciter*, ane other, *in sensu diviso*, though not *in sensu composito*, a third, that though it was deadly to take it with *verbal interpretatione*, yet it might be safe enough, with *mintal reservatione*, a fourth, bethought him on this, that though his stomoch did stand at it, *in sensu univoco*, yet might easily digest it in *sensu & æquivoco*; a fifth, (gerning the while) was for this, that it might take it, though not *formaliter*, in at his mouth, by way of Potion or Bolus, yet *fundamentaliter* in at this bottome, by way of Glister or Suppository? a sixth, brought forth this blind whely, that it might be safely taken, *In vehiculo cæcæ obedintiæ*, bot could not think on the other member of the distinction; and some said it had none, the times when it was used being so ignorant and unintentive; a seventh, who thought all the former distinctions too subtil and airie, and that which was bred in the bone went niver out of the flesh, except by more severe Medecins, then was yet tried, proponed, an admirable compound to be used, as an excellent preperative to the Test, alleadging, that all those needless scroupolosities did proceed from these ill humors, which could not be expelled, without the total evacuation of Christianity; the Receipt, as it was transcribed out of the Packet of Advice from *Rome*, take as follows, from the Laboratory of the Inquisition, *June* 22.

After many Years pains and study, a niver failing Medicine, called a Catholique Pill, to purge out Christianity, approved by the most Learned Fathers in *Spain*, *Italy*, and other places; the true Receipt is as follows,

Receipt. *Take Siven pound weight of Lay-Ignorance, as many Drhames of Monckish Devotion as you can get, half a score of planary Indulgences, and a douzon of well conceived Equivocations, Venial Sins, as many as you please, and a pocket full of Dispensations, boil all these in a Jesuits Brain-pan, and add thereto, of the Doctrine of probable Opinions, and of Seminary Priests Loyalty*, quantum sufficit, *after fermentation Clape in Nine Miracles prepared*, secundum artem, *by the Assigns of Father* Cresly, *to give it a Tincture, sprinkle a small dash of Pennance, and wrap up the whole mass in the Popes Infalibility, and take it blindfold in a Cup of Absolution, at any time of Life, bot especially at the hour of Death, and it will do your bussines. The Operation is downward, or infernal, carying all humors that way. It is also Opiat, or stupifying, because after a sufficient Dose of it, you may swallow any Malignity whatsomever, without any hazard of giving.* Probatum est.

——————Ridendo dicere verum,
Quid vitat—————*Juven.*—————

Now Sir, The news of the Tykes escape being blazed abroad, the Court assembleth to consult, what, was then anent to be done, several overtures was proponed; one said, that the affronting escape, and other misdemeanors of that Tyke, was so great, that the highest severity was too little, an other said, sine he is gone, let him go, what have we more to do, bot put another in his place; a third said, that his presumptuous and treasonable carriage, wold be of ill example to others, unless due punishment followed therupon; a fourth said, had he not been confident of his own Innocency, he wold niver have byden a Tryal, and sine he met with such a surprising Verdict, what could he do less, then flee for his Life? wold not the best in the Court, if he had been in his Circumstances, done the like; a fifth said, if he had been condemned, and hanged in time, he had not played us this prank, bot seeing we have missed himself, let us seaze well on what he hath left behind him. After debating, they came to a conclusion, and ordered the saim to be Published; the Tenor whereof follows,

Whereas ane cutt lugged, brounish coloured Mastiff Tyke, called Watch, *short leged, and of low stature; who being in Office of Publick Trust, was required to take the Test, and when it was lawfully tendered to him, he so abused it, and mangled it: wherupon he, after due Tryal for his Presumption, was Convict of Treason, and sincesyn hath broken Prison, wherupon the Court adjudges him, To be hanged like a Dog, whenever he shall be apprehended; and in the mean time, declares his Office, his hail Estat heiratable and moveable, and all causualties belonging to him, to be Echeated and forfaulted, and Ordeans the Colectors of the Court to uplift his Rents and Causualties, and to be countable to the Court, both for diligence and intermission, and also discharges all persons to reset or harbor the Fugitive Trator, and likeways, gives assurance to all persons, who shall eather apprehend him, or give true information of him, swa that therupon he bees apprehended, the person swa doing, shall have* 500 l. *for his pains, given at our Court*, &c.

London, Printed for the Author, *M. D.* 1682.

I Do Appoint Robert Boulter and Benjamin Alsop to Print this my Narrative, Entituled, The Present State and Condition of Ireland, &c.

January 17.
1680.

Edmund Murphy.

121
1.50

THE Present State AND CONDITION OF IRELAND,

But more especially the

PROVINCE OF ULSTER,

Humbly represented to the

KINGDOM OF ENGLAND.

BY

EDMUND MURPHY, Secular Priest, and Titular Chanter of ARMACH, and one of the First Discoverers of the

IRISH PLOT.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Boulter* at the Turks Head in *Cornhil*, and *Benj. Alsop* at the Angel and Bible in the *Poultrey*. 1681.

THE Preſent State AND CONDITION OF IRELAND, &c.

THe Firſt occaſion of Diſcovering the Plot carried on by Dr. *Oliver Plunckett*, and other Treaſons, was a difference that aroſe between Mr. *John Dermond* of *Caſtletown-Bedlow* in the County of *Louth*, and one Enſign *John Smith*, as the Reader will underſtand in the peruſal of the following Relation.

I.

The Informant being Pariſh Prieſt of *Killevey* and Chantor of *Armach*, at which time the inhabitants of the ſaid Pariſh ſuffered great dammage and loſſes by the Tyranny of

one *Redmond Hanlon* and his Confederates; the ſaid *Hanlon* being a cruel Murderer, Rebel and Tory, (which is apparent to the whole Kingdome of *Ireland*) againſt whom the Informant preached in open Aſſembly, and not only againſt his Aſſociates, but alſo againſt all ſuch as relieved and harboured the ſaid *Redmond*; which he the ſaid *Redmond* hearing, ſent many Threats to the Informant, willing him to deſiſt his reflections againſt him and his Companions, or otherwiſe the effect of the ſaid Informants preaching ſhould prove bitter to himſelf in the latter end: for they proteſted to make him tread the ſame ſteps with ſorrow back again to other Kingdomes, whence he came, upon default of not taking the Advice aforeſaid.

II.

The ſaid *Hanlon* perceiving the Threatning ſent to the Informant could not anſwer the end thereof, made an Edict throughout that Barony, (therein declaring) that whoever came to hear the ſaid Informant, ſhould for the firſt time pay one Cow, and for the ſecond Miſdememeanor of that kind ſhould pay two Cows, and for the third his life; which accordingly he executed; having taken one Cow from *John M-Fulloney*, proceeded to take the ſecond; and in purſuance of one of the Informants Pariſhioners (out of his own houſe) by name *Cully Mackavell*, barbarouſly murthered him; by which the Informant ſaw into what danger he had brought himſelf and others by his Preaching, therefore hired a Curate to officiate in his ſaid Pariſh, and himſelf ſeldom or ever after reſorted thither.

III.

It followed that one *Cormacke Raver O-Murphy*, Herdſman to one Lieutenant *Henry Baker*, committed ſeveral Robberies againſt ſeveral perſons of the County of *Louth* and *Armach*, being encouraged thereunto from the conſideration he had of his Maſters being an Officer of his Majeſties ſtanding Army, and concluding it ſafeguard enough to colour his Roguery, which ſo emboldened him to that height of inſolency, that his Maſter could not be ſuppoſed able to anſwer to the one third of his Villany, upon which he was neceſſitated to deſert the ſervice of his ſaid Maſter: which done, he joyned himſelf to the Tories (*viz.*) the ſaid *Hanlon* and his company: leaving *William Murphy* his Brother as a pledge to

ſerve

ſerve his ſaid Maſter, Lieutenant *Baker*: his Unkle *Bryan Murphy* then ſerving Enſign *John Smith*, the ſaid *Baker*'s Father-in-law.

IV.

The ſaid *Cormucke* by his notorious actions rendered all of his name obnoxious though never ſo honeſt: ſo that it was concluded upon by ſuch to joyn iſſue together to bring him back dead or alive; and the firſt opportunity they found for that purpoſe was about *September* 1678; the Informant being at a meeting in his ſaid Pariſh on *Sunday*; and after ſervice demanded of one *Thomas Murphy* who had been abſent, what kept him ſo long; the ſaid *Thomas* in his Reply, called aſide the Informant with others of the chief of the ſaid Pariſh, and informed them that the ſaid *Cormucke* with ſeven more, were drinking in a certain place called *Carick Stickin*, about a mile diſtant from the reſidence of the ſaid *Baker* and *Smith*; wherefore the Informant called others of his Pariſh (that were graver than the reſt) to conſult what was beſt to be done in this matter, to which ſome of them replyed, that they durſt not give notice to the Kings Officers, leſt they might be diſappointed; adding further, that when ever the ſaid Rebels had intelligence of the Informers, they would come and burn their Houſes ſoon after; but the Informant apprehending the ſlaviſh fear they were poſſeſſed with, repaired immediately to the ſaid Lieutenant *Baker*'s houſe, without any further Conference, ſending a Letter by one *Art O Quine*, unto the ſaid Lieutenant *Baker*, to meet the Informant in an Acre of ground near the ſaid *Baker*'s houſe; where he accordingly came, accompanied with his Wife; where the Deponent declared his buſineſs, acquainting the ſaid *Baker*, that hard by his houſe were a company of Tories drinking, ſhewing him how the poor Countrey ſuſtained much dammage by them, and that now there was an opportunity to take ſo many of them, if he would employ his Souldiers thereabout. The ſaid Lieutenant replyed, that if the Deponent would be bound that the Tories would abide his coming, he would ſend for his Souldiers; to which the Deponent anſwered, he could not dive into their thoughts, but if the ſaid *Baker* was loth to execute his Office, he would go himſelf, if he might be fitted with Arms, and help accordingly, and take them: But the ſaid *Baker* made this anſwer, that they did to the neighbourhood no dammage, and that *Cormacke Raver O-Murphy* was there, who he was ſatisfied the Informant would not conſent to have ſlain among the reſt, ſeeing the Deponent and he were both of a name; but

the Informant proteſted the contrary: upon which the ſaid *Baker* made him ſome ſlight promiſes to have them ſecured; and in hopes of the performance of what he had promiſed, the Informant departed, informing his Friends what had paſſed between him and the ſaid *Baker*; (all which proved of no effect) Notwithſtanding the Informant can depoſite upon Oath that the ſaid Rebels remained in the ſame Town all night drinking, at the houſe of one *Richard Baths*, and in the morning were ſo drunk that their Wenches were forced to help them away, ſo that if five or ſix Countrey-men had attempted to take them with the uſe of their Clubs, they might have eaſily accompliſhed the enterprize, notwithſtanding their Fire-Arms and Weapons.

V.

That after the ſaid Lieutenant *Baker* received intelligence that a certain Tory, by name *Art Mackardle*, was in one *Edmund O Quin*'s houſe, the ſaid *O-Quin* being Tenant to the Informants Father; and the ſaid *Baker* and ſome of his Souldiers lying in ambuſh till morning about the ſaid houſe; from whence then came forth the ſaid Tory, whom the Souldiers purſued from the Mountain to the Plain, where the ſaid Tory made his eſcape; at which the Souldiers ſeemed much concerned and angry: in which rage they took Priſoners both men and women that they met with, under pretence of encouraging the ſaid Tory in his flight, and that he had given his Arms (as he eſcaped) to ſome women; among the reſt the Informants nurſe was taken, and brought Priſoner to the Town of *Dundalk*: the day following being *Sunday*, a certain Boy came and informed the Deponent, that his Nurſe was taken by Lieutenant *Baker* and his Souldiers, under the preſence aforeſaid; the ſaid Boy affirming further, that he the ſaid *Mackardle* with two more of his Companions, were drinking at one *Richard Bath*'s houſe, not far diſtant from the ſaid Enſign *John Smith*'s houſe, where the ſaid *Baker* had been himſelf an hour before. The Informant ſending the ſaid Boy to ſee whether the ſaid Tories tarried ſtill in the ſaid place, the Boy returned with the Affirmative, and how they had taken ſome Gentlemen as they paſſed by; at which anſwer the Informant haſted (in ſome fury) to the ſaid *Baker*; enquiring what knavery was carried on between his Souldiers and Tories, and why the Informants Nurſe ſhould be detained Priſoner about the eſcape of *Mackardle*? ſeeing he was all day drinking near the ſaid *Baker*'s houſe: After which the ſaid *Baker* promiſed her liberty, which he accordingly performed.

VI.

VI.

That the Deponent having a Brother, by name *Phelemy Murphy*, who travelling to *Dundalk*, paſſed by near to the ſaid Enſign *John Smith*'s houſe, in a certain hollow place where Sand and Gravel was before digged up, and who did he there meet but the ſaid *Baker*, and the foreſaid *Cormucke Raver O-Murphy*, a Rebel and proclaimed Tory, with others drinking hot waters and other Liquors; the ſaid *Phelemy* was ſomewhat aſtonied at firſt ſight hereof, but the leſs daunted at the ſight of the ſaid *Baker*; who commanded the ſaid *Phelemy* to light off his horſe, and take the Bible Oath not to reveal the meeting of the ſaid Tory and himſelf, (who were exerciſing themſelves in wreſtling) who preſſed ſo much drink on the ſaid *Phelemy*, that he was altogether uncapable to go about his buſineſs any further, (nor return home) therefore ſtayed all night in the Field: in the mean time his horſe went home without him, where his friends immediately concluded he was either ſlain or drown'd. And at this time *William Murphy* was Herdſman to the ſaid *Baker*, in the room of his brother the ſaid *Cormucke*, who was turned Rebel and Tory: though 'tis the Informants opinion, that had they all three been ſhaken together in a Bag, it would puzzle the underſtanding of a wiſe man to paſs an impartial judgement who was moſt Rebel and Tory of all the three; whether *Cormucke*, or his ſaid Brother *William*, or the Lieutenant himſelf: for the ſaid *William Murphy*, who was the ſaid *Baker*'s Herdſman (as before mentioned) told the Deponent and ſeveral others, that he was as a faithful Meſſenger employed by the ſaid Lieutenant *Baker*, to carry Powder and Ammunition from his Maſter, for the ſupply of the Tories.

VII.

That the Deponent was credibly informed by *Katherine Micardle* and ſeveral others, that the ſaid *Baker* was God-father to the Child of *Bryan Micardle*, a proclaimed Tory: and the Informant had all other circumſtances relating to the ſaid Chriſtening told him.

VIII.

That *Richard Bath* who lived the ſame year in the Informants Pariſh (did and) can teſtifie that what was revealed to the ſaid *Baker* in ſecret, in order to apprehend the Tories that frequented the ſaid *Bath*'s houſe; that it was no ſooner revealed, but the Tories were made acquainted therewith, repeating *Verbatim* what was delivered as matter of Secreſie to the ſaid Lieutenant *Baker*, relating to the apprehending the ſaid Tories; which being underſtood by them, and that the ſaid *Bath* went about to betray them; the ſaid *Cormucke* coming to his houſe, deſigned to kill him, but the Piece miſſing Fire, he made his eſcape: it was agreed on by the Tories to have him hanged at his own door; but giving him the liberty of taking the Oath, he ſolemnly ſwore on the Bible never to attempt the betraying them any more, by which means he was then ſpared. This was declared to the Informant and Mr. *William Hethrington*, by the whole family of the ſaid *Bath*, which afterwards was related to the Duke of *Ormond* by the Informant: With many more of the like tranſactions in the Countrey.

IX.

That the ſaid *Cormucke Raver O-Murphy* growing very notorious, at length he forſook the great Rebel *Redmond Hanlon*; and by reaſon of his dexterity in plundering and pillaging, he became the Ring-leader of a company diſtinct to himſelf; and at a certain time came accompanied with two of his men, to the Informants Pariſh (*viz.*) *Killevey*, and plundered three Scotch-men there reſident, (the names of which were given to the Duke of *Ormond* by the Informant,) theſe three men being before Tributaries to the ſaid *Redmond Hanlon*, it being become a cuſtome for the Countrey people of *Ireland* to pay a certain ſum of money to the Tories for a Paſs to go unmoleſted (about their neceſſary affairs) from the reſt of the Gang: the ſaid three men complaining to the ſaid *Redmond* how they had been ſpoiled by the ſaid *Cormucke* and his company, notwithſtanding their paying for Paſs and Protection from ſuch invaſion; the ſaid *Hanlon* deſired them to have patience, and to colour the matter till ſuch time as he could take the ſaid *Cormucke*. Whereupon the ſaid *Hanlon* repaired towards the place where he knew the ſaid *Cormucke* was, and ſent to deſire his company to go along with the ſaid *Hanlon* (as he pretended) to take a booty; which the ſaid *Cormucke*, not in the leaſt doubting, came accordingly to meet *Hanlon*, having

having no more in company but two of his men, that had been at the taking of the fore-mentioned booty: but he no ſooner appeared before the ſaid *Hanlon*, but he was taken; which the two men perceiving their Captain in cuſtody, betook them to their heels, and one of them had made his eſcape, had not one *Laghbin Hanlon*, brother to the ſaid *Redmond*, taken a horſe from the Plow and purſued him, ſo that he was alſo taken: and all three (*viz.*) the ſaid *Cormucke* and two men were guarded by fourteen Tories through the Informants Pariſh to one *Neale Brolly*'s houſe, where the ſaid *Hanlon* ſent for the perſons that were robbed, and delivered them the ſaid *Murphy*, letting his two men at liberty, upon condition they would reſtore the goods aforeſaid, and withal writ a *Mittimus* to the next Juſtice of the Peace, with the ſaid *Cormucke Murphy*; who ſeeing himſelf liable to the cenſure of the Law, contracted with the ſaid *Hanlon*'s brother (before-mentioned) to give him 20 *l.* the week following to have his liberty, which he had accordingly; but without any Arms or Weapons: This being done in the face of the Informants Pariſh. The ſaid *Cormucke* being ſet at liberty, provided himſelf new Arms; ſends a Challenge to the ſaid *Redmond*: who refuſed to appear, but made ſolemn proteſtations to be revenged of the ſaid *Cormucke* in publick or private.

X.

The Informant receiving intelligence that one of his Horſes were ſtolen, obtains a warrant from Sir *Hans Hamilton* for the apprehending ſuch perſon or perſons in whoſe cuſtody the ſaid Horſe ſhould be found; which he effected accordingly: and brought the perſons before one Sir *Toby Points*, one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace; where the Informant met one Captain *William Butler*, who enquired of the Informant if he had ſeen the great Rebel *Hanlon* lately. to which the Informant replyed, he might eaſily be ſeen in the Informants Pariſh, if there were any to look after him: Upon which the ſaid Captain called the Informant aſide, asking him if he could aſſiſt him with his advice how the ſaid Rebel *Hanlon* might be apprehended or kill'd: to which the Deponent anſwered, how dangerous it was to truſt the military men of that Kingdome; and withal related to the ſaid Captain how Lieutenant *Baker* had ſerved him in that matter; adding, that if any diligent and faithful Souldiers had taken the cauſe in hand, the ſaid *Hanlon* had not tyrannized over poor people for two years laſt paſt: to which the ſaid Captain anſwered, if that ſervice was but once accompliſhed, the ſaid *Baker* ſhould be disbanded: the ſaid Captain deſiring the Informants advice herein, they made a ſolemn Covenant among themſelves to be true to each other

in the management of this affair: the Informant telling the ſaid Captain, that *Cormucke Raver O-Murphy* who had lately fallen out with the ſaid *Hanlon*, and being by him taken, he would prove the only man inſtrumental in this buſineſs: and withal, the Informant told the Captain he would by one means or other incite the ſaid *Cormucke* to this ſervice, if the ſaid Captain thought no danger would enſue thereon: hereupon the Captain approved highly of the deſign, and deſired the Informant to promiſe the ſaid *Cormucke* twenty Guineas and his Pardon; and that he might have free regreſs to the ſaid Captain, ſeeing he was hitherto no Murtherer, though a Robber and Rebel: all which the Captain deſired to be done in his name.

XI.

That the Informant made diligent ſearch and enquiry after the ſaid *Cormucke* ſeveral days, and when he had found him, he privately declared to him what ſervice he was to do, with Captain *Butler*'s propoſitions for the performance of the ſame: withal the Informant told him, he would give him five pounds of his own over and above.

XII.

That the Informant having delivered the meſſage, the ſaid *Cormucke* made the following Objections, (*viz.*) that there was great difficulty that attended the accompliſhment of the ſaid deſign, by reaſon of the mutual correſpondency that was held between him and ſeveral of the Officers of the Kings Army, as alſo his intimacy with many of the Romiſh Clergy, though he the ſaid *Cormucke* confeſſed he knew no Company leſs concerned than the ſaid Captain *Butler*'s, by reaſon they were newly come to the Countrey, though five therein held correſpondency with the ſaid *Hanlon*; who by his Letters received daily encouragement that in a ſhort time he ſhould ſee war: and it was that expectation which obſtructed his departing the Kingdome before that time; nevertheleſs he the ſaid *Cormucke* would work a device to have him deſtroyed or taken, with the aſſiſtance of Captain *Butler* aforeſaid.

XIII.

That the device ſhould be carried on thus: that the ſaid Captain ſhould ſend *Cormucke* a private protection, and twelve Soul-

Souldiers, habited like the Tories; and this to be done in the night time; and that he would place ten of the ſaid twelve in Ambuſhment near the place where *Redmond*'s goods were ſuſpected to be, by him the ſaid *Cormucke*; and that himſelf would go with the other two, to a place where they might be diſcovered by the ſaid *Redmond* and his company, as ſuch as came to plunder; which when by them obſerved, they would make a retreat to bring the ſaid *Redmond* and company to the men in Ambuſh, who might preſently iſſue forth and take *Redmond*: this the ſaid *Cormucke* concluded to be the beſt courſe; to which the Informant gave his approbation.

XIV.

That the Informant might not be ſuſpected by the ſaid *Redmond*'s friends living in his Pariſh, he concluded to go on foot to the ſaid Captain *Butler*'s houſe, which was ſixteen miles diſtant from the Informants habitation, it being alſo very tempeſtuous weather, he notwithſtanding repaired thither; and not finding the Captain at home, determined to ſend the reſult of his meſſage to *Cormucke*, and *Cormucke*'s anſwer, in a Letter by the hand of one of his Souldiers to the ſaid Captain *Butler*; by reaſon the Informant underſtood he was not to return in four days: and obtaining leave from his Lady for one of the Souldiers to go, he ſent the Letter accordingly.

XV.

That the Informant ſuddenly after this, met the ſaid *Cormucke*, who demanded where his private Protection was, to which the Informant made anſwer, that he had not ſeen the Captain ſince, but that he had ſent him a relation of their Conference by one of his own Souldiers in a Letter; but the ſaid *Cormucke* replied, he would neither truſt the Deponent nor the ſaid Captain: for he further ſaid, that if the Souldiers came to execute the ſaid deſign againſt *Hanlon*, he would not ſtir without a Protection; for thereby himſelf was liable to be taken, eſpecially if what he intended could not be effected againſt the ſaid *Redmond*: upon the hearing of this matter, the Informant ſends a Meſſenger with a Letter to the ſaid Captain, therein acquainting him with the ſaid *Cormucke*'s readineſs to the ſervice aforeſaid: as alſo how he doubted the Informant's and ſaid Captains fidelity, ſeeing no Protection was provided for him: wherefore the ſaid Captain returned anſwer to the Deponent, that he had encloſed him a Letter in the Duke of *Ormond*'s, from whom he expected a Protection ſhould be had the *Tueſ-*

day following; desiring also the Informant to give the said *Cormucke* all the encouragement possible; assuring by Oath in his Letter, he would not for a Million of money any Trick should be put on the said *Cormucke*; but on the contrary, he should have all reasonable security for the performance of what was promised; which Letter the Informant sent to the said *Cormucke* for his assurance of a Pardon and Protection, and better encouragement to prosecute his design.

XVI.

That the first opportunity the said *Cormucke* took to expedite his intent was the surprizal of one *David Molligan* of the Town of *Lecorry*, in the County of *Armach*; who coming from *Dublin*, was commanded to stand (by the said *Cormucke*) and deliver his Purse; instead of which the said *David* produced his Pass under the great Rebel *Hanlon*'s hand, telling him, that his Father and *Hanlon* were Gossips, and that the said *Hanlon* had often been sheltered in his Fathers house when narrow search was made by virtue of Sir *Hans Hamilton*'s Warrant for him: hereby the said *Cormucke* had the opportunity to exasperate the said *Hanlon*, seeing his name and authority were made use of, for the said *Cormucke* on set purpose resolved to contemn the same, acquainting further the said *David*, notwithstanding his great esteem of *Hanlon*, that he would not save the least scrip of his goods for his sake, till such time the said *Hanlon* did restore the said *Cormuck*'s Arms, which he had a little before deceitfully taken from him: hereupon the said *David* promised he should have them, provided he would restore his goods at the reception thereof, at a certain place appointed; which both parties agreed to.

XVII.

That the said *Cormucke* found out the Informant that night, and told him how opportunely he had met with the great Rebel *Hanlon*'s Friend, and of the other circumstances relating to the said meeting by them appointed: but the Informant counselled the said *Cormucke* not to send for the Souldiers assigned for that purpose, till he might be assured of *Hanlon* himself being at the place.

XVIII.

XVIII.

That on the appointed day the ſaid *David* came to the place agreed on, placing the ſaid *Hanlon* and his Aſſociates near thereunto; but providently one *John Mackeevir* going by, was by the ſaid *Hanlon* and his company eſpied out of the Ambuſh, who immediately ſurprized him, and thought to have killed him, concluding it was the ſaid *Cormucke*; but he cryed out aloud for mercy, and the Rebels underſtanding by the voice that they were miſtaken, releaſed him; by this outcry the ſaid *Cormucke* was alarmed that the ſaid *Hanlon* and his company lay wait for him, therefore he abſented himſelf for that time: the ſaid *Hanlon* thus miſſing his expectation, ſends the ſaid *David Molligan* and his Father-in-law to *Patrick Murphy*'s houſe, brother to the ſaid *Cormucke*; who lived about half a mile from the ſaid appointed place of meeting. The ſaid *David* and his Father-in-law *Gibſon*, made diligent ſearch for the ſaid *Cormucke* there, where he was not found; therefore they returned with an anſwer to the ſaid *Hanlon*: who in great rage went to the houſe of the ſaid *Patricke*, and openly before all the Town cauſed him to be brought from the Plough, before the ſaid *Hanlon*, to be examined whether it was with his conſent the Traytor his Brother had robbed his Friend the ſaid *David*; to which the ſaid *Patrick Murphy* anſwered the Negative, declaring that he knew nothing of his Robberies: but notwithſtanding *Hanlon* proceeded to judgement, which was, that *Patrick*'s goods (if that might ſuffice) ſhould be reſponſible for the robbery (taken by his Brother from the ſaid *David*) if not, his life: to which the ſaid *Patrick* replied, that he hoped his friends ſhould not be reſponſible for all his villanies, if ſo, they had enough to do; which the ſaid *Hanlon* not able to bear, gave the ſaid *Patrick* a blow, and with an Oath affirmed, he ſhould dearly pay for the ſaid goods if they were not ſuddenly reſtored.

This being in the night time.

XIX.

That ſeveral meſſages paſſed between the ſaid *Hanlon* and *Cormucke*; and at length determined among themſelves, that the ſaid *Cormucke* ſhould reſtore his goods to the ſaid *David*, and that the ſaid *Hanlon* would reſtore him his Arms; for which a time and place was appointed: which was no ſooner done, but the ſaid *Cormucke* acquaints the Informant of the whole; deſiring him to inform Captain *Butler* therewith, and that the Souldiers might be placed in a readineſs near the pre-

fixed place, and the time aforeſaid: withal, that the Informant ſhould provide ſome Brandy and Hot Waters, which might be placed near the ſaid place, that *Redmond* and his Aſſociates might be decoy'd therewith: which the Informant at his own charge bought and diſpoſed of accordingly.

XX.

That Fortune ſeemed to frown at this Enterprize; for it was eſtabliſhed by an Act, that the Tories relations ſhould make good what was taken from any; therefore the ſaid *David Molligan* got a party of Souldiers, who apprehended the ſaid *Patrick Murphy*, brother to the ſaid *Cormucke*; who told the Souldiers how the ſaid *David* and his Father-in-law came with the ſaid *Redmond*, threatning to kill him for the ſaid goods; that therefore he had employed his Wife to learn where the ſaid *Cormucke* had diſpoſed of the fore-mentioned goods, which after ſhe found hid in a mountain; and at her return found her Husband apprehended by Souldiers; which Souldiers ſhe guided to the place where the goods were: upon which her husband was ſet at liberty: and the ſaid *Redmond* hearing thereof, was very much pleaſed thereat; and ſent word to the ſaid *Cormucke*, that he would neither meet him at the place appointed, nor reſtore him his Arms; which the ſaid *Cormucke* underſtanding, was very much enraged with his ſaid Brothers Wife. All which was declared to the ſaid Deponent from *Cormucke*, and the ſaid *Patrick* his Brother.

XXI.

That after this the ſaid *Cormucke* took the firſt opportunity he found to bring about his intention, and that was by robbing a certain Couſin of the ſaid *Hanlon*'s, who had a Protection from him, and his name was *Raverty*; who one evening going from *Dublin*, told ſome Travellers, that were of his company, that if they thought good he would preſerve them from any robbery if they would deliver their charge to him; for he told them he was a kinſman of ſome of the chief Rebels in the Kingdome, to which they conſented: but *Cormucke* no ſooner met them, but he made it a good argument to rob the ſaid *Raverty*, when he heard him mention the ſaid *Hanlon*; which done, he immediately repairs to the Informant, to deſire him to acquaint Captain *Butler*, that he had done ſomething to provoke the great Rebel, and that he knew he and his company would preſently be at his heels, and therefore deſired the Souldiers

diers might be ready: which the Deponent hearing, went to *Tondegree* to ſee for the ſaid Captain, and there heard that the ſaid Captain was departed thence two days before, by the Duke of *Ormond*'s Order, with his Company, a journey of fifty miles diſtant: to which the Deponent knew not what to ſay.

XXII.

That at this juncture of time was great ſtir in the Informants Pariſh and other places near adjacent, narrow ſearch being there made by the ſaid *Hanlon* and his Confederates, for the ſaid *Cormucke*: upon this account ſeveral were apprehended by *Hanlon*, as being in Confederacy with *Cormucke*; among the reſt was taken one *Bryan O Haghy* and *John Hamilton*, for revealing that ſome of the Kings Souldiers were lookers on when the Tories apprehended them; and did never attempt to impede thoſe things acted by the Tories ſo openly, in the ſight of all reſident in thoſe parts; who dared not to make the leaſt oppoſition, being as much afraid of the Souldiers as Tories.

XXIII.

That within two nights following the Informant arrived at home from *Tondegree*, at whoſe return the ſaid *Cormucke* came to him, and enquired for the Souldiers he was to have for the effecting his deſign; telling the Informant he was well ſatisfied where the ſaid *Redmond* lay: adding how he and his Confederates had been in the purſuit of him the ſaid *Cormucke*, ſince the Informant had been abſent: to all which the ſaid Informant replied, that the ſaid Captain was departed with his Company to remote parts of the Countrey: at which the ſaid *Cormucke* grew very angry with the ſaid Captain and Informant, for making him obnoxious both to Tories and Souldiers; and that by their means each party was become his profeſſed enemies: but the Informant perſwaded him to have a little patience, for there was a Captain and his Company newly arrived from *England*, to whom the Informant would make his application for aſſiſtance, to the end the fore-mentioned deſign might be accompliſhed: for the Deponent told the ſaid *Cormucke*, that there could be no probability of any correſpondency and friendſhip between the ſaid Company and Tories, by reaſon of their late arrival in the Countrey.

XXIV.

That the next night the Informant repaired to *Dundalk* to ſpeak with the ſaid Captain, where he found him accompanied with ſeveral, who continued moſt part of the night drinking Wine and other Liquors; ſo that the Informant deſpaired of a convenient opportunity to deliver his buſineſs, therefore communicated the matter to one of the Souldiers, whom he willed to acquaint his Captain the next morning therewith, and not to divulge the ſame to any, which he promiſed to do; and for his encouragement the Informant gave him a piece of money; but the ſaid Souldier forgot his promiſe, and declared the buſineſs to one of his drunken companions, who willed the Informant to get up early in the morning, and to accompany him to his Captains Chamber, who he was ſure would be glad of the news; further he confirmed the matter, by making Proclamation in the audience of all the Company that was near, that he would not depart with the Deponent, till the ſaid Rebel *Hanlon* was betrayed, and himſelf performed what he had promiſed.

XXV.

That the Informant went to the ſaid Captain (by name *Coult*) and made him ſenſible of all, and how Captain *Butler* was departed when the buſineſs was brought near a period; alſo complaining of one of the Souldiers, whom he had employed to inform his Captain, and inſtead thereof, had fooliſhly publiſhed the ſame; for which the ſaid Captain blamed the Informant for truſting any but himſelf: but withal, deſired him to uſe his endeavour, and he ſhould have aſſiſtance.

XXVI.

That through the rumour that ſpread through the ſaid Souldiers report, all or moſt people were poſſeſs'd, that the Informant received a large ſumm of money from the ſaid Captain *Coult*, to bring in the heads of ſeveral of the chief Tories and Rebels, among others one *Neale*, and the ſaid *Cormucke*, both Tories; all which was ſpread abroad by the means of lying fame. All the ſaid Tories verily believed the report except *Cormucke*, who well knew the Informants deſign; but the reſt made ſolemn vows to kill the Informant in the firſt place they met him; the Informant getting intelligence hereof, betook himſelf to a habitation at *Dundalk*, where he continued a certain ſeaſon;

ſon; but one day going thence to viſit his Pariſh, accompanied with on y one Fryer *Duffee*, as they paſſed by the Hill of *Carriſtickin* they were eſpied by the foreſaid Tories, among whom was the ſaid *Cormucke*; and coming violently all together upon the Informant, he was thereat ſurprized; but *Cormucke* immediately interpoſed between the Informant and them, making oath that whoſoever ſhould lay hands on the ſaid Informant ſhould in the like manner periſh; and *Cormucke* demanding what might be his crime, they told him he was a Rogue, and had contracted with Captain *Coult* for a ſumm of money to bring in their Heads, but the Informant proteſted the contrary; and that he never mentioned their names to the ſaid Captain; (which indeed was true, for his only aim was to ſurprize *Hanlon*) whereupon they were ſatisfied: and the Deponent admitted to reſort to his Pariſh.

XXVII.

That the ſaid *Redmond* departed at this rumour to the Provinces of *Conaught*, where he exerciſed his Diabolical Function for a time: ſo that the Informant ſent word to the ſaid Captain *Coult* that he was departed *Ulſter*, and that nothing could be executed againſt him.

XXVIII.

That within two months following Captain *Butler* and his Company returned, and Captain *Coult* departed from *Dundalk*; upon which the Informant gave notice to the ſaid *Cormucke*, telling him that now Captain *Butler* was returned; and that if he did not perform what he had promiſed touching *Hanlon*, the Informant ſhould prove his greateſt enemy: unto which the ſaid *Cormucke* promiſed to be very diligent therein at the ſaid *Redmond's* return, but that at preſent he was abſent out of the Countrey.

XXIX.

That the ſaid *Cormucke*, the better to bring his buſineſs to perfection, committed the ſecret to one *Neale*, who he expected would be partaker with him in the ſaid ſervice; the which the ſaid *Neale* faithfully promiſed to do, and in order thereunto went to the ſaid *Redmond*, to learn what time he would return, where *Cormucke* expected him.

But the ſaid *Neale* remaining ſix days with the ſaid *Hanlon*, in that time he diſcovered to him the deſign of *Cormucke*,

which *Hanlon* hearing, bound *Neale* by Oath not to let *Cormucke* know that he had ſhewed him the matter, but diſſemble the ſame; and that in the interim he would ſend one of his men to wait an opportunity to kill the ſaid *Cormucke*; and withal, that he would give *Neale* ten pounds; with which reſolution the ſaid *Neale* and one *Mackardle* departed to *Cormucke*, to whom they coloured the buſineſs with much deceit, vilifying the ſaid *Redmond* very much, and ſaying that he divided the ſpoil unequally among his men, and for their own parts they did not approve of ſuch ſhuffling; and that they intended to deſert him, and keep company with their equals, and not to be inſulted over any longer by him: all this they ſaid to delude the ſaid *Cormucke*, and to ingratiate themſelves into his favour; adding, that it was an eaſie matter to ſurprize *Redmond*, for (ſaid *Neale*) himſelf and his Wife lye moſt nights without a guard.

XXX.

That the ſaid *Cormucke* willing to haſten his enterprize, willed the ſaid *Neale* to accompany him to the houſe of Enſign *John Smith*, there to get ſome powder, the better to furniſh himſelf, as he was accuſtomed to do; ſaying he had ſome buſineſs with Mr. *John Dermond*: whither they came, it being half a mile diſtant from the ſaid Enſign *John Smith*'s houſe; where they had not been long drinking, but the ſaid *Neale*, to begin a quarrel, fell to abuſe the ſaid *Dermond* in his own houſe, for which the ſaid *Cormucke* reproved him; at length came thither *Cormucke*'s two brothers, the one ſervant to Lieutenant *Baker*, the other ſervant to Enſign *John Smith*; they came to the ſaid *Cormucke* to re-mind him of his Father that was taken a little before, and that the ſaid *Cormucke* ſhould intercede with the ſaid Enſign *John Smith* for his releaſement, and that the ſaid Enſign would write with one of them thereabout; both which Brothers of *Cormucke* accompanied him out of the houſe, the rather becauſe he reproved the ſaid *Neale* for his abuſe to the ſaid *Dermond*, and leſt a difference ſhould ariſe therefore, hard words having already paſſed; the ſaid *Cormucke* having before over-charged one of his Piſtols, left it with the ſaid *Neale* before they parted the houſe, and went to Enſign *John Smith*'s houſe; the two Brethren of *Cormucke* going ſome diſtance before: when the ſaid *Neale* came to the Enſigns houſe, he knocked at the door ſomewhat too hard, for which *Cormucke* was ſomewhat angry with *Neale*; which he perceiving took the ſaid Piſtol, with which he ſhot *Cormucke*; asking him whether he had the ſame deſign againſt him as he had againſt *Hanlon*.

With

with that *Cormuck* fell off his Horſe mortally wounded, and the ſaid *Neal* put ſpurs to his, and fled, with only the Stock in his hand, the Piſtol breaking by reaſon of the Charge; at the cry of the ſaid *Cormuck*, his brethren haſted back, and the Enſign alſo waked, it being the night-time, and came to ſee the ſaid *Cormuck* who lay wallowing in his Blood, and his Brethren with others carried him near to another Brothers Houſe, half a mile diſtant; in the mean time a Servant of Lieutenant *Bakers* came poſting in all haſt to the Informants Houſe, pretending to the Informant, that his Wife lay at the point of death, and that he feared ſhe would not live his coming, except he haſted; the Informant made not the leaſt delay, but got up, and immediately followed the Meſſenger, till he had brought him where the ſaid *Cormuck* was, in a deplorable condition, but his Life not quite expired; many of his Kindred and acquaintance being preſent, the Deponent examined him of the matter, and in his reply, he ſaid, that *Neale* had betrayed him; withall part of the Stock of the ſaid Piſtol was there produced which had wounded him, and that near Enſign *John Smith*'s Houſe; but the Informant enquired of him, whether any belonging to the ſaid Enſign had a hand therein? but he anſwered in the Negative. Suddenly after this, there was ſent a Meſſenger from Enſign *John Smith* to ſee the ſaid *Cormuck*, and to know if he wanted any thing; but at that time was nothing more wanting, than ſomething to prolong Life, which could not be procured, and therefore in a ſhort time he gave up the Ghoſt. The Deponent having departed, there came a Brother of the ſaid *Cormuck*, accompanied with Lieutenant *Baker* to ſee him, but ere they came he was dead; after the ſaid *Baker*'s departure, the Informant came to the place where the ſaid *Cormuck*'s Body was, and there found one *Patrick Kernan*, formerly a Servant to the ſaid *Baker*, who was wont to ſell the Tories ſtolen Horſes in remote parts of the Countrey, now was there imployed to make a Bier for the Corps of the ſaid *Cormuck*; this *Patrick* was married to the Siſter-in-law of the ſaid *Neal* that had killed *Cormuck*: now the Brethren of the ſaid *Cormuck* conſulted with the Informant what to do with the Corps, and he adviſed them to have it carried by the aſſiſtance of ſome, to a place appointed for his buryal, and that one of the Brothers, *viz.* *Hugh Murphy* ſhould go to the ſaid *Neal* and his confederates, feignedly to inform, that the death of *Cormuck* was not imputed to *Neal*, but that it appeared to be accidental, to the end the ſaid *Neal* might

It may be ſuppoſed the ſaid *Neal* made haſte to *Redmond* for his reward, for now he had merited Twenty inſtead of Ten pounds; but conſider it was the price of Blood.

come to the Burying, and thereby be ſurprized by the Brethren of *Cormuck*; and that if *Neal* complied with him, the Informant to have notice thereof, and that he would ſeemingly come to the place accidentally, to the end he might be inſtrumentally ſervicable to detain the ſaid Tories by accompanying them to drink, till ſuch time as the Guard might be ſent for to *Dundalk* in that Interim, *&c.*

XXXI.

That when this Stratagem was laid, it was concluded that the ſaid *Cormuck* ſhould not be removed until the ſaid *Hugh*, Brother of *Cormuck*, ſhould find *Neal*, which he at length did, and by many proteſtations and feigned words, prevail'd with him to come to *Cormuck*'s Burial, of which, the Informant had notice to meet them near the Church; and to avoid ſuſpition, he took his Horſe and carried his Siſter behind him, and tarried a while in the ſaid place ere the Burying came, at laſt he ſaw the Company that attended the Corps coming, and amongſt the reſt the ſaid *Neal*, and another Tory, by name *Macklevy*, which the Brethren of the deceaſed invited to the Ale-houſe after the Burial was over, which the ſaid *Neal* and company embraced, the Deponent going before to the next publick Houſe, and giving order if any came to enquire for him, that they ſhould not want what Liquor they deſired and he would pay all; having giving this order, the Informant went into the company of ſome Gentlemen then in the Houſe; the Brethren of the ſaid *Cormuck* drawing near the Houſe with the ſaid *Neal*, it was obſerved by *Neal* and his Company that there were Strangers drinking, ſo refuſed to go in, but drank in the Backſide; but one *Kernan* aforementioned (who made the Bier for *Cormuck*'s Corps) deſired the ſaid *Neal* to depart, being his Kinſman and Goſſip, for that he ſuſpected the ſaid *Cormuck*'s Brethren hatch'd ſome miſchief againſt him; by which means he became cautious of himſelf, and told the Company he would ſtay no longer, ſome of which inform'd the Deponent thereof, therefore he went himſelf to perſwade them to ſtay, which they refuſed, alledging it dangerous for them to be ſo publick, and therewith departed; the which the Informant obſerving, gave the ſaid *Hugh* a piece of Money to have them to another place more remote, and there detain them with Drink, till the Deponent might find out ſome means to ſurprize them, which he would be as ſpeedy in as he could;

but

but *Hugh*, nor the reſt, could not prevail to make them ſtay at any place, by reaſon of the ſaid *Kernan* who kept them company, giving them ſtill caution to be careful of themſelves. As the ſaid *Hugh*, and the reſt of *Cormuck*'s Brethren departed with *Neal* and his Company, *Neal* kiſſed a Siſter of theirs; but when he was gone a good diſtance, one of the Brothers was ſo angry, that he ſtruck her for having ſuch familiarity with her Brothers murderer; at which ſhe cried out, and *Neal* hearing, return'd back, and would have killed the ſaid Brother, had not a Kinſman of *Cormuck* ſtept in between and thrown *Neal* down, and had certainly kill'd him, had not *Kernan* prevented, by taking him by the Hair of the Head from off the ſaid *Torey*; being in this confuſion, there was great noiſe, which the Informant hearing, did haſtily ride to underſtand the matter, and ſeeing the buſtle that the ſaid *Cormuck*'s Brethren made in ſo inconvenient a place, was vexed they ſhould diſcover themſelves and intentions to the ſaid Tories, being there was no probability of effecting their enterprize in the open Fields: He therefore colour'd the matter, and perſwaded the Tories, that no evil deſign was intended againſt them; but *Kernan* replyed, they would be murthered if they haſtened not away, which counſel of his they took, and departed with him: But the Informant beſeeched the ſaid Brethren not to let their Brothers death (the ſaid *Cormuck*) go unrevenged, which they promiſed accordingly.

XXXII.

That a report was ſpread abroad, that *Cormuck* was ſlain near Enſign *John Smiths*, that he alſo was acceſſary to his death; which he in great fury ſware to ſome perſons, that he, nor any of his Family had a hand therein.

XXXIII.

That a difference happening between Mr. *John Dermond*, and Enſign *John Smith*, *Dermond* upbraiding him with defrauding the King of Exciſe, and of furniſhing the Tories with Ammunition; the ſaid Enſign alledging the ſaid *Dermond* to be confederate with the Tories when *Cormuck* was killed, for to plunder the ſaid Enſign's Houſe, had not *Cormuck*'s death prevented their deſign. The Enſign doubting what this difference might produce, and fearing ſome of the perſons privy

to

to his and Lientenant *Bakers*, fails in relieving the Tories, ſends for one of them that was more than ordinary acquainted therewith, by name *William Murphy*, then Servant to Lieutenant *Baker*, and under pretence of having him to ride before his Daughter to *Dundalk*, ſent him with a Note to the Bayly to have him Impriſoned, which when the Bayly ſaw, did according to the order given him therein from *Smith*.

XXXIV.

That Two Brethren of *Cormucks*, who the Deponent willed to revenge their Brothers Blood upon the Tories, one day eſpied *Hanlon*, and came to the Informant, and made him acquainted therewith, complaining, they were uncapable of proſecuting the matter, by reaſon they feared their Maſter, the ſaid Enſign, who pretended they ſought after his Life, and therefore ſearch was made after them, in order to their Impriſonment; and that the Enſign might have no juſt pretence, deſired the Informant to ſatisfie him with the truth, that no ſuch thing was thought on; wherefore the Informant repaired thither, and enquired what might be the cauſe of the Enſign's ſuſpition of the foreſaid matter, ſeeing *Cormuck*'s dying words rendered him innocent of his Blood, and that his Brethren never thought nor ſpoke thereof? the Enſign's Wife replied, that her Husband might have killed *Cormuck* at his pleaſure ſince he became a Tory, but would not moleſt him, and that it was *Kernan* ſuggeſted her Husband that *Cormuck*'s Brothers had a deſign to do him a miſchief; but the Informant replied, that *Kernan* and the Murderer of *Cormuck* ſhould experimentally feel the reward of ſo treacherous a fact, for he expected ſome good ſervice ſhould ſhortly be performed by Captain *Butler*, at his return to that Countrey.

XXXV.

That the Deponent went to the ſaid Spies (*viz.*) *Cormuck*'s brethren, and told them he had ſatisfied the Enſign *Smith*'s Wife concerning them, and therefore defired them to be active in their buſineſs, in ſpying out *Redmond*, and others of his Companions; the next night following the Deponent was ſent for to Chriſten a Child to one of the ſaid Enſign *Smith*'s Tenants, who was a near Kinſman to the ſaid

Cormuck

Cormuck lately Murdered by *Neal*, before the Informant was approached the ſaid Houſe, came a party of the Militia and took one of *Cormuk*'s brethren, and one *Gurtain*, formerly a Footman to him (the ſaid *Cormuck*); the Deponent no ſooner lighted off his Horſe, being come to the ſaid Houſe, but the Deponent was apprehended by the Soldiers, and taken into their Cuſtody, where he had not been but till the next morning, ere he deſired leave from the Soldiers to go to *Dundalk*, and there ſtay in a certain Inn till they came to the ſaid Town; which requeſt was granted, *&c.*

XXXVI.

That the Informant remained in the place appointed till about Noon, expecting the ſaid Enſign *Smith*, who at length came, and was met with by the Informant at the Bayliffs, who required the Informant to put in Bail, for he was to give in teſtimony on the Kings behalf of ſeveral matters; the Informant replied, that the Enſign was moſt fit to be Bail in that caſe, ſeeing he had brought him thither; but *Smith* anſwered, had he been taken by another, he ſhould not in the leaſt deny the Informant ſo ſmall a kindneſs. After this, the ſaid Informant Enquired of the Bayly what might be the cauſe of his being taken? To which he replied, That it was for being with the ſaid *Cormuck* at his death. Upon which anſwer, the Deponent told the Bayliff of the whole deſign, and that Captain *Butler* was concerned to have it effected by the means of *Cormuck* who was treacherouſly ſlain; and after he gave Bail, departed.

XXXVII.

That in purſuit of the forementioned deſign, the Informant employed Two more to have *Hanlon* the great Rebel, and *Neal* that kill'd *Cormuck*, trepan'd, and having ſome intelligence that *Smith* and *Baker* deſigned to ſet at liberty thoſe that before they had Impriſoned, which perſons the Informant knew to be Meſſengers between the Tories and the ſaid *Smith* and *Baker*, being by them employed to carry Powder and Ammunition to ſupply the Tories, and divide the ſpoil that at ſundry times was Robbed from the Countrey by the Tories; therefore the Informant acquainted the ſaid Captain *Butler* therewith, and further told him, that the ſaid perſons might be ſerviceable for Evidence againſt *Smith* and

Note what brave Officers here are, that can be High-way men, and pretend to be ſome of the Kings beſt Subjects at one and the ſame time.

Baker if they were looked after, seeing they were guilty of Receiving and partaking of the Tories Robberies, and furnishing them as aforesaid; and also Captain *Cox* being then newly made Bayliff, the Informant desired him not to take Bail for the said Prisoners, to the end they might be more useful to discover the said confederacy; and also the Informant told the Captain, that he had employed two persons, with one of *Cormuck*'s brethren, to find out the Tories, which he hoped would answer his end in a little time; and the Captain answered, he would be sure to be at home the Week following to give him his assistance.

XXXVIII.

That the Informant acquainted Captain *Cox* with the same matter that he had Captain *Butler*, desiring him to detain the said Prisoners, lest upon their enlargement, *Smith* and *Baker* might oblige them to be silent in what the Informant expected they would declare, which he was sure they were privy to; the which the Captain promised to do, and also to be secret therein till it might more fully appear.

XXXIX.

That Ensign *Smith* determining to have the Prisoners released, found himself prevented, and was told they were not to be set at liberty till Sir *Hans Hamilton* came to Town; and the said *Smith* also learnt this was done by the Informants means, at which the said Ensign was enraged, considering his own Life, and Son-in-law Lieutenant *Baker*, might be endangered by the testimony of the foresaid persons in Prison, if they should discover; and that it seemed the more dubious, by reason the releasment of the said Witnesses must be according to the Informants advice; thereupon the said Ensign *Smith* made grievous complaints unto several Gentlemen, that his House was in agitation to be burnt, and himself and Family destroyed by the Tories, under pretence that he had occasioned the death of *Cormuck*, and that one *Edmond Murphy* a Priest, was the Ring-leader of this design; and having informed the Deponents Father with those things, the Father of the said Informant sent for him, demanding the Reasons, and giving him sharp rebukes; to which the Informant made answer, that he never had given an Information against the said Ensign in his life; of which the Deponent's

nent's Father ſatisfied the ſaid Enſign *Smith*, who ſo far adhered to the matter, that he diſmiſſed thoſe perſons, who for ſeveral nights before guarded his Houſe.

The Reader muſt obſerve that the Informant did not promiſe his Father he would not diſcover his villany, by that yet he had not.

XL.

That about the time appointed that Captain *Butler* promiſed to come home, came *Hugh Murphy* (who was employed to ſpy after *Hanlon* and his confederates) to the Deponent, and told him, if Captain *Butler* and his Soldiers were ready, he could direct them to the place where the ſaid *Hanlon* and company were; the Deponent hearing this news, poſted on Horſeback to *Dundalk*, leaving the Spy half a mile diſtant from the Town, and coming to Captain *Cox*, queried if Captain *Butler* was come thither? But the ſaid Captain *Cox* replied, he was not expected till two or three nights after. Then the Deponent related to the Captain what an opportunity was loſt, for want of the ſaid Captain *Butler*'s being at home; for he further added, how the Spy the Informant had imployed, brought him intelligence where they were that ſpoiled the Countrey; to which, the ſaid Captain *Cox* anſwered, the Informant might have a Company of Soldiers to go with the Spy to take *Hanlon*; but the Deponent ſaid, the ſaid Spy had been before frightened by Enſign *John Smith*, and was confident the Soldiers would betray him, except he might have conference with the Captain himſelf; and therefore the Spy at the Informants return, ſaid, he had rather ſtay till Captain *Butler* came home, and that in the interim he would, by the means of ſome Stratagem, cauſe the Tories to remain thereabouts, which he did by Stealing their Horſes, and bringing them remote from the place where they were, and left them there: The Deponent's brethren and others finding the ſaid Horſes, brought them to Sir *Hans Hammilton* (not knowing the deſigns) and purſued all ſuch as enquired after them.

XLI.

That the Informant, when Sir *Hans Hamilton* and Captain *Butler* came to *Dundalk*, informed Sir *Hans* of the ſeveral tranſactions, and of *Smith* and *Baker*; ſo that the ſaid Sir *Hans* deſired Captain *Moore* to draw up the Deponent's information againſt *Smith* and *Baker*, which he accordingly did: but the Deponent deſired their ſecrecy therein till

Hanlon

Hanlon the great Rebel might be taken, which the Deponent hoped in a ſhort time to effect; and added, that Captain *Butler*'s abſence was the cauſe of his eſcape hitherto; but alſo informed them, if they in the leaſt doubted of the truth of his Informations againſt the ſaid *Smith* and *Baker*, he could produce Forty to confirm the ſame, ſo they might come privately; and at that inſtant, one *Phelemy Murphy* paſſing by, was called in, and asked, if ever he ſaw *Smith* or *Baker* in company with the Tories, aſſociating themſelves together in any recreations? and whether he was ſworn to keep ſecrecy of their meeting? And the ſaid *Phelemy* replied to this purpoſe (to Sir *Hans*) Dear Sir, do not give occaſion that I may be hanged or murdered, between the Soldiers and the Tories; and moreover I have my Fathers Curſe, if I give an Information againſt *Smith* or *Baker*; but the verity I ſhall declare to your ſelf another time, but not by way of Information. Then replied Sir *Hans*, I perceive the Prieſt ſpeaks the truth, and you ſhall; and you, quoth he to the ſaid *Phelemy* ſhall appear at the Aſſize; but he anſwered the contrary, that he would not; and hereupon Sir *Hans* departed to another Room.

XLII.

That the Deponent had information by the Wife of the ſaid Spy (*viz.*) *Hugh Murphy*, that he kept a feigned correſpondency with the Tories, and that he went in great danger, by reaſon they began to have ſome ſuſpition of him, for that he would not be competitor in their Robberies; whereupon the Deponent went to the Captain, and made him acquainted with all, and the ſaid Captain repaired to Sir *Hans Hamilton* to have his advice therein, which done, came to the Deponent, and ordered him to acquaint the Spy to give them notice of the firſt and moſt convenient opportunity in that matter; the Said Spy did dayly ſend the State of the Tories, which the Deponent communicated to Captain *Butler* in writing by a certain Damſel, to avoid ſuſpition.

XLIII.

That about the latter end of *October*, 1679. the ſaid Spy came to the Informant, and told him that the Tories would endeavour to get a booty about *Dundalk*, and that himſelf would

would come along with them, and that when they went to hide it till the time of diſtribution, he would give the Deponent cogniſance of the place, that the Company of Soldiers might be placed in Ambuſh hard by, that when the ſaid Tories came to divide the ſpoil, they might be ſurprized.

XLIV.

That about this matter, the Informant repaired to the ſaid Captain *Butler*, and made him acquainted with the opportunity that ſeemed to offer it ſelf; the ſaid Captain in his anſwer, among other diſcourſes, told the Deponent, that one Eſq; *Hill*, a Privy Councellor, deſigned to Impriſon the Deponent, wherefore the ſaid Deponent deſired the Captain to accompany him to the ſaid Eſq; *Hill*, to know what he had to alledg againſt him, which the Captain did; coming there, the ſaid Captain gave Eſq; *Hill* to underſtand the Informants buſineſs, which was to know what he had committed worthy of cenſure. The ſaid Eſq; having called the Informant, required of him by what authority he exerciſed his Prieſtly function? The Deponent replied, by the ſame that all the Prieſts in the Kingdom did theirs. But the ſaid *Hill* proceeded to examine, whether the Deponent was authorized by *Oliver Pluncket* to ſay Maſs? But the Deponent anſwered, Sir *Hans Hamilton* was able to give a good account of him; and that he thought there was no ſuch neceſſity for ſo ſtrict an examinati on, ſeeing he was bound over to proſecute ſuch matters as Sir *Hans* was acquainted with, as an Evidence in the Kings behalf. With that, the ſaid *Hill* enquired if the Informant knew one *Doneley*, or did he *in Verbo Sacerdotis*, receive any Knives from the Tories? The Informant anſwered, he never received any Knives from the Tories in his Life. Lieutenant *Baker* being preſent, told the ſaid *Hill*, that the Informant maintained continual correſpondency with the Tories; to which the Deponent replied, that he never was ſo familiar with them as to be Goſſip to their Children, nor aſſociated himſelf in their company, as the Lieutenant had done in ſeveral places, and to the knowledg of many perſons that could prove many more facts of that kind againſt him than he was aware of: At the hearing of this reply from the Deponent, the ſaid Lieutenant *Baker* requeſted leave from the ſaid *Hill* to take off the Informants Head, rather than he ſhould be admitted to ſpeak any further; which the ſaid *Hill* denied him. The Deponent further added, that he offered the ſaid *Baker* his ſervice againſt

the Tories, which he would never accept of; at which *Baker* hereat, ſaid, who ſhould accept ſervice at the hands of an excommunicated perſon, as the Deponent appeared to be? for that himſelf was aſſured he was excommunicated by his Primat (*viz.*) *Pluncket*, and withal appealed to Captain *Boulton*, to bear witneſs what he ſaid was very true: The Deponent being before well ſatisfied with the ſaid *Boulton* and *Bakers* confederacy with *Pluncket*, to carry on the Plot by means of the Tories, as well as conniving at *Pluncket's* Provincial Councel for the deſtruction of all the Proteſtants; and the ſaid *Baker* delivering a Letter (wherein conſiſted the weal of the Three Kingdoms) to inform the ſaid *Pluncket* and the reſt of the Conſpirators, of the diabolical councel at *Artpatrick*, that therefore the Deponent dared not to take any notice of the ſaid Plot before them, deſired only, that the ſaid *Hill* and the reſt would bear him witneſs, that the ſaid *Baker* ſaid the Deponent was denounced excommunicated; acquainting them further, if he was cenſured by them worthy of Impriſonment, he would relieve himſelf by a *Habeas Corpus*, to have the matter to *Dublin*, and that there he would manifeſt all their Knavery; but the ſaid *Hill* anſwered, he would hinder his *Habeas Corpus*. The Deponent in the words of *Paul*, replied, *Thou whited wall, ſhall I not have the priviledg of the Law?* Upon which, *Hill* wrote a Mittimus, that *Edmond Murphy* ſhould be ſent to Priſon without Bail or Mainprize. The Deponent not deſparing of hope altogether, that when Sir *Hans Hamilton* came to the Countrey he ſhould have his enlargement procured; in the interim the Deponent made his application to one Mr. *William Hetherington*, ſhewed him the ſeveral abuſes that was put upon him, for two things; Firſt, his endeavour to ſuppreſs the Tories. Secondly, his making manifeſt that the Kingdom was privately to be invaded by a foraign enemy, through the means of ſeveral Conſpirators. To which relation Mr. *Hetherington* ſcarce gave credit; but for the better confirmation, *James Mackenna*, the ſaid *Pluncket's* man, came to the Deponent in Priſon, and ſaying in the hearing of Mr. *Hethrington*, how treacherous the Deponent had been in betraying the councel held at *Artpatrick* aforeſaid; and that he was ſure Primat *Pluncket* would never be concerned to have him releaſed, (the ſaid *Mackenna* not at all doubting that Mr. *Hetherington* took notice of his diſcourſe) but the Deponent told him, if it was to be done again, he ſhould do it the very next day.

XLV.

XLV.

That the Spy whom the Deponent had formerly employed to find out the Tories, was now encouraged by Captain *Butler* and Sir *Hans Hamilton* to keep correſpondency with the Tories, and accompany them, till ſuch time he might have an opportunity to betray them all at once; the ſaid Tories with the forementioned Spy, having obtained their hearts deſire, by ſurprizing a conſiderable booty near *Dundalk*, being in company with Fourteen of the ſaid Rebels, who laid up the prize in a place for that purpoſe till it might be divided at a time appointed; at this time the ſaid Spy concluded it a convenient opportunity to have his end accompliſhed, by placing an ambuſh near where the ſaid booty was hid, and that at the time of diſtributing they might be taken; hereupon the Spy enquired narrowly after the Deponent, and hearing that he was apprehended, ſends his Brothers Wife to acquaint him, that all that formerly he endeavoured to accompliſh, was juſt now brought near to a period, if he the ſaid Spy might be but ſecured, and that nothing might be laid to his charge for accompanying the Tories, ſeeing it was to a good end. Upon this Information, the Informant ſends for Mr. *Hetherington*, to whom he imparted the whole matter, which the ſaid *Hetherington* hearing, promiſed the Spy Ten pounds of his own Money for his good ſervice, and forthwith deſired the Deponent might be careful to let Captain *Butler* and Captain *Cox* be acquainted therewith; and further, the Deponent deſired the ſaid Captain *Butler*, that one of the Witneſſes whom the Doponent named, (who after was caſt into Priſon for a pretended miſdemeanour) might be privately bound over to proſecute the matter, which Captain *Butler* condeſcended to; but Captain *Cox* would by no means take Bail for him, for that *Smith* and *Baker* had ordered the contrary, and being overſeers of the ſaid Priſon, prevail'd to have the Witneſſes tranſported without Judg, Jury, Witneſs, or Accuſer: In this Confuſion, the opportunity of apprehending the Tories as aforeſaid, was loſt.

XLVI.

That Mr. *Hetherington*, by intelligence he received at *Dundalk*, both from the Witneſſes and others, was ſo well ſatisfied in the matter; ſo that he reproved *Smith* and *Baker* of

of their unjuſt proceedings, as well in reference to the Tories, as to the Letter the Deponent intruſted them with, touching the Provincial Council, mentioned in the Deponent's Narrative of the Plot; withal the ſaid Mr. *Hetherington* deſired the Deponent not to concern himſelf with Sir *Hans Hamilton*, or any other, till ſuch time he might be relieved by a *Habeas Corpus*; and himſelf engaged all he was worth upon the Deponent's juſt and lawful Cauſe; after which, the ſaid Mr. *Hetherington* departed to *Dublin* and Impriſoned *Pluncket*; the next day following, the Deponent ſent him many conſiderable Papers touching the Plot, and Money to have himſelf, the ſaid Deponent, relieved by a *Habeas Corpus*, which things the Informant ſent by the Jaylor's Brother, who delivered neither Money nor Papers to Mr. *Hetherington*, but only the Pope's Bull, which the Meſſenger thought to be ſome Leaſe appertaining to the Deponent, otherwiſe had retained that alſo. The ſaid *Hugh*, the Jaylor's Brother, having betrayed the Deponent, by keeping his Papers and Money, and diſcovering the matters therein contained to *Smith* and *Baker*, who underſtood, that one *Art Murphy* (which the Deponent named for a Witneſs) had ſomewhat to inform againſt them, got a Mittimus from Captain *Boulton* to have him committed (for ſome pretended miſdemeanour) to Priſon, where he was yoaked and chained, which the Deponent finding fault with, was ſerved the ſame ſauce, whereas he before had his liberty to go abroad with his Keeper, keeping the ſaid Deponent from any ſuſtenance from *Monday* to *Friday*, only a piece of Bread that one of the Priſoners ſtole, the Deponent partook of, this being done by *Smith* and *Baker*'s command.

XLVII.

That during this extremity of the Deponent's, my Lord Lieutenant (*viz.*) the Duke of *Ormond*, was made acquainted by Capt. *Butler* and Capt. *Cox*, that a certain Prieſt was groſly abuſed, for giving information in the Kings behalf of a Confederacy that was between ſome of the Officers of the Army and the Tories, which the ſaid Prieſt, or Deponent, deſired to be ſecretly kept till the Tories might be taken; which matter the Duke of *Ormond* hearing, took it in further conſideration. The Deponent's Friends hearing of his troubles, requeſted the Jaylor that he would take the Priſoner to his own Houſe, for which he ſhould be conſidered, and that the Informant ſhould be perſwaded to give in Bail in a ſhort time,

which

which requeſt of theirs was granted: In the interim all the Petitions that the Informant ſent to the D. of *Ormond*, and other Letters to Mr. *Hetherington* (then in *Dublin*) were ſtopped in the Poſt-office, by the means of the ſaid *Smith* and *Baker*. The Deponent having obtained more liberty than before, feared it ſhould coſt him his Life, therefore determined to go to *Dublin*, and leave his Brother ſecurity till he returned, being before informed by the ſaid Mr. *Hetherington*, in a Letter, that he had taken *Pluncket*, and that a *Habeas Corpus* would be ready for the Deponent; which he no ſooner underſtood, but went (without taking notice of any perſon) with all the expedition he could for *Dublin*, and at his arrival acquainted ſeveral there how he had eſcaped the hands of violence; and at that inſtant the Informants grievances was carried before the D. of *Ormond* again, who ſent for the Deponent the next day, to whom he related the whole buſineſs of the Officers and Tories; to all which, the ſaid Duke promiſed, that juſtice ſhould be done, and that the Country ſhould be redreſſed, and withal, acknowledged, that he had received the Deponent's Letter, encloſed in Capt. *Butlers*, touching theſe matters, a year before.

XLVIII.

That the Informant, immediately after this conference with the D. of *Ormond*, repaired to Mr. *Hetherington*, and related to him all the paſſages that had paſt between them, particularly, of the Excommunication that was denounced againſt the Informant, that malice was the original cauſe thereof; to which the ſaid *Hetherington* replied, that it was almoſt impoſſible, as well as improbable, to have any juſtice done againſt the ſaid *Pluncket*, by reaſon of his ſtrong faction, nor in any other matters relating thereunto; the Informant not taking much notice of the reply, informed the ſaid *Hetherington*, if he would accompany the Deponent to the North, he would produce evidence to prove the whole that before he had revealed, and more alſo.

XLIX.

That many days after, the Informant remained in and about the D. of *Ormond*'s Houſe, attending for a Warrant that he promiſed againſt *Smith* and *Baker*, and alſo to bring ſuch Evidence as was in Gaol to teſtifie in that behalf; at length an

Order of Reference was granted to Sir *Hans Hamilton*, and a Letter to take Bail for ſuch Evidence as was in Priſon aforeſaid, which the Deponent no ſooner received, but acquainted Mr. *Hetherington*, who went with the Deponent, under the denomination of a Fryer which was lately come from *Rome*, by which means he learned ſeveral matters relating to the Plot and other affairs: the Informant came to Sir *Hans Hamiltons*, and brought Bail with him for the Evidence aforeſaid; but Sir *Hans* ſaid, he would as well ſummons the reſt that were not Impriſoned; in the mean time the Informant complained he wanted ſafe conduct to proſecute his affairs, to which he alſo anſwered, there was no ſuch neceſſity, ſeeing the D. of *Ormond* did think it needful to ſend ſuch aſſiſtance at firſt: Hereupon the Informant conſulted with Mr. *Hetherington*, and ſo determined to proſecute the deſign.

L.

That the ſaid Lieutenant *Baker*, in the mean time, had intelligence of the Informant's Order of Reference from the Lord Lieutenant, came therefore with ſeveral Armed men to the Deponent's Meeting-place, with a deſign to kill him, but was diſappointed, finding none but the Curat; notwithſtanding took the Informant's Brother, and plundered ſeveral of his Friends, and in the night time ſent the Tories to find out the Informant and Mr. *Hetherington*, and ordered they ſhould murther them; but in their purſuit the Deponent and his Friend eſcaped their hands, through the goodneſs of the Horſes they rid on, both of the Soldiers and Tories, who made diligent ſearch after them; hereupon the Deponent and the ſaid Mr. *Hetheringion* ſaw it high time to remove from thoſe parts, and ſtaying for one or two nights within ſome Six miles of the place, in which time came the Wives of the Evidences in Priſon, with ſeveral of their Friends, and acquainted Mr. *Hetherington* and the Deponent, both by Letters and word of mouth, that the ſaid Evidences and Priſoners could not ſupport their lives under ſuch miſeries they endured by the means of *Smith* and *Baker*, the Gaoler not contenting himſelf to Bolt, Yoak, and Chain them, beating them with an Iron Bar (whereby they had loſt much Blood) and this was to force them to ſign an inſtrument for their tranſportation, ſo that their Evidence might not be given againſt the ſaid *Smith* and *Baker*; hereupon Mr. *Hetherington* repaired to acquaint the D. of *Ormond*, which tranſactions he accordingly related, and left it to his conſideration. LI.

LI.

That the Informant alſo haſtening to *Dublin* to bring in more of the matters to my Lord Lieutenant, was drawing up his Examination, when one *Hugh Mac Canna*, who made a Proclamation throughout the City, that the Informant was the cauſe of *Pluncket*'s Impriſonment, the which *Hugh* was ſoon after taken by *George Murphy*, for not delivering the Papers of the Treaſon, when ſent by the Deponent, along with the Bull, to Mr. *Hetherington*, by his hand is ſuppoſed to have delivered it to *Pluncket*, *Smith* or *Baker*; but he was ſoon releaſed, alledging the Deponent accuſed none but ſuch as were honeſt men; the Informants being impriſoned gave occaſion to all the Primat's, as well as *Smith* and *Baker*'s friends, to fill the Town with all manner of ſcandalous and ignominious Characters concerning the Deponent; others came to Priſon, tempting him to Petition for to be tranſported to *France*; underſtanding alſo that Mr. *Hetherington* was concerned in *Pluncket*'s Impriſonment, very diligent enquiry was made after him, a general report going up and down the City, that Two Rogues, for their own intereſt, intended to take a pretended method to diſcover Treaſon to the Duke of *Ormond*, hoping to have Money for their reward; the one being taken, the other had eſcaped, and that Five hundred pound ſhould be given to any that took him; and that the next Week there was great hopes he ſhould be proclaimed a Rebel; ſome came to the Deponent alſo, and promiſed him Money and liberty, to declare where the ſaid *Hetherington* was.

LII.

That the Head of the forementioned Spy, that the Informant employed to look after the Tories, was brought to the D. of *Ormond*, as a piece of good ſervice done by Lieutenant *Baker*, notwithſtanding his being authorized by Sir *Hans Hamilton* and Capt. *Butler* to betray the Tories, under pretence of correſpondency with them, which he was allowed in. The manner of Killing of the ſaid Spy, was when he was at his Houſe ſick in Bed, Lieutenant *Baker* came and knock'd out his Brains with the But-end of a Piſtol or Muſket, afterwards cut off his Head. That afterwards, the ſaid *Baker* taxed the Countrey for Money for his Head, as if he had been a proclaimed Tory, who never was concerned in any

This was a notable Soldier, and deſerves to be Chronicled for a Champion, that could kill a man when he was not able to reſiſt.

any thing, but as one employed to be ſerviceable againſt the Tories; neither was he accounted any other by the Country, nor ever proclaimed.

LIII.

That notwithſtanding the Deponent's Petitions, the forementioned Witneſſes were tranſported by the means of Sir *John Davis*; during the Informant's Impriſonment, arrived at *Dublin* from the North of *Ireland*, a certain Gentleman, by name *John Curſy*, who was a ſtranger altogether to the Informant, and being demanded the occaſion of his coming to Town, ſaid, he came to confirm the teſtimony of a certain Prieſt; for this he added, he could confirm what the ſaid Prieſt had ſaid, and relate much more of the like kind. The ſaid perſon being brought under pretence of ſeeing the Deponent, was clapt up in Priſon alſo, under the notion of ſeveral unknown Actions of Debt, and was threatned to be hang'd by my Lord Chief Juſtice *Booth*; and in that fright gave a Bill of his Hand for what was alledged to his charge, beſides Ten pounds that he paid down, and made proteſtations, that he would deny that he had any thing to ſay on the Deponent's behalf; which done, he was diſmiſſed.

FINIS.

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News from Ireland.

BEING THE

Examination and Confession

OF

VVILLIAM KELSO,

A

SCOTCH REBEL, Taken in *IRELAND*,

whether he Fled,

After the Defeat of the REBELS in *SCOTLAND*;

BEFORE

GEORGE RAWDON, Esquire;
One of His Majesties Justices of the Peace there.

ALSO

A LETTER from C. *George* Mac *Cartney*,

Giving an account

Of several Barks full of *Scotch* Rebels, seen coming from *Scotland* to *Ireland*.

TOGETHER WITH A

PROCLAMATION

Set out by the

Duke of ORMOND,

For their Apprehension.

Printed in the Year 1679.

The Examination of William Kelso, *of the Town of* Air *in* Scotland, *Chirurgion and Apothecary Aged* 27 *Years, taken at* Lisburn, *June* 27, 1679.

WHo being demanded why he came to be in the Company of the Rebels in *Scotland*, saith, that *Robert Hamilton*, who is only known amongst them by the name of Collonel *Hamilton*, and was the chief in Command amongst them, and he sent for him this Examinant from *Air* to come and be helpful to them in the Exercise of his Profession in Chirurgery; whereupon being also perswaded to it by his Neighbours, he went on *Wednesday* was sevennight to their Camp, then at and about *Hamilton*, where (to the best of his judgment) they were in Number about 8000 Foot, and 14 Troops, some being about 60, and others more; and being demanded who were their Captains, and what Collonels or Field-Officers he saw of the Foot, saith, he did not see or hear of any Officers stiled Captain, but saith, that some of the chief amongst the several parties, out of the bounds and parts from whence they came, commanded them. And he further saith, that it was commonly spoken, that they intended to disperse of themselves, and return to their Dwellings, 'till they had notice that the King's Forces were to imbody at *Leith*. And as to this Examinants particular condition, he saith, that he was resolved to remove himself and Family out of *Scotland*, to *London*, and was selling his Shop, being weary of troubles by his living in *Scotland*, and did then resolve not to return again to the Rebels Camp. And he saith, that on *Friday* last, one of the Scouts of the Rebels being wounded, and shot through the Thigh, about two Miles from the Camp, he was sent out to dress him, but found him dead at the place he received his Wound; whereupon he, this Examinant, left the Camp next Morning, and went Nine Miles off, to *Ryland*, at which time there was no notice of the marching of the King's Forces that day, being *Saturday*; but upon *Sunday*, about Nine in the Morning, this Examinant heard the Ordnance playing, and not long after divers fled thither, and declar'd, the King's Army had marched all that Night, and that the Rebels Army was beaten and routed by the Ordnance the King's Forces had planted at *Buddelbrig*, a pass that the Rebels had endeavour'd to maintain, but were beaten from it, and that the Canon played from thence upon the Rebels Camp, and broke their Horse, who run away; and after that, he this Examinant made hast towards some Port, to be Transported into *Ireland*, intending to go to *Dublin*, and take shipping for *London*. And being demanded what he heard farther on the way by such as escaped from the Rebels Camp, says, divers of them, some being four or more in company, and others more, affirmed dolefully, the Rebels were all broken, and fled several ways, but they could or would not tell what Execution was done, or what Number was slain or taken, but saith, none of those he spoke with were wounded, or did fight, as he believes; and saith, it was ~~generally spoken~~, ~~the~~ Duke of *Monmouth* commanded the King's Forces in chief, and was there in person with them, and that General *Dalyel*, and General *David Lesly*, and those Officers named in the Proclamation, for Assembling the Heritors to attend the King's Standard, was there also, as he believes, and further saith not. Deposed before me

GEO. RAWDON.

Belfaſt, *June* 27*th*. 1679.

SIR,

THis day there came to Town one *George Lyon*, Maſter of a *Glaſgow* Ship, who gave an account of ſome Boats he met at Sea, to my Lord *Mount Alexander* and me, when we were together, but after my Lord was gone, I had ſome more ſerious diſcourſe with him, and he told me, That yeſterday before he came into the Lough of *Carrickfergus*, he ſaw 12 or 14 boats and Barks at Sea coming from *Scotland* to *Ireland*, and that he met with two of them that were come into this Lough below *Carrickfergus*, and that he went Aboard one of the veſſels laden with Coales, and that there appeared to his ſight ſeven or eight Men, and that there was one Gentleman amongſt them, but he could not get his name, which Gentleman was very well Armed with Sword and Piſtol as were ſeveral of the reſt, and that the other boat was full of Men, and that they had Arms alſo, but all very much dejected; he ſays they told him, that there was an Engagement between the Kings party and the Rebellious party on Sunday laſt, and that they begun about ſeven of the Clock to Skirmiſh, the Presbyterian party being then about 11000, the Kings party not above 4000, but they did not Engage in Battle till nigh Nine of the Clock, and that the diſpute did not laſt above an hour, till the Horſe of the Rebellious party retreated and broak through a wing of their own Foot; Theſe men ſay, they came off in a party of about 300 Horſe, and when they were about 2 Miles off, on the Top of a Hill, they looked back and ſaw their Foot ſtanding on their Ground, and firing very hard, but this party before they halted came to *Kilmares* in their Roadway to *Irwin*, but as they lay upon the Graſs to reſt themſelves on *Monday* Morning, a friend of their own came and told them, that the Foot was broke, and the Kings party was in purſuit of them, and that there was Order for no quarter for ſome time, neither quarter to any who harboured them and denyed them, upon which that party preſently took Horſe and Shifted every one for themſelves to ſeveral Ports to get paſſage to *Ireland* for ſhelter; Theſe two Barks this Man met with came from *Irwin* on *Wedneſday* laſt, and he ſaith, he verily believes the reſt of the Boats and Barks he ſaw were all full of Men, and came from *Irwin* and other parts thereabouts: And he told me alſo, that theſe Men deſired him to take them aboard his Ship, and bring them a ſhore, for he was laden with Deal-boards coming from *Norway*, but he denyed to bring them aſhore; ſaying, if they came aſhore he doubted they would be put in priſon, and he, ſhould he bring them, upon which they both went to Sea again, but whether they returned to *Scotland*, or gone to ſome other part of this Country, he knows not. Sir, this was all the account he could give, which I thought fit to acquaint you of, and remain with my reſpects,

Sir, your humble ſervant

George *Mac* Cartney.

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By the Lord LIEUTENANT *and* COUNCIL.

ORMOND.

WHEREAS there hath been a Notorious and Unnatural Rebellion lately raised in Scotland, by several Traiterous and Disloyal Persons, who did in great Numbers, take up Arms against His Majesty, and gave Battle to His Majesties Forces there, which, by the Success it has pleased God to give His Majesties Army there, is now suppressed, and many of the said Rebels killed and taken, and the rest dispersed. And whereas many of the Persons who were guilty of the said Rebellion, may, to avoid the just Punishment which they deserve, endeavour to fly into this Kingdom of Ireland, and conceal themselves here. We have thought fit to require all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other His Majesties Officers and Ministers, both Civil and Military, That they make diligent search after all such Persons as lately have come, or hereafter shall come out of Scotland into this Kingdom, and to seize and secure all such of them as shall not give a sufficient account of their Loyalty, or whom they shall find just cause to suspect to have been concerned in the said Rebellion; And all His Majesties Officers and other Loyal Subjects, in the several Sea-Port Towns, & other places of the Kingdom, are hereby also required, to make strict and diligent Search after such Persons, and to bring them before one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace, in such County where they shall be seized on. And the said Justices of the Peace are from Time to Time, to give us an account of what Persons shall be so brought before them, and secured by them. And we do hereby also strictly Charge and Command all His Majesties Subjects in this Kingdom, that they do forbear either Harbouring or Relieving any of the said Rebels, so coming out of Scotland; and that they forthwith make a Discovery of such of them as they shall at any time know to be residing in this Kingdom, unto any of His Majesties Justices of the Peace, under pain of their utmost Perils, and being looked upon as Persons guilty of the same Traiterous Designs with them.

Given at the Council-Chamber in *Dublin*, the 30th of *June*, 1679.

Mich. Armagh, C. *Jo. Dublin*, *Aran*, *Blessington*, *Lanesborough*, *Hen. Mid. Ca. Dillon*, *Ro. Booth*, *Jo. Keating*, *Jo. Byssse*, *Jo. Davis*, *Ol. St. George*, *Tho Jones*, *Will. Flower*, *Tho. Newcomen*, *Tho. Ratcliff*.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

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THIS *Narrative of* the late Deſign of the Papiſts, *&c.* Publiſhed for general Information, *doth exactly agree with the Examinations taken by Sir* Joſeph Williamſon *and my ſelf.*

WILLIAM WALLER.

March 29. —79.

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A TRUE NARRATIVE

Of the Late

DESIGN

Of the PAPISTS to Charge their

Horrid PLOT

UPON THE

PROTESTANTS.

By Endeavouring to Corrupt

Captain *BURY* and Alderman *BROOKS* of *Dublin*,

And to take off the Evidence of

Mr. *OATS* and Mr. *BEDLOW*, &c.

As appears by the Depositions taken before the Right Honourable

Sir *JOSEPH WILLIAMSON*, Knight,

One of His Majesties late Principal Secretaries of State;

And the several EXAMINATIONS before Sir *WILLIAM WALLER*, Knight, One of His Majesties Justices of the Peace.

Published for General Information.

LONDON:

Printed for *Dorman Newman* at the *Kings Arms* in the *Poultrey*, 1679

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THE DEPOSITIONS OF Captain BURY.

ON the 11*th* of this Inſtant *January*, I received the annexed Note from Mr. *James Nettervile*; on the 13*th* I went to him; as ſoon as I came, he told me, he had ſomething to impart to me in private; We went into a Room alone, and he asked me if I did not hear that there were perſons making inquiry to find out ſome that would amuſe thoſe that had impeached the Lords, and thoſe concerned about the Plot. I told him I heard nothing of it. He told me there were ſuch, and that I ſhould find the Game would turn another way; and that I might do my ſelf a kindneſs, if *I* pleaſed. *I* told him my Affairs called me for *Ireland*, that I muſt be gone on the *Thurſday* following. He told me it would be worth my while to ſtay; and asked me if I could nor prove that one Mr. *Digby* had meetings with Mr. *Oats* and Mr. *Bedlow*. *I* told him no, for he knew there had been no great friendſhip of late betwixt us (this I lookt upon as an introduction to the deſign); but he came cloſe to me, and told me, a perſon had been with him concerning this matter, and that indeed they had a jealouſie of Mr. *Blood*; and if I would diſcover any thing of that nature againſt him, I ſhould have 4 or 500 *l.* for my pains. To this I ſeemed to hearken (but was much ſurpriſed at this unexpected diſcourſe), and did plainly ſee their deſign was to turn the Game another way, as he ſaid before. I did not diſcourage him, but told him I would conſider of it; and if I did not go on *Thurſday*, I would ſee him again; and that he knew well I was very hard to believe this Plot; and then he told me

that he could bring a Priſoner in that place to drink a Pot of Ale with me, that could give me an account what a Rogue Mr. *Bedlow* was; but I being in haſte, took my leave of him, he injoyning me to ſecreſie. At my return I could not meet with Mr. *Blood*, but having ſome buſineſs with Sir *Ralph Dalaval*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* his Daughter, and being full with this Deviliſh deſign, I told the ſtory to them, and ſaid, When I was in *Ireland*, I ſhould hear, and they ſhould find that this was the Game they intended to play, To turn the Plot from themſelves, and doubted not they would find ſome to carry it on.

On the 14*th* (in the morning) I went to Mr. *Bloods* houſe, and acquainted him with it; he deſired me to meet him in the evening, becauſe he deſired to conſider of it; but told me then, he had no reaſon to ſlight it, becauſe the morning before, a Knight [Sir *Thomas Longvile*] had been with him, and told him there was a deſign againſt him of the ſame kind, and deſired him to inquire after it.

In the evening I met with Mr. *Blood*, who deſired me to keep my Correſpondence with the ſaid *Nettervile*, and to know of him how I ſhould be ſecured my payments, and what it was they would have me do.

On the 16*th* I went accordingly to him, and told him I had conſidered of what we had diſcourſed before, and had ſtopt my Journey as to that day; he was very glad to ſee me, and told me, that the party [*Ruſſel*] had been with him again about the buſineſs, and I might get 500 *l.* without any prejudice to my ſelf; I told him that Money would do me a great kindneſs at this time (for he knew I had waited a long time here, and that it was very hard with me), therefore deſired to know what they would have me to do, and how I ſhould be ſure of the 500 *l.* for I expected it ſhould be a perſon of good credit that would lay down the 500 *l.* He told me I ſhould not need to queſtion that, for they were of credit enough. But he that came to him [*Ruſſel*], was only imployed to pay the Money; and if I ſhall tell him that you will do the buſineſs, you ſhall be ſure of the Money; not ſo, ſaid I, Firſt let me know what it is diſtinctly, and how I ſhall be ſure of the 500 *l.* or elſe I will not ſtir a foot in it, but be gone on *Monday*. Saith he, Would you have the Money before-hand? then it may be you will not do it. No, ſaid I, that I do not deſire. But will you depoſite it in a third hand? Truly, ſaid he, that is very fair, and I doubt not but they will do it (for I told him none was

bet-

better able to carry it on than you ; for Mr. *Blood*'s Man was formerly your Servant, and preferred by you to him), and told me, that on *Saturday* by two or three of the Clock, his friend would be with him again ; but that he would be shy of discoursing with me; and desired that I would come to him [*Russel*] on *Monday*, and then I should understand more. Upon my return I acquainted Mr. *Blood* with the whole discourse, and that I was to leave the Town on *Monday*, having stayed my utmost time, because *I* had a Suit depending in Chancery, at *Dublin* ; and that if I were not there the beginning of the *Term*, it would be great damage to me, because my absence would be looked upon as a Contempt ; but Mr. *Blood* requested me to stay until he had acquainted His Majesty, or one of his Secretaries with it, to know his pleasure as to my going or stay.

Sworn before me the 17*th* of *Jan.* 1678. *J. Williamson.*

John Bury.

Saturday the 18*th* day of *January*, I was with *James Nettervile* in the Evening; he told me his Friend [*Russel*] had left him about half an hour before I came, and that he acquainted him with what I propounded (to wit) that 500 *l.* should be deposited in a third persons hand ; and he told me his friend was contented it should be so, and thought it but reasonable, and therefore was willing to put it into a Goldsmiths hand. I asked him if they had considered the method we should carry this on ? and whether they had drawn up the heads of what I was to swear ? He told me, no ; but his friend would be with him again upon *Wednesday*, and that all things should be prepared and ready for me by *Thursday* morning. *I* asked him if it would be convenient for me to meet his Friend ? He told me not as yet, for he was very wary, shy, and fearful of being betrayed. I told him I thought my meeting with him was not material; only, said *I*, let him be sure to secure the Money, and he needs not doubt of effecting the business. But, said *I*, 500 *l.* is not all that *I* expect from him for this service, that is but a melting Cash, and I have a great Charge, and a Wife and six Children, and you know I have lyen a long time waiting here, almost to my utter ruin, and have been very hardly dealt with. Now, if I accomplish this, I shall lose my interest in all other Parties, and therefore expect he should make me a very good interest

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with that Party. Never fear that, ſaid he, you ſhall have intereſt enough with them; and if we can but turn off this Plot, there is no danger of effecting our buſineſs; for, ſaith he, the King will believe nothing of it. Well, ſaid I, I muſt truſt to you to make my intereſt; but I partly ſee how things are like to go, and think it wiſdom to come in with the beginning of the Game. Saith he (ſwearing by his Maker) Never fear, if we turn off this Plot, we do our buſineſs, and you will be made for ever. But, ſaid I, Why will you defer this while *Wedneſday*? That is a great while, and delays are not good. Said he, I did not expect you till *Sunday*: But if I hear any thing in the mean time, I will write to you, and it ſhall be left at Mr. *Brooke*'s Lodging. I hear, ſaid I, the Parliament is Prorogued; and that is true enough, ſaid he; and till they meet again, we can receive no great damage. But, ſaid he, I hear the Apprentices are ready to riſe and pull down *Newgate*. Said I, then I ſuppoſe that is, becauſe the men [*Jeſuits*] are not executed. What elſe, ſaid he? and that is our great danger, that the people ſhould run into a Rebellion before we accompliſh our buſineſs. I asked him if he had taken an Abſtract, as he ſaid he would, of what that man in the priſon could ſwear, to take off Mr. *Bedlow*'s Evidence. I have not yet, ſaid he, but we are ſure enough of him, and ſhall make *Bedlow* Rogue enough. Pray, ſaid I, what will he ſwear? That the very morning the Proclamation came forth concerning Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, Mr. *Bedlow* came to his Chamber, and asked him if he had ever ſeen Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*: For, ſaid he, if *I* knew what a like man he was, *I* could eaſily get 500 *l.* and however, *I* am reſolved to hazard my Neck, but I will have it; and that he would have had this man go with him to *Somerſethouſe* to ſee the Rooms, and promiſed to get him Money, if he would go with him. But, ſaid I, Mr. *Nettervile*, it is ſaid Mr. *Bedlow* was out of Town before the Proclamation came out; that is not ſo, ſaith he, for this mans Wife went into the Countrey with him. A great deal of diſcourſe more we had, all tending to the incouraging of me to carry on this buſineſs, to turn this Plot to be a *Proteſtant Plot* for the deſtruction of the *Papiſts*, and then I ſhould be made for ever. When I paid the Reckoning, and was coming away, ſaid he, you will always come to your charge, but I hope the end will pay for all.

On

On *Wedneſday* the 22*d*, at Night, I went to Mr. *Netterville* expecting to have the Model how they would have me Swear, and in what Goldſmiths hand they would put the 500 *l.* But as ſoon as ever I came to him, he told me that he had been put into ſuch a fright, that he was never in all his life before; for, ſaid he, Mr. *Oates*, Mr. *Bedlow*, Sir *William Waller*, and another Juſtice have been with me; they called for Irons, one would have fifty pound weight, another would have an hundred pound weight put upon me. At length Sir *William Waller* began to examine me, and told me, he knew I could diſcover a great deal; ſo I deſired the reſt might be put out of the Room, and I confeſt all to him and the other Juſtice, they both promiſing me my pardon. Have you confeſt all, ſaid I? how could I help it, ſaid he? I was never in ſuch a fright in all my life; and they promiſed me my pardon. What have you confeſt, ſaid I? I have told them, ſaid he, That 500 *l.* was to be depoſited in a Goldſmiths hand, and that I had ſent for a Gentleman, and treated with him about it. Have you told them my Name, ſaid I? He pauſed at that; No, ſaid he; but I muſt tell them, but I thought firſt to acquaint you with it. Then ſaid I, it ſeems you have left me in the lurch, and have made no proviſion for me; therefore ſince it is ſo, you will give me leave to play my own Game; and ſeeing you have confeſt, let us now play our Game as well as we can on the other ſide, and be ſure to be ingenuous, and confeſs whatever we know. I will immediately to Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, and declare the whole Story. Pray do ſo, ſaith he, neglect no time, but go this night. And ſo we parted.

John Bury.

The Depoſition of Alderman BROOKS.

THAT on or about the 23*d* of *December*, 1678, I was at the *Marſhalſeys* in *Southwark*, where was one *James Nettervile*, a priſoner there for debt; who deſired me to do ſo much for him, as to carry a Note for a friend of his that was a Priſoner alſo, unto one *Pierce Butler*, that lived in *Germanſtreet*, near my Lodging; and ſaid, If I would procure any of his friends to come to his friend there, he would have Money enough, whereof he ſhould have a ſhare; and alſo it would be a great kindneſs to him; whereupon I told him I would, provided he would write it quickly. Whereupon he called forth his friend, and they two conſulted together, and he wrote two or three Lines, and gave them me for the ſaid *Butler*. But when I came to the place where I was directed, they told me he was gone out of Town in obedience to the Kings Proclamation. And ſo I troubled my ſelf no further, but put the Note in my Pocket: The next Morning he ſent a Meſſenger to me, to know what I had done in it; I deſired him to tell the ſaid Mr. *Nettervile*, that the ſaid Mr. *Butler* was gone out of Town in Obedience to His Majeſties Proclamation.

About Ten days after, I had occaſion for ſome waſte-paper; and putting my hand in my Pocket, I lit on this Note that I ſhould have delivered to *Butler*, and opened it, and read it, and found in it theſe words written, or to this effect.

Sir, I am here committed by the name of Daniel Edmonds, *by a Juſtice of the Peace in the Country, as being a Recuſant. And therefore I deſire of you, that you will come unto me here, that I may adviſe with you; and in ſo doing, you will oblige your friend,*

Dominick Kelly.

This run in my mind, till about the 5*th* inſtant at night; and then being at Mr. *Proctors* Coffee-houſe at *Charingcroſs*, I there met with a Paper, intituled, Mr. *Praunces Diſcovery of the Plot, and of Sir* Edmondbury Godfreys *Murtherers*; wherein (amongſt other things) there was mentioned two *Iriſh* Prieſts to be guilty, the one named *Gerrald*, and the other *Kelly*; where-

whereupon it came into my mind, that the man that I carried the Note for into *Germanſtreet*, muſt be the ſame *Kelly*, becauſe by that Note he was committed by the name of *Edmunds*, and his name was *Kelly*.

The next morning being the 16 of this inſtant *January* (thinking to have found the ſame *Kelly* there), I came there; and coming to the aforeſaid *Nettervile*, and after ſome ſecret diſcourſe, I asked him how his friend did that I carried the Note for? he told me he procured Bail. Then I asked him what he was? he told me that he was a *Prieſt*, and one of thoſe that *Oats* (that Rogue) had impeached. I asked him how he could get Bail, being a *Prieſt*; he told me, they did not know that he was a *Prieſt*; and thoſe that were his Bail, would be Bail for any for money; and he gave them Ten Shillings a piece, and the fellow that procured them, Five Shillings; and he got them the Copy of his Commitment for them to move by; and the *Prieſt* promiſed him, the ſaid *Nettervile*, ſeven pounds. But he had not left it him as yet; and ſo we left this diſcourſe, and came to other.

That he having ſent by me a Letter, and a Petition to Mrs. *Eleanor Wall*, a Gentlewoman that belongs to the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* (whom he calls Cozen), whereby to get him ſome money for his preſent ſupply: but I having no opportunity to meet with her, could give him no account of that matter; whereupon he ſaid, that he was in ſuch want, that if he had not help ſpeedily, he ſhould be turned into the Common-ſide: I told him that money was ſo ſcarce with me, that I could not lend him any; but if I could, I would. Whereupon he called me aſide into the corner of the Yard, by the Gate, and told me, That if I would be rul'd by him, he would put me into a way whereby we ſhould have money enough. I asked him how? he told me, if I would but joyn and aſſiſt to villify the Evidence of *Oats* and *Bedlow*, thoſe two Rogues; whereupon I laughed at him, and ſaid, It is impoſſible; their Evidence was grounded upon too good a foundation: he told me I was miſtaken, and I ſhould hear otherwiſe in a little while.

Upon the 17*th* of *January* I went again to him, thinking to have gained ſomething of him, what was become of this *Prieſt*, but could not; and was taking my leave of him, ſaying, I muſt go home, for I had ſome buſineſs to write for *Ireland*, to ſend by Captain *Bury*, who was to go on *Monday*; he

told me, he believed he ſhould ſtop Captain *Burys* Journey; I told him, I hoped not ſo; he anſwered, it ſhould not be to his prejudice. To which I anſwered, why then with all my heart, for I would not be againſt any thing that ſhould be for his good. And ſo there came in one *Ruſſel* an *Iriſh* man, that had ſome buſineſs with him. And ſo we parted.

William Brooks.

The Second Information of Mr. Brooks.

I Being with Mr. *Nettervile* at the *Marſhalſey* in *Southwark*, Mr. *Nettervile* deſired me I would do him the kindneſs as to carry another Letter for his Friend to one Capt. *Kelly*, who had three or four Employments in the *Tower* of *London*. I told him I would if it was any kindneſs to him. So *Nettervile* with *Dominick Kelly* went together, and wrote a Letter to this Capt. *Kelly* of the *Tower*; the Contents were much the ſame with that I carried to *Pierce Butler*. I carried it to the *Tower*, and Capt. *Kelly* was not at home; ſo I delivered it to his Wife. As ſoon as ſhe read it, the tears were in her eyes; ſhe ſtruck her hand on her breaſt, ſaying, *Alas poor man, is he taken? I was in hopes he had been ſafe, of all the reſt.* She thankt me very kindly, and told me, as ſoon as her Husband came home, ſhe would give it him. When I went to Mr. *Nettervile* again, he thankt me for carrying the Letter for his Friend *Dominick Kelly* to the *Tower*; and told me Capt. *Kelly* had been with them, and treated them very civilly with wine and meat, and had ſpent five ſhillings upon them. I asked *Nettervile* what Capt. *Kelly* was? He told me he was a true *Iriſh* man. I asked him if he was a Papiſt? He hath taken the Oaths, ſaid he; but he is a well-wiſher to us. On *Thurſday* the 16 of *January*, *Nettervile* deſired me to carry a Letter from himſelf to Capt. *Kelly*, which Letter ſignified to him that his Friend *Dominick Kelly* was gone, and how that he had promiſed him 7 *l.* to diſcharge himſelf out of the Priſon, but had not yet been ſo good as his word; therefore deſired that he would take ſome ſpeedy courſe that he may have the 7 *l.* to diſcharge himſelf out of Priſon. This Letter I delivered to Capt. *Kelly*'s own hand in the *Tower*. He read it, and told me he was very glad his Friend was out; but that he had never ſeen him ſince; pray, ſays he, remember me kindly to Mr. *Nettervile*, and tell him, For his kindneſs to my Friend, I will do him all the ſervice I can.

Up-

Upon the 28*th* of *January* I was desired by Sir *Joseph Williamson*, to go to Mr. *Nettervile*, to try what more I could get out of him. On the 30*th* I went to him, and told him, that I had met with Sir *Joseph Williamson*; and he seemed to be angry, and thought we had not discovered all we knew. And I told *Nettervile*, that although he had promise of his pardon, yet it was expected he should do more for it than he had done: As for my part, said I, you know I could discover nothing, but what discourse passed betwixt you and I, and that I have done to the full. Therefore, if you know any more, I would advise you to discover it; for since you have gone thus far, I think you ought not to conceal any thing of what you know more. The Grand thing I perceive they desire of you, and that which I think is all they can expect from you, is, That you would declare from whom the 500 *l.* was to come. He thankt me for my advice, and told me, that he believed Sir *Joseph Williamson* had not perused all his Examinations, for he had Answered all the Questions they had asked him. And if they had any thing more to ask him, he would Answer them.

Upon *Friday* the 31*th* of *January*, I acquainted Sir *Joseph VVilliamson* with what he said; he ordered him to be brought to the Council on *Saturday* morning, where I met him at the door, before he was call'd; I told him, I supposed the chief Question that would be put to him, would be, Whose this 500 *l.* was? and begged of him that he would discover what he knew of it. Upon his coming out from the Council, I asked him if that was not the Question they put to him? He told me it was: I asked him what account he had given them? He told me he thought they were satisfied, for they were very kind to him, and promised him, that so long as they lived, he should have the protection of that Board.

On *Tuesday*, the 4*th* of *February* following, Sir *Joseph VVilliamson* seeing me at the Council-door, called me in, and asked me if I thought I could get any more out of *Nettervile*? I told him I thought he had given him satisfaction when he was before them, concerning whose the money was. I told Sir *Joseph* the discourse I had with *Nettervile* at his going into the House, and at his coming back; then he told me, that he had not been ingenuous with them, for he would confess nothing at first; but after some Questions being asked in general terms, he told them that it was to come from some of the Lords in the Tower; and de-

ſired me that I would go once more to ſee if I could get any thing from him.

The next morning the Earl of *Eſſex* deſired to ſpeak with me; I waited upon him at the Council-Chamber; and he deſired me alſo, that I would go to Mr. *Nettervile* to ſee what I could get further from him.

So on *Thurſday* the *6th* of *February*, I did go to Mr. *Nettervile*, and told him I was not come on a bare viſit; but I was commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, (whom he knew had both been very kind to him) to adviſe him, that he would be ingenuous, and diſcover what further he knew in this buſineſs. Truly, ſaid I, I ſuppoſe all they do expect from you, is, that you would make ſome clear diſcovery unto them whoſe money this 500 *l.* was; ſaith he (Swearing by his Soul) I did tell them all I knew, I thought they had been ſatisfied; no, ſaid I, they are not; and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* ſaith, you were not ingenuous; for you only in general terms told them it was ſome of the Lords money in the Tower. Now if you can remember which of the Lords money it was, it may ſatisfie them; for they judg, and ſo do I, and every one elſe, that *Ruſſel* would as eaſily tell you whoſe it was, as to tell you it was ſome of the Lords in the Tower. I could get no more from him a great while; but after we had ſate and diſcourſed ſome time, he told me that *Brewer* was to be before the Council the next day, and he believed he ſhould be ſent for too; I ſuppoſe not, ſaid I, unleſs I have ſome better account to give them from you: ſo juſt upon my coming away I told him; Mr *Nettervile*, I am ſorry I can give no better account of my Journey to you; therefore pray, if you have any thing more to ſay, let me know it before I go. After he had pauſed a while, By my Soul, ſaid he, I cannot remember the particular name of any Lord but one. Who is that, ſaid I? My Lord *Stafford*, ſaith he; but all the reſt were to contribute to it; for *Ruſſel* told me he was to go immediately to the Tower, to get the Money raiſed; and that it was a difficult thing to get all the Lords together; and if he ſhould go to them apart, they might make ſcruples, and ſo delay the buſineſs; and therefore he ſhould make all the haſte he could to get the Money ready.

A Relation of other Material Circumſtances and Diſcourſes, in reference to the before-mentioned deſign.

LEſt the *Jeſuitical* party ſhould ſay of the following Proceedings, that they are falſe and feigned, as their Impudence affirmeth in all other inventions of theirs, when detected; 'Tis neceſſary the World ſhould underſtand the occaſional Circumſtances, introducing this helliſh attaque to be made upon this honeſt Gentleman, Captain *Bury*, who for his worth and reputation is known to ſeveral perſons of Honour and good Quality in this Nation.

The affairs that brought him into *England*, from his habitation in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, was to Petition His Majeſty, and the Honourable Privy-Council, touching a Debt due to his Father, Sir *William Bury* of *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire*, deceaſed, for his ſervice in being one of His Majeſties Lords Commiſſioners for managing the Government of *Ireland*; and in proſecution thereof, being ſeveral times in company with Mr. *Netterville*, who was formerly a Clerk in the Court of *Claims*, in *Dublin*, and who pretended to inform the Captain of ſeveral concealed Lands and Houſes in *Ireland*, which he might place his Debt upon; And upon the Captains receipt of his ſaid Letter of the 11*th* of *January*, 1678, deſiring a ſpeedy Conference with the Captain, touching matters which may redound to his advantage, which the Captain readily embraced (ſuppoſing it refered to the ſaid concealed Houſes and Lands); and according to *Netterviles* requeſt by his Note, on the ſaid 13*th* of *January* laſt, the Captain viſited the ſaid *Netterville* in the *Marſhalſey* in *Southwark*; when inſtead of a Communication as to the aforeſaid concerns (the ſaid *Netterville* being no ſtranger to the Captains long abode here, and the expence he had been at in his ſolicitation) took the opportunity to feel the Captains pulſe, as to the horrid fact before-mentioned.

Prima facie. It aſtoniſhed the honeſt Captain to think that *Netterville* had diſcovered a matter of that nature to him; and conſidering if he ſhould reveal it to any one, there would be but his aſſerting it, and *Netterviles* denial, beſides the cenſure the World would paſs on the Captains Reputation, from the apprehenſion in *Netterviles* breaſt, that the Captain would be, or was

fit to be profligated in ſuch a concern, which with the danger and hazard he might expoſe his life to by ſuch diſcovery, and the urgency of his particular affairs requiring his perſonal and ſpeedy attendence in *Dublin* (having two Conditional Decrees awarded againſt him, which would have been made abſolute this laſt *Hillary-Term* for want of his appearance there). All theſe Conſiderations made him ſometimes reſolve within himſelf, to ſtifle the wicked propoſal of *Nettervile*.

But vveighing the direful effects of ſuch a contrivance, vvhich if proſecuted by ſome other inſtruments, vvhen he vvas departed this Kingdom, would not only have been the deſtruction of his intimate friend, and old acquaintance, Mr. *Blood*, but prejudicial to His Majeſty, and the whole Kingdom, in taking off the evidence of Mr. *Oats* and Mr. *Bedlow*; and thereby the *Papiſts* might ſtill carry on their deviliſh deſign and Plot, when they had waſhed their own hands, and made ſuch an alteration; when the innocent would have been ruined, and the true *Bloodſuckers* acquitted.

This Conſideration ſo affected the Captain, that he reſolved to leave the event of his particular concerns to Providence; and as you read by his Depoſition, he repaired to Mr. *Blood*, and gave him intelligence thereof. And having ſo imparted the ſame to him, the goodneſs of God appeared much to the Captains ſatisfaction, touching his troubleſome thoughts about his particular concerns, by His Majeſties Gracious pleaſure, in ordering Sir *Joſeph VVilliamſon* to write to the Lords Chancellor of *Ireland*, that the Captain might ſuſtain no damage in his Concerns, by his non-appearance there, being commanded by His Majeſty to attend his Service here, which Letter was ſent accordingly.

Upon the 17*th* of *January* laſt, as the Captain was going to attend Sir *Joſeph VVilliamſon*, to give in his Depoſition, meeting with Alderman *Brooks*, and diſcourſing with him of *Nettervile*, he told the Captain he had been at the *Marſhalſeys* the day before with *Nettervile*, and feared he had done a very ill thing; which upon the Captains enquiry what it was, the ſaid Mr. *Brooks* was ſomewhat unwilling to acknowledg, until he had ſearcht further into it. But before their departure, Mr. *Brooks* told the Captain, that *Nettervile* had procured Bail for one *Dominick Kelly*, who was one of the Murderers of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*; which Relation of the Alderman gave a Confirmation to the Captain of the wickedneſs of *Nettervile*, and Gods Goodneſs in animating the Captain to what he was then going about, touching his own Information.

Which

Which when he had ſignified to Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, he was much affected with it, and told the Captain of what great concernment it was, to have the ſaid *Dominick Kelly* in cuſtody; and deſired the Captain to bring the ſaid Alderman *Brooks* to him; which the Captain deſired to reſpite in, that Mr. *Brooks* might make ſome further inquiry, as he ſaid he would, into the concern; and alſo leaſt the Information given by the ſaid Captain ſhould be diſcovered, before there was a further progreſs made for the obtaining a full diſcovery of the deſign, and perſons acting therein.

Upon the [19 *January*] *Sunday* morning, Mr. *Brooks* came to the Captains Lodging, to know whether his Journey held for *Ireland* the next day; and then told the Captain he had been the day before with *Nettervile*; and upon the Captains demanding whether he had learnt any thing more touching *Dominick Kelly*, the ſaid Mr. *Brooks* gave the Captain the full account, which the Captain cauſed to be put in writing, and carried him to Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, to make Oath of the ſame, which he did, which appears by his foregoing Information. And the Captain could not but take notice of a Series of Providence all along in this buſineſs; for by what Alderman *Brooks* atteſted, *Dominick Kelly* was ſo infatuated, as to ſend the Letter unſealed to *Pierce Butler* by the Alderman, although he was in ſuch dangerous Circumſtances.

Upon Mr. *Brooks* his free acknowledgment of theſe paſſages, the Captain (deſiring his ſecreſie) acquainted the ſaid Mr. *Brooks* of *Netterviles* prank with him; which on the *Monday* following, Mr. *Brooks* (being to meet Mr. *Lowman* and Mr. *Glover*, the Keeper and Clerk of the *Marſhalſey*, to conſider ſome way for the diſcovery of thoſe who were Bail for *Dominick Kelly*) happened to give ſome hints of the Captains Information to the ſaid Mr. *Lowman*, and Mr. *Glover*; whereby Mr. *Oats* coming to have ſome underſtanding thereof, with Mr. *Bedlow*, and by an untimely proceſs therein, going to *Nettervile* with Sir *William Waller*, ſpoyled the Proceedings, which otherwiſe might in a little time have produced the 500 *l.* depoſited in the Goldſmiths hand, and full intelligence of the parties concerned in the project, and of the Depoſitions which the Captain was to have Sworn, when he received the 500 *l.* from *Ruſſel*, and the ſeizure of the ſaid *Ruſſel*, &c.

Upon *Thurſday* the 23*d* of *January*, Mr. *Brooks* met with the Captain, and told him what *Nettervile* had related to him of the buſineſs of Captain *Kelly* in the *Tower*; He told him the ſtory,

as you find in his Information. And further told the Captain, that he had another Letter, which he was going to carry to Captain *Kelly* in the *Tower*; and *Nettervile* told him the said Mr. *Brooks*, that if Captain *Kelly* did not send him the 7 *l* he the said *Nettervile* did know enough to turn him out of the *Tower*. I have, saith *Brooks* taken a Copy of this Letter, and the Captain desired he might see it, which he did; and the Contents were to signifie to Captain *Kelly*, what a fright the said *Nettervile* had been put into by Mr. *Oats* and Mr. *Bedlow*, having been with him. And therefore *Nettervile* desired Captain *Kelly* to send him the 7 *l.* to discharge him out of that prison, lest worse should come on it; and upon the Captains reading the Copy of the said Letter, he desired Mr. *Brooks* not to be too hasty in delivering that Letter to Captain *Kelly*; but that he would draw up by way of Information what he had told him, and go along with the said Captain to Sir *Joseph Williamson*, and give in the Information, and take his advice.

So that on *Friday* the 24*th* of *January*, the Captain and Mr. *Brooks* went to Sir *Joseph Williamson*, and gave him the Information, and the said Letter with the Copy thereof; Then Sir *Joseph* told the Captain and Mr. *Brooks*, that the Committee of Lords was going to sit, and that they should attend at the Council-door, and he would call them in, that they might know their Lordships pleasure, as to the delivery of the Letter to Captain *Kelly*. After debate, their Lordships were of opinion, That the Letter should not be delivered, but thought they had sufficient ground to seize Capt. *Kelly*, and to search his house for *Dominick Kelly*, and for papers; in order to which, Sir *Joseph Williamson* was sent for his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, who immediately came to the Council, where the Lords acquainted his Grace with the business, and desired he would give Mr. *Brooks* a Warrant to fetch Capt. *Kelly*. His Grace was pleased to send for his Secretary, and ordered him immediately to draw a Warrant directed to Sir *John Robinson*, to assist them with a Guard, for executing the Warrant, and *Nettervile* was ordered to be brought to the Council that afternoon.

And so the Captain and Mr. *Brooks* accompanied with Sir *William Waller*, went to the *Tower*; and being guarded by Sir *John Robinson*, came to Capt. *Kellys* house, and there his Foot-boy came to the door; and upon enquiry for his Master, the Boy replied, he was not within; they askt him if he knew where he was; the Boy told them no, for he dined abroad: They went in-

to

to the Houſe, and in the Room where the Lord *Stafford* lodgeth, they found Capt. *Kelly*, and brought him to the Council with what papers they could find: but *Nettervile* had been examined, and was gone away before, and had confeſſed the ſending the Letters, and Capt. *Kellys* being with them in the *Marſhalſeys*, &c.

The Captain thereupon was put into the Meſſengers hands, and ordered to be brought before their Lordſhips next morning, and *Nettervile* alſo (who were face to face at the Council-Table).

Capt. *Kelly* denied that he knew this *Dominick Kelly*: *Nettervile* told him he would not deny ſurely that he was with them at the *Marſhalſeys*, which Capt. *Kelly* then confeſſed; ſome of their Lordſhips asked what he did at the *Marſhalſeys*? Captain *Kelly* ſaid, he went to viſit Mr. *Nettervile*: Truly, ſaid *Nettervile*, 'twas kindly done of you, Sir, for I never ſaw or heard of you before, until your Cozen *Dominick Kelly* told me of you, and deſired me to ſend a Letter from him to you.

Capt. *Kelly* after Examination, was committed to a Meſſenger again; but ſoon after he put in Bail, and I have heard there was an Order of Council to turn him out of his employment. But whether it be ſo, or no, I know not.

That *Ruſſel* (upon the *Thurſday* after Mr. *Oats* and Mr. *Bedlow* had been with *Nettervile* at the priſon) came again to *Nettervile*, and inſtead of being apprehended, as *Nettervile* promiſed *Lowman* he ſhould, *Nettervile* gave him notice of the diſcovery, and he went out immediately and ſcaped. And after he was gone, *Nettervile* then told *Lowman* he had been there; they purſued him, and ſaw him take Boat, but could not overtake him. But Mr. *Brooks* had a Warrant from Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* to ſearch for him at his houſe; but his Wife told them, that he was at the *French* Ambaſſadors houſe, and had not lain at home in ten or twelve Nights; which the Council being informed of, were very diligent to apprehend him, and offered 20 *l.* to thoſe that could diſcover him.

This *Ruſſel*, mentioned in the Depoſition, is a Rank *Papiſt*, and an *Iriſh*-man, who married Madam *Rowſe*, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouths* Gentlewoman: *Nettervile* and *Brewer* are of the ſame Faction, and are now Priſoners in the *Marſhalſeys*. The Deponents, Capt. *Bury* and Alderman *Brooks* are both honeſt Gentlemen, and good Proteſtants; and ſuch whoſe Principles deteſted either to engage in, or conceal ſuch abominable Villany: However,

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Net ervile was ſo infatuated, as to conceive them fit to be profligated.

Now Reader, thou haſt ſeen the whole contrivance, *&c.* and mayeſt eaſily diſcern what the intentions of the *Romaniſts* were; what the natural conſequence thereof would have been, I leave to thy own conjecture, and ſhall only add this true circumſtance, as a farther Confirmation of their wicked deſign in this matter, *viz.*

That ſeveral perſons (by them appointed) were a little before this diſcovery at the Houſes of ſome *Presbyterians*, well known in the City of *London*, to pray their charitable contribution towards the maintenance of Mr. *Oats* and Mr. *Bedlow*, upon this ſpecious, though falſe ſuggeſtion, That His Majeſties allowance was not ſufficient for their incouragement; but the parties to whom they applied themſelves (ſuppoſing their intentions were to abuſe their King and Countrey, and to procure Coyn for themſelves), rejected them with checks; and it was well they did; for otherwiſe, who knows what advantage they might have made thereof, in order to the effecting their wicked enterprize?

And thus I have done, truſting to the Readers Candor; which if a Proteſtant, I do not doubt of; if a *Papiſt*, neither expect or care for it; I being one of quite different principles, and one whoſe prayers, as well as endeavours, ſhall be conſtantly engaged, for the fruſtration of their helliſh Attempts.

Concerning my intentions in the publication of theſe Depoſitions, they were only for the publick good, and to expoſe to view the wicked ſubtilties of theſe men, that the Nation (and all true Proteſtants) may be made ſenſible of their devices; that if ever they uſe the ſame, or the like again, they may be with the more eaſe detected, aud rendred abortive. And alſo that all ſincere Chriſtians, may aſcribe the praiſe of all their deliverances (as well of this as others) to that God who hath ſo viſibly and conſtantly appeared for the Vindication of his People, and for infatuating the perſons, as well as rendring unſucceſsful the Attempts of his and their implacable Enemies.

FINIS.

I do Appoint ROBERT BOULTER, JOHN HANCOCK, RALPH SMITH and BENJAMIN HARRIS *Bookſellers* in *Cornhill* near the *ROYAL EXCHANGE*, *LONDON*, To Print this my NARRATIVE and IMPARTIAL DISCOVERY concerning the FIRES of *London*, &c. And that no Others Print the ſame.

WILLIAM BEDLOE.

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A

NARRATIVE

AND

IMPARTIAL DISCOVERY

OF THE

Horrid Popish Plot:

Carried on for the

Burning and Destroying

THE

CITIES

OF

LONDON and VVESTMINSTER;

With their SUBURBS, &c.

SETTING FORTH

The several *CONSULTS*, *ORDERS* and *RESOLUTIONS* of the *JESUITES*, &c. Concerning the same.

AND

Divers DEPOSITIONS and INFORMATIONS, Relating thereunto.

Never before Printed.

By Capt. *William Bedloe*.

Lately Engaged in that Horrid Design, and one of the *Popish Committee* for Carrying on such Fires.

LONDON,

Printed for *Robert Boulter*, *John Hancock*, *Ralph Smith*, and *Benjamin Harris*, Booksellers in *Cornhil*, near the *Royal Exchange*. 1679.

A

NARRATIVE

AND

IMPARTIAL DISCOVERY

OF THE

Young Double Plot:

Carried on by the

Burning and Destroying

THE

CITIES

OF

LONDON and WESTMINSTER,

With their SUBURBS, &c.

SETTING FORTH

The Several CONSULTS, PROJECTS and RESOLUTIONS of the

PRETENDED Conspirators Concerning the Time,

AND

Their DEPOSITIONS and EXAMINATIONS Relating thereunto.

Taken before Publick Justices.

By Capt. William Bradloe,

Lately Engaged in the Horrid Design, and one of the Popish Committee for Carrying on Such Fires.

Printed for Rob. Pawlet, John Harris, Ralph Smith, and Benjamin Tooke, Booksellers in Chancery-Lane near the Rolls Exchange. 1679.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO THE Surviving Citizens OF LONDON RUINED by FIRE

SIRS,

I Know not to whom I could Addreſs theſe Leaves more properly than to You; who have been ſo diſmally concern'd in the dreadful Effects of the late Conflagrations: Such deep Sufferers by the *Helliſh Practiſes* herein more fully than ever yet diſcovered.

You have ſuddenly and unexpectedly ſeen a glorious City laid waſte, Your own Habitations turn'd into Rubbiſh, your Eſtates deſtroyed, your dear Incomes of your many years hard Labour and careful Induſtry, All in few moments ſwept away and conſumed by devouring flames, together with ſome of Your dear Relations and faithful Servants; whilſt Your ſelves and Families reduc'd from a plentiful, a comfortable Trade and Fortune over-night, to the extremeſt miſery next Morning,

 without

THE EPISTLE

without an Houſe to ſhelter You, Goods to Accommodate You, or ſetled Courſe of Trade to ſupport You? Have been forc'd (many of You in Old Age) to Begin the World anew; and remain Expoſed to all the Hardſhips and Inconveniences of Wants and Poverty?

The Authors and Promoters of All theſe Your deplorable Calamities have been no other than thoſe Common *Bonteſeu*'s of Chriſtendom, The general Diſturbers of the Peace and Happineſs of *Europe*, and Peſts of human Society, I mean thoſe ſubtle, active and moſt cruel Engineers of the *Roman* Hierarchy, who having long been Big with the Project of a *Fifth-Monarchy*, intending to make all the World ſlaviſhly to truckle to their *Tripple Crowned Head* at *Rome*, did merely in order thereunto contrive Your Deſtruction: For as they well Know, *England* to be the *Bull-work* of *Liberty*, *Proteſtaniſm*, and (indeed I may juſtly add) *Chriſtian Faith* in General, throughout the world: The main *Bank*, that hinders the Sea of *Rome* from over-whelming all Chriſtian Nations with an Univerſal Inundation of *Tyranny* and *Superſtition*: So they are not inſenſible, what a mighty Influence *LONDON* hath to obſtruct their Deſigns upon *England*: In ſo much, That I have heard not a few of the Principal of them frequently proteſt, *That until That City were Ruined or brought low, it was impoſſible, But All their Attempts on this Nation muſt prove Abortive.*

How rigorouſly, how unweariedly have they endeavoured this? I ſhall ſay nothing of their Politick By-ſtrooks, Their promoting by Influenc'd Counſels *Wars at Sea* to interrupt Your *Commerce*, Their Setting up a *New Algier* (and perhaps more formidable and miſchievous than the *Old* One) on the other ſide the Channel: Their Multiplying *Buildings* in the *Suburbs* and Out parts, thereby to drain away the *Trade*, and having ſtock't many of thoſe Colonies with people of their own *Gang*, hope to be able in time to *out number* and overpower You. Theſe and a thouſand other little Stratagems for *Diſcouraging*, &c. I ſhall not inſiſt upon, but only inſtance, as my preſent buſineſs, *Their horrid Deſign of Burning and Deſtroying Treacherouſly this CITY.* This they counted a Maſter-piece of their Cunning, not doubting, when they had laid this Noble *City* in Aſhes: But that they ſhould ſoon after have buried Your *Religion* too in the ſame Ruines: But notwithſtanding all their facinorous Performances and more Curſed Attempts God in his Infinite Mercy hath Reſtor'd the *One*, and hitherto preſerv'd the *Other*: *Both* as it were by *Miracle*. Let therefore the Remembrance of *SIXTY SIX* be engraven in Indelible Characters on the Hearts of the Poſterity, To make them abhor *Popery*, and deteſt ſuch vile *Incendiaries*: Let it remain a *Monument* of *Gratitude* to God, *Caution* to *England*, and *ſhame* to *Rome*, in after times, when even that ſtately and durable *PILLAR* (Erected for that Purpoſe) ſhall by the Revolutions of many Ages be decayed.

Indeed could you be ſo ſhamefully Ingrateful as to forget it, Theſe reſtleſs Furies will not ſuffer You: But ſtill with freſh Alarms and Exploits Awaken Your Memories. 'Twas a ſhrewd *Item* they beſtow'd on You: But a few Years ſince, when *Grove* and his *Iriſh Ruffians* conſumed ſo great a Part of Your Neighbourhood in the Borough of *Southwark* (not to mention other ſmaller Attempts.) But above all, They have given You, and the whole Nation ſuch a *Catholick Memorandum* in their deteſtable *Plot*, lately diſcovered juſt before it was ripe for Execution, as I truſt ſhall never be forgotten, wherein though All theſe three Kingdoms, nay the whole *Proteſtant-Intereſt* throughout the World was Eſſentially Concern'd, yet none ſhould have drank more deep of that Cup of Miſery, which they had prepared than You the *Proteſtant Inhabitants* of This (by them hated) *CITY* and Parts adjacent: For as ſoon as ever the

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Fatal Blow had been given againſt the pretious Life of our dear and dread Sovereign, they would immediately have proceeded to a Second Devaſtation, *firſt* upon the Dwellings, and next upon the Perſons, and then what Horrors and Calamities, what a Sea of Blood and *Chaos* of Confuſion, You All, long 'ere this ſhould have been involved in? Whilſt theſe Sons of Cruelty had been Acting over their *Pariſian* Tragedy and *Iriſh* Butcheries amongſt You, is no leſs eaſy to Imagine, than lamentable to have ſeen, and Intollerable to have felt.

I am not ignorant, how ſtrenuouſly they make it their Buſineſs to deny not only their being any way privy to theſe Miſchiefs of FIREING, but likewiſe all other their Traiterous Deſigns: And I ſcarce know which is greateſt, Their *Impudence* in committing horrid Villanies, or in *out-facing* them, when they are done. The Deſperate Proteſtations of Innocence, lately made by ſome of them at the place of *Execution*, hath (I am informed) mightily unſetled ſome Peoples Heads, and a few Formal contrived Speeches have been ſo prevalent as to make weak Women, and weaker Men begin to ſtagger. and ready to imagine they died for Crimes they might not be guilty of.

But as for my own Part, I bleſs God, I am throughly ſatisfied in the TRUTH of every Tittle of the Evidence, I have given againſt them, and every of them, and have no checks or guilt on my Conſcience on that Account, nor would in the leaſt be guilty of that bloody Perjury, that might tend to the Taking away any mans Life wrongfully, for more than all *England* is worth: But if I have Erred in any Caſe, it was on the contrary hand in *Speaking the leaſt* of Things and Perſons, ſo for the ſatisfaction of others, I deſire them to conſider, beſides the Joint Teſtimonies of ſo many Witneſſes, ſpeaking to different Times, Perſons, Places and Circumſtances; yet all exactly agreeing in the main, without the leaſt Contradiction of Falſhood, that ever could be found after ſo many ſtrict Examinations before Perſons of the greateſt Judgment and Quality, and ſo many croſs and inſnaring Queſtions ſtarted by the Priſoners, to which they freely Anſwered; I ſay beſides all this, and ſeveral other Corroborating Particulars I would have them conſider, 1. How Cuſtomary it is with this ſort of Men, in all Caſes where they are over-taken by Juſtice; to go out of the World with ſolemn Aſſeverations of their Innocence; there being, I verily believe ſcarce a Preſident to be given in our Age, of any Papiſt that ſuffered for any Crime what ſoever, who confeſt the ſame at his Death, eſpecially if he received abſolution before; For I do averr it to be their Doctrine, that when a Man hath committed any Villany, and hath been thereof abſolv'd by a Prieſt, if he be afterwards call'd into Queſtion touching that Fact; he ought not to caſt a Scandal on the Church, whereof he is a Member, by acknowledging himſelf to have been guilty; but may lawfully ſwear and proteſt in the preſence of God, and the world, that he is as Innocent thereof as the Child unborn, and all this without any Equivocation, or mental Reſervation ſince 'tis their Beleif, and ſo they teach and are taught, that they are then ſo really, and abſolutely innocent, even as when they came into the World, the crime being wholly taken off from them by Abſolution; much more may they do it in this Caſe where what they are charged with *viz.* a Reſolution, to murther a Prince whom they count an Heretick, and ſo declared by the Pope, ſubvert his Government, and introduce the Roman Religion; as ſo far from being by them eſteemed any Treaſon or Crime, that they look upon it to be their Duty and Meretorious.

2. 'Tis palpable, that all theſe fine Speeches were ſtudiouſly prepared by Confederacy, and Copies induſtriouſly ſpread abroad before they were ſpoken by the Priſoners, their Agents and Friends; and they are contrived but juſt like ſo many Scholars Exerciſes on the *Theme*, ſet by their Grand Maſter, Provincial *Whitebread*.

Not

Not with the Freedom of Dying Men that ſpoke the Truth, and Dictates of their Conſciences, but ſo elabourately flouriſht over as might beſt work on the Affections of the Ignorant Hearers; and ſerve the Turn of their Party, for where there is ſo much Art, there is always ſome deſign. Had not *Hill* juſt ſuch another made Speech in the very ſame Strain and Method, which he was to ſpake at his Death like a *Parrot*? Sure, they are very dim-ſighted that cannot ſee through ſuch Impoſtures.

3. Do theſe doubting Gentlemen, really believe there was any Plot at all? Were *Mr. Colemans* Letters forged by others, and put by Magick-Art into Six Boxes; and and yet his Hand ſo curiouſly counterfeited, that he himſelf could not chuſe but own it, and his Servants ſwear it, &c. Either you muſt believe all theſe and many other down right Abſurdities, or elſe confeſs that by thoſe very Letters it evidently appears, that there was on foot a damnable horrid Plot to ſubvert the Government, and introduce Popery; and can you think Mr. *Coleman* alone undertook that *Mighty Work*? (as himſelf calls it) Or if he had Accomplices, who more proper? who more ready than the Traitors that lately ſuffered; for when did the *Jeſuites* ſtand out, when there was any Game to play for on the Intereſt of the *Pope* and Church of *Rome*? Not to mention, that the Matter is almoſt acknowledged in *Peter's* Letter taken with *Harcourt*; wherein a Conſult is appointed the 14th. of *April* 1678. and mention made of great *Caution* to be uſed by the Fathers in coming to it, leſt the *Deſign* there to be tranſacted and managed, *ſhould be diſcovered which in its own Nature required ſecreſy*: By this Letter (not found till the other day the Witneſſes evidence, firſt given ſo long ſince, that *there was ſuch a Conſult, and at that time*, is undeniably confirmed; and that there was ſome *great Deſign to be* conſulted of there that required much *Caution and Secreſy*, is likewiſe confeſt; how reaſonable than is it to believe the Witneſſes in this Caſe; that then and there, the Death of the King was conſulted of, and reſolved upon: That being a Deſign that indeed required in its own horrid Nature ſuch Caution, and Secreſy, and the Conſpirators being not able to aſſign any other Deſign, they had there of ſuch a Nature; nor could they give any ſenſible Intrepretation of thoſe *Patents* ſent to *Whitebread* mentioned in another Letter, taken with *Harcoat*, by which was meant the Commiſions for Forces to carry on this Helliſh Rebellion.

4. What think you, was there ever ſuch a Man as Sr. *Edmundbury Godfry*, was he not murthered? and who can fall within the Suſpicion of any probable Imagination to have done it, but the Papiſts that is theſe Traytors and their Inſtruments? which now is more plain upon them than before; for if they had not been the Procurers of it, how was it poſſible, that the ſame Night that worthy Gentleman was Murthererd? *Harcoat* ſhould write word thereof into *Stafford-ſhire*; whereas his Death was not known in *London* by any, but thoſe concerned in it, till Five Days after.

But why ſhould I trouble my ſelf, to demonſtrate that tis Light at Noon-day, becauſe Bats and Moles are and and will be Blind? His Moſt Gracious Majeſty, is ſatisfied, as appears by ſeveral of his Royal Proclamations; Both Houſes of Parliament is fully ſatisfied, as is evident from their Votes expreſly made on that occaſion; The Right Reverend Fathers in God, my Lords The Biſhops, in particular no doubt are ſatisfied, as is plain by the Form of Prayers preſcribed to be uſed on the laſt Faſt. All the learned Judges of the Land generally preſent at the Late Tryals; the Judicious Gentle-Men of the ſeveral Jurys, (both upon their Oaths, as well as the Evidence) and all intelligent Auditors (except Papiſts) are intirely ſatisfied and if there be yet any others that are not; I do not doubt, but in due time (for

as

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as there yet are diverse things behind the Curtain) there will be such open plain Sunbeam discoveries made, as shall certainly convince them, unless like Papists, they shall at once refuse to believe, either their Reason or their Senses.

As to the Discourse, which I here present you with; The First part is an Account of what I know, and was actually imployed in by the *Benedictines* and *Jesuites* for contriving, promoting and carrying on of Fires in and about this City; the rest consists of Affidavits Informations, *&c.* of others touching matters of the same nature, of which some tis true, have been formerly published, but many of them imperfectly, others now almost out of Print, or not common to be had; and all before scatteringly set forth in several Books; These I thought fit to insert together here for the fuller satisfaction of the present Age, and Posterity; to which is added some Account of Latter Fires, and several Observables that occurred relating thereunto not before made publick; All which I conceive may be both welcom and useful in this Juncture:

TWO Things I would particularly Advertise You to Take Notice of.

The FIRST is the several ways, whereby these Mischievous People begin and promote Fires, which indeed are so various, that 'tis difficult to Enumerate them all: But we know they have practised these that follow, viz.

1. By Fire-Balls put in with Poles or otherwise through Holes, or open places into Houses; as at Mr. *Farriners* House which began the Great Fire.

2. By hard Fire-balls thrown through Glass-windows, as at the Smiths in Black-Friars.

3. By flinging the said Balls, or other Combustible Matter fired into Cellars through the Bars, or Grates, where they are left without Shutters, as at the Oyl-Mans in *Southwork*.

4. By firing their own Lodgings, as the French-man did in Shoe-Lane, in the time of the Great Fire; and likewise, the two *Peters* near Safron-Hill.

5. By hiring Cellars in dangerous places, filling them with Combustibles, and then firing them, which was a Course they much advised me to.

6. By Firing Haylofts, as in *Smithfield*.

7. By Strangers faining Errands, as in the Temple.

8. By untiling Houses, Breaking Windows, *&c.* and there putting in their Combustibles.

9. By getting into Empty Houses and Setting them on Fire, as in *Budge-Row*. 1670.

10. By Creeping into back-yards and firing stacks of *Bavins, Reed, &c.* as at *Lime-House*.

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11. By going into *Victualling-Houses*, and leaving behind them Trains for Firing, as at the *Cooks* in *Fetter-Lane* and in *Southwark*.

12. By Confederate Servants, as lately at the Attorneys in the same Lane.

And That such FIRES *may be the more Destructive, when begun, their Instructions are,*

1. To do it in select Places amongst Old Buildings, and where Engines cannot play.

2. To FIRE the *Water-Houses*, and get the *New River-Water* stopt, if they can, for that time near that Place.

3. To have Some of their Chief Friends thereabouts, that may misadvise Great Persons, That they may blow up Houses, where it is not necessary, or where rather it will do harm by Opening a Passage for the FIRE.

4. To have some of their Active Instruments, who under pretence of helping may scatter FIRE BALLS in contiguous Houses, and break down the Windows, Roof, *&c.* to let in the FIRE more easily.

5. To have others attending, that shall cry out against *French* and *Papists*; and mightily pitty the People, thereby getting to be trusted with Removing of Goods, and so to plunder and steal; or if they find an oportunity to fire HOUSES at a Distance.

6. Curiously to observe *WIND* and *TIDE* in all Attempts, as likewise Frosts, and very dry Times, and chuse *Sundays* for doing the business, because then there is the least Water.

The other Thing I would advise You of, is not to Conceit, because the *PLOT* is discovered in some measure, and some few of Them brought to Justice, That therefore now You are secure, and that They will desist from such Attempts: For I know their Nature and Principles so well, That I dare assure You on the contrary, They will be more Active and Virulent now than ever; And for some proof of this be pleased to consider, How many FIRES have either actually hapn'd, or been design'd, or begun, though by Providence, prevented, since the Discovery of the PLOT.

As

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As,

At *Linnehouſe*, Septemb. 18.

At the *Temple*.

At St. *Pauls* Church-yard.

Fetter-Lane, Apr. 10.

Near New-Inn.

Ship-yard.

Southampton Buildings.

Gray-Hound-Tavern in the Strand under a Chair.

Golden-Lane.

Vinegar-yard.

Crown-Court at the lower End of Chancery-Lane.

At the Water-houſe.

In the Minories.

At New-Priſon.

All theſe and probably many others, that I never heard of, have been ſince the begining of September laſt; ſo that you ſee, they are ſtill going on with the Trade of *Twexbury-Muſtard-Balls*, when ever they have an opportunity; it will therefore concern all Proteſtants, to be careful and cautious to prevent ſuch miſcheifs from theſe wicked Incendiaries, who ſtill ſwarm about this Town, thinking themſelves more ſafe here, than in the Country, and better able to hold correſpondence, *&c.*

I know well, with what Envy and Malice they behold the City, and that they will leave no Villany unatempted, to lay it once more Level with the Ground, unleſs poſſibly ſeeing it ſo glorioufly Rebuilt, and upon conſideration of late Circumſtances, they ſhould think it now better Hubandry to preſerve it for their own uſe, as *Harcour* the Tower, than to deſtroy it, and ſo invert the other of their Deſign, and ſtrive firſt to Depopulate and Maſſacre its troubleſom Inhabitants; that ſo themſelves and their French Friends may take Poſſeſſion of theſe Noble Structures; and quietly enjoy the Accomodation of the Hereticks Pains and Charge, as the *Fewes* thoſe of the *Canaanites*. This I am certain of, thas you are continually to expect from them the

worſt,

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worſt, that a moſt improved *Subtilty* joyned with the moſt Implacable *Malice*, Both egg'd on with vaſt Bats of *Profit* and *Power*, and ſharpned with the Fury of blind *Zeal* and Thirſt of *Revenge*, can either contrive or execute.

To prevent which nothing can be more effectual than *Union*, and a good underſtanding amongſt all Proteſtants, though of different Perſwaſions.

To obviate the ill Art of this common Enemy, whoſe Inſtruments by a Thouſand Devices dayly ſeek to exaſperate you one againſt another: you muſt ſtudy to *cement*, as much as they to *divide*; But above all, let no Jeſuitical Impreſſions howſoever maskt, be able in the leaſt to Impair the Loyalty to the King, or wheadle you into any tumultuous diſturbances; you can no way gratifie, or ſerve their Intereſt, more than by ſuch a wicked Folly; this is the Point they would gain upon you; (and which they have puſht on ſo unhappily elſewhere) and then infallibly you ſhall bear the whole *Odium* of their Helliſh-Plot.

May the God of Heaven ever preſerve His Majeſty from the open violences, and ſecret Aſſaſſinations of theſe Bloody-minded Men, as likewiſe from their ſubtle Inſinuations; may the ſame Omnipotent Power Bleſs and Protect theſe Nations in general, and the City of London in particular, that his Majeſty may have a long and Proſperous Reign; the Proteſtant Religion flowriſh, and the Deſigns of *Rome* be blaſted, diſcovered and confounded; Is, and ſhall ever be the Hearty Prayers and Endeavours of him,

VVho is,

A moſt hearty VVell-wiſher to

the Proſperity of that CITY,

and of the True PROTESTANT

INTEREST

William Bedloe.

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A NARRATIVE OF THE Popes late Fire-Works IN ENGLAND.

AS there is not a more *malicious* ſort of *Vermine* in the World than the *Jeſuits* and other *Factors* for *Rome* (for let me tell you the *Benedictines* and reſt of the Orders; nay, the dulleſt *Maſs-jobbing Secular*, are not at all behind hand with the former, in *will* to commit Roguery, whatever they are in *parts* and *ſufficiencies* to conduct and manage it) ſo there can be none more *curſedly ingenious* in inventing and promoting the moſt exquiſite, various, and to us ſtill *new* methods of doing miſchief. *Treaſon* and *Rebellion*, private *Murthers*, and publique *Maſſacres*, poiſon'd *Daggers*, and conſecrated *Knives*: All theſe have long ſince been their daily *paſt-time*, the *old Inſtruments* of their worſe than Pagan Cruelties: But of late years they have thereto added and ſet on foot in theſe parts another *medium* of deſtruction, to ruine Proteſtants in a more oblique and clandeſtine way; ſince they had not (as is hop'd they never ſhall have) power to re-kindle the *Marian Bonfires*, and *conſume* their Bodies; they reſolv'd, and make it their buſineſs treacherouſly to *Fire their Houſes*, to deſtroy their *Goods* and *Eſtates*, till they might be ſtrong enough to venture on their *Perſons*. This Hell-hatcht Deſign was hugg'd by theſe holy Fathers as a moſt Ghoſtly Expedient for their purpoſe, for hereby they could undo Hundreds, ſometimes Thouſands of *Families* in a few hours ſpace; and the poor *Souls* ſcarce ever imagine who hurts them. Hereby they could lay waſte our *Metropolis*, and deſigned the ſame againſt other Goodly Cities, Corporations, and Chief Places of Trade (againſt which they have a particular Spleen) and then to aſcribe the diſaſter to Providence, as a Judgment for their *Hereſie*, or at leaſt to make the Ignorant believe it was only the pure Effect of *Chance*, or Default of a drowſie *Negligence*; whilſt in the mean time they with Triumph warm their own Fingers at the *Flames*: and not only weaken and *impoveriſh* Proteſtants, but in thoſe *Diſtractions* neceſſarily attending ſuch *Calamities*, make great Advantages to themſelves, by *Filtching*, *Stealing*, *Plundering*, &c. Beſides the opportunities they ever hoped then to gain, of putting in execution their long deſigned *General Maſſacre*.

I ſpeak not this by *Gueſs* or *Hear-ſay*, but out of *certain Knowledge*: And therefore as I have endeavoured to diſcharge my *Duty* to my *Prince* and *Countrey*, in diſcovering other Intrigues and Machinations of this Curſed *Popiſh Plot*, ſo I think my ſelf obliged to ſet forth ſome *Tranſactions* that I have been privy unto, particularly concerning this matter: And therefore omitting ſeveral *Conſults* which have been held, and did all more or leſs relate to the grand *Deſign*, *viz.* The *Deſtruction of His Majeſty* (whom God preſerve) *His Religion and Government*, I ſhall at preſent only undertake to give an Account of what I know hath been *Ordered* in theſe *Conſults* (and in purſuance thereof *proſecuted* and *attempted*) tending to the *Firing* of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, &c.

In the moneth of *June* 1676. it was my Fortune to be at *Paris*, at the Engliſh Covent of *Benedictine Monks*, with whom (by ſeveral *means* and on diverſe *accounts*, too tedious and not at all material here to be related) I had much *ingratiated* my ſelf; ſo that at that time they repoſed an *Intire* Confidence in me as a fit *Inſtrument* for their Purpoſes. Amongſt other Diſcourſes that happened there about the great Buſineſs, which they and others were then moſt vigoriouſly

carrying on; *viz. To subvert the Protestant Religion and introduce Popery into England:* They fell to debate the several *ways* and *means* preparatory thereunto, and what might be the best *Expedients* to facilitate and accomplish the same: And as they did nothing without *correspondence* and *communication of counsels* from their *Fellow-conspirators* in *England*, so some or one of them produced several Letters from *London*, wherein were divers *particulars* relating to the *Firing of the City and Suburbs* of *London*, and other *Cities and eminent Towns in England*, which was then and at all times concluded and agreed unto by them, to be the *chief way* and almost *only means* in their power, whereby to plain the *way* for their *Design*: For they were unanimously of Opinion, That it was absolutely *necessary* to *weaken* and *ruin* the said *City* of *London*, ere they could bring any of their other *contrivances* to perfection. In this Debate some of them thanked God (such was their *impious piety*) that their attempts upon *London* in that kind had hitherto *succeeded* very well; and though the Houses beyond all *expectation* were *rebuilt* to a greater degree of *Strength* and *Ornament* than ever, yet many Thousands of her Inhabitants still laboured under the Effects, and languisht with *Intollerable Consumptions*, occasioned by the late *Burning Fevors*, they had cast her into: Adding, that they would *never leave* that *City*, till they had pulled down her *Pride* by *Fire* and *Piracy*.

After this *Discourse* and much more to the like purpose, which was very *freely* and *earnestly managed*, I being all the while present, they at last proceeded to ask me, *Whether I would be assistant to them in carrying on that Business, as I had been in the other* great Concern; This *being one of the best* Expedients *to* ripen *and* push *on* That? To which I readily seem'd to assent; assuring them that I could and would do *more* therein than any other could; magnifying what intimate knowledge I had of all parts of *London* and some other great *Trading Cities*, which did capacitate me to effect such a *Business* more *certainly* and *securely* than another. In fine, they were extreamly satisfied, and told me, *That when I came to* England, *I should be joyned as an Assistant to Father* Gifford *for prosecuting the said Affair.* This *Gifford* was a Jesuite, and (as the said Letters did specifie) the Person that had managed the great *Conflagration* in *1666*, and as they said, was concerned in the *Fire* at *Southwark* (which had happened not above a month before this Discourse) and had attempted the like at many other times and places where he had miss'd of performance. This likewise is the same *Gifford* mentioned in the *Depositions* of Mr. *Stubbs* and *Mary Oxley*, herein after set forth; whereby the *later* was brought to set Fire to her Masters House in *Fetter-lane* in *April* last.

At this Consult of the *Benedictines* there were several Letters produced as aforesaid, all relating to the *Firing of London* and its *Suburbs*, and other *Towns* in *England*; and very urgent they were with me to be sure at my return to be very diligent and expeditious in dispatching the same: and that I should receive necessary *Orders*, *Encouragement*, and *Supplies*, to inable me thereunto. But I being then upon a *Journey* into *Spain*, heard no more of that Business till the year *1678*; and then I was in a Consult with the said *Gifford* and several others, *Priests* and *Jesuits* (who met in such Consults every Week, in order to carry on the Business of Firing.) At this our Meeting it was concluded to fire *Lime-house* and *Wapping* first, and then and by that means to burn all or the most of the Ships and Vessels in the River: For which purpose several of the said Consultors and their Assistants, were to be ready on the Water, as men to help, but indeed to fire the outwardest Ships, and cut theirs, or other Ships Cables (as should be most convenient) to make them fall foul on each other, and burn together. In pursuance of this Resolution, a real Effect thereof was the Fire at *Lime-house*, that shortly after followed; though not doing that great Execution that they expected, by reason of the absence of some of the persons that were to have managed the same.

After which Fire I was with *Gifford* and others several Nights on the *Thames* about *London Bridge*, and there did make strict Observations of the Houses on either side; making choice of the *widest* and the *lowest Windows* in their *Vaults* and *Cellars*, or *Lower Rooms*; and taking notice what Houses had the most, and the most dangerous *Combustible Materials* in them, and where they might best and most effectually put in their surest *Fire-balls* and *Instruments* in the Night under the Houses, to burn down the *Bridge*; which they concluded to do at *High-water*, when their Boats might be brought almost equal to such Windows: We considered likewise of means how to fire the *Tower* of *London*: But Father *Harcourt* (now lately executed for *Treason*) then told us, *They had made sure of that place within*; and therefore ordered us not to concern our selves with that: For it would be *more* for our *advantage*, to preserve it for our *Business*, than to destroy it.

In short, for near a Twelve-month before I came in to make a *Discovery*, I had been imployed to use all Arts and Endeavors to carry on this Design of *Firing the City* of *London* and other places about it; and the *Order* and *Conduct* of it, how and where to set my Fires, was left chiefly to my management; but with this limitation, that the *Jesuites*, who were the *Master-Incendiaries*, and my Imployers, were to see and inspect, how far and how sure I had laid my Combustibles and Fewel; which accordingly they did.

In *August* last I did endeavour to rent several old *Cellars*, wherein to stow Wood, Coal, and other Preparations, of which I was ordered to buy several Parcels; which accordingly I bought; as likewise several Barrels of Gun-powder, and I did place them in many parts of the City and Suburbs, in order to this Damnable Design. And that the Reader may not think this a naked Affirmation, but that the truth and certainty of what I here aver, may the better appear, I will here

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ſet down particularly ſome of the places that I ſo took, to hold this *Wood* and *Coal*, and where I did Houſe many Chaldrons of *Coals* and Hundreds of *Faggots*, *&c.* to this purpoſe: *viz.*

Some Hundreds of *Faggots* and Proviſion of *Coal*, *&c.* for this very uſe, I laid in at my Lodging in *Eſſex Garden*, at the Back-door of the *Palſgraves-Head* Tavern, near the *Temple*; which was to burn the *Temple*, with the Records and Writings there.

Another parcel was in *Brewers-yard* in the *Strand*, at a Cellar and ſome old Buildings there; which Cellar doth belong to Mr. *Morgan* at the *Red Bible* in *Bedford-ſtreet*.

Another parcel at Mr. *Browns* in *White Friars*.

Some I was to ſend into an *Old Cellar* at Mr. *Withers's* at the *Plough* in *Seething Lane*: More into *Red* and *White-Croſs-ſtreet*, *Biſhops-gate-ſtreet*, *Queen-Hive*, and ſeveral other Places in and about the City. All which I am ready to make truly to appear, when and how, I ſhall by Authority be required.

Several other Deſigns have been laid, in order to this Work, to ſet divers places on fire; and not a few Perſons imployed, but none of them knowing each other; ſome of which have taken effect in part, ſome have not: But without ſpeedy prevention and great care, they will alwayes (as unwearied in villany) *attempt*, and too often (as we have juſt cauſe to fear) *perform* what they have laid and contrived by ſo many and different ways and means; all ſtill held in readineſs, and attending only the diſmal *Blow* directed againſt our Sovereigns *Life*; which God defend. *Amen.*

The laſt *Conſult* I had with them about the *Affair* of *Firing*, was in *Auguſt* 1678. when I laid in my *ſtores* for the Work; others were then conſulting and adviſing how to *put the King out of the way* (for by that phraſe they generally expreſs *Murther*) and ſuch of the Magiſtrates as did moſt oppoſe them: And that being done, my *Firing* of *London* was to follow; and upon that Conflagration, as a general *Signal*, we were openly to appear in *Arms* and declare for the *Pope*.

Now for a more full *ſatisfaction* to all the *World*, and the further Confirmation and Juſtification of what I have ſaid, and to demonſtrate that the great *Fire* in 66. and divers others ſince, were begun and carried on by the *Contrivance* and *Induſtry* of the *Papiſts*, eſpecially *Jeſuites* and Prieſts, and their *Inſtruments*; I ſhall to this Teſtimony of mine own add the true Copies of divers *Plain* and *Authentick Affidavits*, *Depoſitions*, *Examinations*, and *Informations* of many others, given in unto *Committees* of *Parliament*, and taken before *Juſtices* of the *Peace*, or other ſufficient Authority, relating to the ſame *Matter*: And likewiſe annex an *Account* of the ſeveral notable *Fires* ſince 66. to this time, with ſome Obſervations on the Circumſtances thereof, and remarkable Paſſages therein: All which ſufficiently corroborate and make it evident, to whoſe *Deſigns* and *Management* it is, that *England* ows moſt of the late Diſmal *Calamities* by *Fire*, which have been ſo much more frequent and deſtructive of late years (notwithſtanding the great Improvements of *Care* and *Art* to *prevent* and *quench* them) than ever heretofore.

And firſt of all I ſhall recite thoſe Teſtimonies relating to the *Dreadful Fire* in 66. the vaſt damage whereof may be conceived to be *ineſtimable*, by this brief ſtate of the Extent of the Ground laid *deſolate*, and the number of *Houſes* then conſumed, extracted from the *Certificates* of the *Surveyors* ſoon after appointed to ſurvey the *Ruins*: whereby it appeareth,

That the Fire that began in *London* upon the Second of *September* 1666. at one Mr. *Farryners* Houſe a Baker in *Pudding-Lane*, between the hours of One and Two in the Morning, and continued Burning until the Sixth of that Month, did over-run the ſpace of Three hundred ſeventy three Acres within the Walls of the City of *London*, and Sixty three Acres three Roods without the VValls. There remain'd Seventy five Acres three Roods ſtanding within the VValls unburnt. Eighty nine Pariſh Churches, beſides Chappels burnt. Eleven Pariſhes within the VValls ſtanding. Houſes burnt, Thirteen thouſand two hundred.

Jonas Moore,
Ralph Gatrix, } Surveyors.

Upon the Eighteenth of the ſame *September* the Parliament came together, and upon the 25th. of the ſame month the Houſe of Commons appointed a Committee to inquire into the Cauſes of the late Fire, before whom the following Informations were given in, and proved before the Committee; as by their Report will more clearly appear, bearing date the Two and twentieth of *January* 66. But upon the Eighth of *February* following, the Parliament was Prorogued, before they came to give their Judgment thereupon.

The

The Order of the Houſe for the Committee, Die Martis 25 Septembris 1666. 18 Car. 2.

Reſolved, &c.

THat a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Cauſes of the late Fire, and that it be referred to

Sir *Charles Harbord*	Mr. *Seymour.*	Sir *Rowland Beckley*	Col. *Strangways*	Sir *John Charlton*
Mr. *Sandys*	Mr. *Finch*	Sir *Tho. Allen*	Sir *Edward Maſſey*	Lord *Ansram*
Col. *Birch*	Lord *Herbert*	Mr. *Whorwood*	Sir *Edm. Walpool*	Mr. *Pepis*
Sir *Robert Brook*	Sir *John Heath*	Mr. *Coventry*	Sir *Robert Atkins*	Sir *Richard Everard*
Sir *Tho. Littleton.*	Mr. *Millward*	Serj. *Maynard.*	Sir *Thomas Gower*	Mr. *Crouch*
Mr. *Prin*	Sir *Richard Ford*	Sir *Jo. Talbot*	Mr. *Trevor*	Mr. *Merrel*
Mr. *Jones*	Mr. *Rob. Milward*	Mr. *Morley*	Sir *Thomas Clifford*	Sir *Will. Hickman*
Sir *Solom. Swale*	Sir *Will. Lowther*	Mr. *Garraway*	Sir *Hen. Ceſar*	Sir *Richard Brown*
Sir *Tho. Tomlins*	Sir *Rich. Vatley*	Sir *Fran. Goodrick*	Sir *John Monſon*	Mr. *Maynard.*

And they are to meet to morrow at two of the Clock in the afternoon, in the Speakers Chamber; and to ſend for Perſons, Papers and Records.

VVill. Goldesbrough, Cer. Dom. Com.

October 9. 1666.

Ordered, That theſe Members following be added to the Committee appointed to enquire into the Cauſes of the late Fire, *Viz.* Sir *John Pelham*, Mr. *Hugh Buſcowen*, Mr. *Giles Hungerford*, Sir *VVilliam Lewis*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *John Brampſtone*, Mr. *Milward*, Mr. *Buſcowen*; and all the Members that ſerve for the City of *London.*

VVill. Goldesbrough, Cler. Dom. Com.

October 16. 1666.

Ordered. That Mr. *Davies*, Sir *Thomas Higgons*, Mr. *St. John*, Sir *Richard Franklin*, Sir *Thomas Tomkins*, Mr. *Devereux*, Mr. *Millard*, Mr. *Lewis*, Mr. *Dowdſwell*, Sir *James Thyn*, Sir *Edm. Pierſe*, Mr. *Coleman*, Sir *Tho. Allen*, Mr. *Giles Hungerford*, Mr. *Churchill*, be added to the Committee appointed to enquire into the Cauſes of the late Fire.

Will. Goldesbrough, Cler. Dom. Com.

THe Honourable Committee, according to the fore-mentioned Orders of the Houſe, did meet in the Speakers Chamber, and having choſen Sir *Robert Brook* for their Chairman, proceeded to receive many conſiderable Informations from divers credible Perſons, about the matter wherewith they were intruſted; and thereupon did at laſt agree that Sir *Robert Brook* ſhould make the enſuing Report to the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

The Report *of Sir* Robert Brook, *Chair-man to the Committee that was appointed by the Houſe of Commons to enquire into the Firing of the City of* London; *made the Two and twentieth of* January, 1666.

THat in a Letter from *Alanſon* of the 23d of *Auguſt* 1666, *New Stile*, written from one *Dural* to a Gentleman lodging in the Houſe of one of the Miniſters of the *French* Church in *London*, called *Monſieur Herault*, there were theſe Expreſſions:

Pray acquaint me with the truth of certain News which is common in this Country, That a Fire from Heaven *is fallen upon a City called* Belke, *ſcituated on the ſide of the River of* Thames, *where a world of People have been killed and burnt, and Houſes alſo conſumed: Which ſeemeth a word of* Cabal, *caſt out by ſome that were knowing, and taken up by others that might be ignorant of the ſignification of it.*

Mrs *Elizabeth Styles* informs, That in *April* laſt, in an eager diſcourſe ſhe had with a *French man* Servant of Sir *Vere Fan*, he haſtily replied, *You Engliſh Maids will like the Frenchmen better, when there is not a Houſe left between* Temple-Bar *and* London-Bridge. To which ſhe anſwered, I hope your eyes will never ſee that. He replied, *This will come to paſs between* June *and* October.

William Tiſdale informs, That he being about the beginning of *July* at the *Greyhound* in *St. Martins*, with one *Fitz-Harris* an Iriſh Papiſt, heard him ſay, *There would be a ſad Deſolation in* September, *in* November *a worſe, in* December *all would be united into one.* Whereupon he asked him, Where this Deſolation would be? He anſwered, *In London.*

Mr. *Light* of *Ratcliff*, having ſome diſcourſe with Mr. *Langhorn* of the Middle-Temple, Barriſter * (reputed a zealous Papiſt) about *February* 65 laſt, after ſome diſcourſe in diſputation about Religion, he took him by the hand, and ſaid to him, *You expect great things in Sixty Six, and think that* Rome *will be deſtroyed, but what if it be* London?

* Since condemned for High Treaſon.

Mr.

Mr. *Kitley* of *Barkin* in *Essex*, informs, That one Mrs. *Yazly*, a Papist, of *Ilford* in the said County, came unto his House, *August* the 13th, and being in discourse with his Mother, said, *They say the next* Thursday *will be the hottest day that ever was in* England. She replied, I hope the hottest season of the year is now past. To which she answered, *I know not whether it be the hottest for Weather or for Action*, This Mrs. *Yazly* coming to the same House the Week after the Fire, Mr. *Kitley* said to her with some trouble, I have often thought of your *Hot Thursday*: To which she replyed, *It was not indeed upon the* Thursday, *but it happened upon the* Sunday *was sennight after.* Mrs *Yazly* hearing this Evidence produced against her, endeavoured to avoid the words, saying, That upon the 13th of *August* she did tell Mrs. *Kitley*, *That they say the next Thursday will be the darkest Thursday that ever was in* England, but not otherwise; which she affirms to have received from one *Finchman*, an old Woman of *Ilford*; who being examined by a Justice of Peace to discover the truth thereof, denied that ever she said any such words to Mrs *Yazly*, or that she had discoursed with her about any such matter. And as to the subsequent words, she saith Mrs *Yazly* denies ever to have spoken them: But Mr. *Kitley* offered in her presence (if it should be demanded) to bring his Mother and Wife to testifie the same.

William Ducket Esq; a Member of the House, informs, That one *Henry Baker* of *Chippenham* in the County of *Wilts*, coming from Market with one *John Woodman* of *Kelloway* in the same County, the Thursday before the Fire began in *London*, they had some discourse about the buying of a yoke of fat Bullocks, wherein they differed; because *Woodman*, who was to sell them, was desired to keep them a while in his hands: But the said *Woodman* denied so to do, for that as he alledged, he could not stay in the Country till that time which *Baker* would have them delivered to him in; and being asked whither he was going, he refused to tell: Asking what had he to do to make that question; But riding a little further, the said *Woodman* expresst these words, *You are brave Blades at* Chippenham, *you made Bonfires lately for beating the* Dutch; *But since you delight in Bonfires, you shall have your Bellies full of them ere it be long*: Adding, *that if he lived one week longer, he should see* London *as sad a* London *as ever it was since the World began. And in some short time after, he should see as bloody a time as ever was, since* England *was* England. This discourse was not much taken notice of at that time it was spoken. But when the City of *London* was Burnt, the said *Henry Baker* gave this Information to the said Mr. *Ducket*, and thereupon he issued out his Warrant to apprehend *Woodman*, but he was gone out of the Country, and cannot be heard of since.

Robert Hubert of *Roan* in *Normandy*, who acknowledged that he was one of those that Fired the House of Mr. *Farryner* a Baker in *Pudding-Lane*, from whence the Fire had its beginning, confessed, that he came out of *France* with one *Stephen Piedelou*, * about four months before the Fire, and went into *Sweden* with him, where he also staid with him as his Companion four months, and then they came together into *England* in a *Swedish* Ship called the *Skipper*, where he staid on board with the said *Piedelou* till that *Saturday* night, in which the Fire brake out. When *Piedelou* taking him out of the Ship, carried him into *Pudding-Lane*, and he being earnest to know whither he would carry him? he would not satisfie him till he had brought him to the place, and then he told him, that he had brought three Balls, and gave him one of them to throw into the house. And he would have been further satisfied in the design, as he said, before he would execute it: But *Piedelou* was so impatient that he would not hear him, and then he did the *Fact*, which was, That he put a Fire-Ball at the end of a long Pole, and lighting it with a piece of Match, he put it in at a Window * and staid till he saw the House in a flame. He confessed that there were *Three and twenty Complices*, whereof *Piedelou* was the *Chief*.

* *Piedlou* in *French*, signifies *Wolves-foot*, in *English*, a Right name for a *Popish Incendiary*.

* The Alehouse in *Buttolphs* Lane joyning to Mr. *Farriners* House, was the place to which *Piedelou* brought *Hubert*, and he put in the Fire-ball through an Hole broken in the Wall, which he mistaking for a Window, made the Relation to be suspected.

Mr. *Graves* a *French* Merchant living in St *Mary Axe*, Informed this Committee, that he had known *Hubert* ever since he was four years old, and hath ever observed him to be a person of a mischievous inclination, and therefore fit for any villainous enterprize; And because of his knowledge he had of him, he went to visit him in Prison, where when he saw him, he could not but commiserate the condition whereinto he had brought himself. And for his better discovery of the *Fact*, he told him the said *Hubert*, that he did not believe he had done that of which he confessed himself guilty. To which *Hubert* replyed, *Yes Sir, I am guilty of it, and have been brought to it by the instigation of Monsieur* Piedelou; *but not out of any malice to the English Nation, but from a desire of Reward which he promised me upon my Return into* France.

It is observable, that this miserable creature who confessed himself to the Committee to be a *Protestant*, was a *Papist*, and died so. And as for the aforesaid *Piedelou*, the said Mr. *Graves* informed, that he had a full knowledge of him, and knew him to be a very Deboist Person, and apt to any Wicked Design. Moreover, for a clear conviction of the Guilt of the aforesaid *Hubert*, Mr. *Lowman*, the Keeper of the *White-Lion* Prison, was appointed to set him upon a horse, and to go with him, and see if he could find out the place where he threw the *Fire-Ball*. *And what followed thereupon, appears by*

Mr. Lowmans *Certificate concerning the Behaviour of the ſaid* Robert Hubert, *at the place where the* Fire *began, when carried thither.*

IN obedience to an Order directed to me, from the Honourable Committee of the Houſe of Commons, then ſitting in the Speakers Chamber of the ſecond of October, 1666. *I did carry* Robert Hubert *to St.* Katherines-Tower *by Water, to let me know the place where the* Swediſh *Ship lay, that brought him and other* Frenchmen *from* Stockholm, *and he brought me to the Dock over-againſt Mr.* Corſellis, *his Brew-houſe, and did then verifie to me, and Mr.* Corſellis, *That the Ship lay there, until ſuch time as he with Mr.* Piedelou *and others did go and ſet fire to a Houſe. And this* Hubert *did then further ſay, That Mr.* Piedelou *did fix two Fire-Balls to a long Pole, and put them into a Window; and that he the ſaid* Robert Hubert *did fire one in the ſame manner, and put in in at the ſame Window. But with all the inquiry and diligence that I could uſe, I could neither find nor hear of any ſuch Veſſel. And from thence I carried the ſaid* Robert Hubert *to* Tower-Hill, *and did then deſire him to ſhew me the Houſe that they did fire, and he ſaid, That it was near the Bridge. So we went along* Thames-ſtreet *towards the Bridge; but before we came to the Bridge, the ſaid* Robert Hubert *ſaid,* That the Houſe was up there (*pointing with his hand up* Pudding-lane;) *So I bid him go to the place, and he went along the Bricks and Rubbiſh, and made a ſtand. Then did I ask one* Robert Penny, *a Wine-Porter, which was the Bakers Houſe? and he told me, That was the Houſe where the aforeſaid* Robert Hubert *ſtood. So I went to* Robert Hubert *and ſtood by him, and turned my back towards the Bakers Houſe, and demanded of him, which Houſe it was that he fired, (directing to other Houſes contrary to that Houſe:) But he turning himſelf about, ſaid,* This was the Houſe (*pointing to the Bakers Houſe*) *that was firſt fired. Then by reaſon of his lameneſs I ſet him on a Horſe, and carried him to ſeveral other places, but no other place would he acknowledge; but rode back again to the Bakers Houſe, and ſaid again,* That that was the Houſe (*pointing at the Bakers Houſe*). *And this I do humbly certifie to this Honourable Committee.*

Be me *John Lowman,* Keeper of his Majeſties County-Goal for *Surry.*

IT being intimated to the Committee, That notwithſtanding the Confeſſion of the ſaid *Hubert*, it was confidently reported the *Fire* in the forementioned *Farryners* houſe began by accident: The Committee therefore ſent for him the ſaid *Farryner* before them, who being examined, ſaid, *That it was impoſſible any Fire ſhould happen in his Houſe by accident; for he had after Twelve of the Clock that night gone through every Room thereof, and found no Fire, but in one Chimney, where the Room was paved with Bricks, which Fire he diligently raked up in Embers.* He was then asked, whether no Window or Door might let in wind to diſturb thoſe Coals? He affirmed there was no poſſibility for any wind to diſturb them: and that it *was abſolutely ſet on fire of purpoſe.*

Note, *That this* Hubert *was ſome time after Tryed, Condemned and Executed for this Fact, and at his Death did acknowledge and own the doing thereof, and that he was inſtigated thereunto by Monſieur* Piedelou *as aforeſaid.*

Dawes Weymenſel Eſq; one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace, informed, That he ſaw a man apprehended in the time of the Fire, near the *Temple*, with his Pockets ſtuft with *combuſtible matter*, made of Flax, Tow, and ſuch-like materials.

Doctor *John Packer* informs, that he ſaw a Perſon in the time of the Fire, throw ſome *combuſtible matter* into a Shop in the *Old Bayly*, which he thinks was the Shop of an Apothecary; and that immediately thereupon he ſaw a great ſmoak, and ſmelt a *ſmell of Brimſtone.* The Perſon that did this immediately ran away; but upon the out-cry of the People he was taken by the Guards.

Mr. *Randal*, Mr. *Haſlem*, and Mr. *Humphrey Bowyer*, do all agree, That they ſaw a perſon flinging ſomething into a Houſe near St. *Antholines* Church; and that thereupon the Houſe was on fire, and the ſmoak thereof infeſted the adjacent Houſes. And when this was done, there was *No fire near the place.*

Mr. *Michael March*, an Officer in the Trained Bands in a Company of Sir *Richard Browns*, apprehended a *Walloon* in the time of the Fire, at the Nags-head in *Leaden-hall-Street*, with an Inſtrument like a dark Lanthorn, made (as is conceived) to lay a Train of Powder, and it was filled with Gun-powder. There were two more of the ſame Nation in his company. They being asked to what uſe they employed the ſame Inſtrument, would give no Account thereof.

Newton Killingworth Eſq; informed, That he apprehended a perſon during the Fire, about whom he found much *combuſtible matter*, and certain *black things of a long figure*, which he could not indure to hold in his hands, by reaſon of their extream heat. This Perſon was ſo ſurprized at firſt, that he would not anſwer to any queſtion; But being on his way to *White-hall*, he acted the part of a Mad-man, and ſo continued while he was with him.

Sir *John Maynard*, a Member of this Houſe, affirms, *That he had ſome of that combuſtible matter in his hands; and though it were in its natural ſubſtance, and unfired, yet the heat of it was ſcarcely to be endured by the touch.*

Mr. *Freeman* of *Southwark* Brewer (whoſe Houſe was lately fired) informs, *That on the day his Houſe was fired (about a quarter of an hour before that happened) a Paper with a Ball of Wild-fire, containing near a pound weight wrapped in it, was found in the Nave of a Wheel, in a* Wheelers-yard, *where*

where lay a great quantity of Timber. How his Houſe was fired, he knoweth not; but this he affirmed to the Committee, *That it could not be by accident, becauſe there had not been any Candle or Fire in the Houſe where the Hay lay, that whole day; and that the Hay being laid in very dry, and before Mid-ſummer, could not poſſibly be ſet on fire within it ſelf.* Moreover he ſaid, *That the Hay-loft was on fire on the top of the Houſe, and that the Fire ſpread from the one end of the Roof to another in an inſtant.*

Mr. *Richard Harwood* informs, *That being near the* Feathers Tavern *by* St. *Pauls, upon the fourth of* September, *he ſaw ſomething through a grate in a Cellar, like Wild-fire, by the ſparkling and ſpitting of it, he could judge it to be no other:* Whereupon he gave notice of it to ſome Souldiers that were near the place, who cauſed it to be quenched.

I had Order from the Committee to acquaint you, That we traced ſeveral Perſons apprehended upon ſtrong Suſpicion (during the Fire) to the Guards, but could not make further diſcovery of them.

☞ *Thus far was the Report: What follows was given in to the* Committee, *but not by them Reported to the Houſe at that time.*

A Letter from a Perſon of Credit to the Chair-man of the ſaid Committee.

SIR,

HEaring that you are Chairman to the Committee for examining the Firing of London, *I thought good to acquaint you with this Information that I have received.*

William Champneys a Hatband-maker, now living upon *Horſlydown*, was upon Tueſday-morning, *September* the fourth 1666, in *Shoe-lane*, and there met with a Conſtable who had apprehended a *Frenchman*, whom he took firing a Houſe there with Fire-balls, and charged the ſaid *Champneys* to aſſiſt him; who carried the ſaid *Frenchman* to *Salisbury* Court, hoping there to have found a Juſtice; but finding that Place burning down, returned into *Fleet-ſtreet*, who was preſently called upon by the Commander of the Life-Guard, to know what the matter was: The Conſtable told him, He had apprehended a *Frenchman* firing a Houſe in *Shoe-lane*; he examined the Perſon and committed him to the *Guard*, and told the Conſtable he would ſecure him; and carried him along with him. The Conſtable asked him whether he ſhould go along with him to give in his Evidence? He replied, *That he had done enough, and might go home.* But what became of the *Frenchman* he knoweth not.

Your humble Servant, S. G.

In a Letter from *Ipſwich*, directed, For the Honourable Sir *Robert Brook*, it is intimated, That about the 30th of *Auguſt* 1666, one of the Conſtables of *Cotton* in *Hartſmer Hundred*, being about the ſurvey of that Town about *Hearth money*, was told by one Mr. *William Thompſon*, a *Roman Catholick* in that Town, *That though times were like to be ſad, yet if he found any cauſe to change his Religion, he would ſee he ſhould not want:* And further ſaid to him, *What will you ſay, if you hear that* London *is Burnt?*

The Affidavits touching a Frenchman that ſaid, There were Three hundred of them engaged in Firing the City.

The Informations of *Richard Bound* of St. *Giles* in the *Fields*, Ironmonger; *William Cotes, Samuel Page, Francis Cogny, Edmond Dakins,* and *Richard Pardoe*, taken the 8th day of *Septemb.* 1666, *by* Sir *Juſtinian Lewen* Knight, one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*, upon Oath, as followeth:

RIchard Bound *ſaith, That upon* Tueſday *night laſt about twelve or one of the clock, there was a* Frenchman *brought by the Watch to this Informants Father's houſe, being at the ſign of the* White-Hart *in* King-ſtreet, *taken as a ſuſpicious perſon: The ſaid perſon being queſtioned by them, Whether he was not one of thoſe that Fired the City, or had a hand therein, or any privity or knowledge of any that had deſigned the ſame? or words to that effect: The ſaid perſon anſwered a great while in a perverſe manner, quite different from the queſtion. But being further preſſed to tell the truth, and being told, that if he were guilty, it would be the only way to ſave his life: He did at firſt obſtinately deny, that he knew any thing of any Plot. Whereupon a young man took the Priſoner aſide to the end of the Room, and after ſome private diſcourſe between them, they both returned to this Informant and the reſt of the Company, and the ſaid young man ſpake openly to us, in the hearing of the Priſoner, That the ſaid* Frenchman *and* Priſoner *had confeſſed*, There were Three hundred Frenchmen that were in a Plot or Conſpiracy to fire the City. *Upon which this Informant and others ſpake to the ſaid* Frenchman *in theſe words or to the ſame effect:* Well Monſieur, you have done very well to confeſs what you have done, and no doubt but you may have your Pardon, if you will confeſs all you know of this Plot: *And thereupon further asked him,* Are there no more than Three hundred perſons in the ſaid Plot? *He anſwered,* There are no more than Three hundred perſons. *Then we inquired who they were, and how he came to know they were* Three hundred? *To which he would give no direct Anſwer, but put it off with other extravagant diſcourſe. And being asked, why he came to St.* Giles *Pariſh (where he was apprehended?) He told a Story, that he came from* Iſlington-Fields, *where his Maſters Goods were: But the Goods were now removed, but he could not tell whither; and that his Maſter bid him go up and down the Fields, but would not declare upon what occaſion, or for what end he was ſo to do: And being asked whether there were* Three hundred *perſons engaged in this Deſign or Plot? He replied, That there were* Three hundred *engaged in it.*

The ſeveral Informations of *William Cotes* of *Cow-lane* of *London* Painter, of *Samuel Page* of St. *Giles* in the *Fields* Weaver, of *Edmund Dakins* of St. *Giles* aforeſaid, Bookſeller; of *Francis Cockney* of St. *Andrews Holbourn*; of *Richard Pardoe* Victualler, taken upon Oath, *&c.* tend to the Confirmation of the fore-going Relation.

An

An Extract of a Letter from *Heydleburgh*, in the *Palatinate*, *September* the 29th 1666.

SIR,

YOurs of the *Sixth currant came on* Wednesday *to me*, *and brought me the ill tidings of the Burning of* London, *constantly expected and discoursed of amongst the Jesuites to my knowledge for these Fifteen years last past*, *as to* Happen this Year. *In which they do also promise to themselves and others*, The Introduction of the Publick Exercise of the Catholick Religion. *This Letter was sent to Mr.* Alton, *who lives in* New-Gravel-lane *in* Shadwell, *who negotiates the business of the* Palatinate, *and will produce the Original*, *if there be occasion.*

The Information of John Chishul *Schoolmaster in* Enfield.

UPon *Friday*, *Aug.* 31. Mrs. *St. George* and her eldest Daughter *Susanna S. George*, both *Popish Recusants*, came to visit Mrs. *Rebecca Eves* Widow, at her house in *Enfield*; where speaking concerning the Session of Parliament drawing nigh, Mrs. *St. George* told her, *That some would hereafter be called to an account for a Plot.* Being asked for what? She told her in her ear, *For Burning the City.* Mrs *Eves* afterwards hearing of the firing of *London* (and going to a place where she might behold it) met with Mrs. *Susanna St. George*, and (amongst other discourse) told her how much her Mothers Words, which she spake the *Friday* before, did run in her thoughts; which she repeated to her Daughter: who made this Reply, *That her Mother was very apt to talk*, *and that she had been fain to keep her Mother within doors during the Fire*, *fearing lest she should talk.*

After this (during the Fire) Mrs. *Eves* met with Mrs. *Cook*, another Popish Recusant, and of the same Family, to whom she also related Mrs. *St. George* her words; who made this return, *That she was a worthy woman to keep Counsel.*

Also the Lady *St. George* at *Enfield* in the Lord of *Lincoln*'s House, declared to Mrs. *Rebecca Eves* of the said Town, *That within a few dayes the City of* London *would be laid in Ashes.* This was spoken about two dayes before the Fire happened.

Mrs. Eves *of* Enfield *her Examination before Mr.* Jolliff *and Mr.* Marvel, Decemb. 20. 1666. *concerning Mrs.* St. George.

MRs. *Rebecca Eves* of *Enfield*, three or four days, or within a week before the Fire, receiving a Visit in her own House from Mrs. *St. George* (amongst other Discourses) Mrs. *St. George* akt her what News she heard? and, if she knew when the Parliament sate? Mrs. *Eves* replied, she thought shortly. The other asked, *If she heard of any that were to be called in question before the Parliament?* Mrs. *Eves* said, *About what?* Mrs. *St. George* said, *About a Plot.* Mrs. *Eves* asked, *What Plot?* Mrs. *St. George* answered, *About Firing the City.* Mrs. *Eves* said, *I hope God will preserve the City*, *but people use not to be questioned before the fact be committed.* So the Discourse was waved for that time.

At the time of the Fire, Mrs. *Eves* went out to look towards the Fire, and mentioning Mrs. *St. George*, one in the Company replied behind her (but she cannot certainly fix the person) *A prime Woman to keep counsel!* After the Fire, Mrs. *St. George* her Daughter came to Mrs. *Eves*, who asked her if she remembred what her Mother had said? She said, *My Mother is such a Woman*, *she will speak what she thinks.* Afterwards she said, *That she had much ado to keep her Mother in at the time of the Fire*, *lest she should speak some things she should be questioned for.*

At the first Discourse, Mrs. Eves, *her Daughter, and others of her Family were present. Mr.* St. George, *his Wife and Family, have since left* Enfield. *They are all great* Papists, *and there are many more in the Neighbourhood.*

A Letter directed and sent by the Post to Mr. *Samuel Thurlton* in *Leicestershire*, from My Friend, a person unknown, as followeth; Dated *October* 16. 1666.

YOur *presence is now more necessary at* London, *than where you are*, *that you may determine how to dispose of your Estate in* Southwark: *For it is determined by* Humane Counsel (if not frustrated by Divine Power) *that the* Suburbs will shortly be destroyed. *Your capacity is large enough to understand. Proceed as your* Genius *shall instruct you.*

Cave, Cave, Fuge. Vale.

☞ *A True Relation from* Essex.

SAturday the first of *September* 1666, the day before the Fire in *London*, came one *Urmstraw* from *Ireland*, with a Letter from thence to one Esq; *Holcroft* at *East-Ham* in *Essex* (being related to that Family by Marriage) where he supped. After which he askt the Esquire, *If he had heard any thing of the Firing of* London? who answered, *No.* But *Urmstraw* said, *He would shortly*, *For it was, or would be so that Night.* The Esquire answered, *If it were*, *he hoped it might be quenched again*, *as it had been many a time.* But *Urmstraw* answered, *No*, *it would not be quenched: For it should be said of it, as of* Troy, repeating a Latine Verse, *Nunc Seges est ubi Troja fuit*, That *Now Corn grows where* Troy *stood* This Discourse was managed pleasantly by him, after which they went to their Beds. And in the morning this *Urmstraw* inquires earnestly, *Whether they had heard of the Firing of* London *that Night?* They answered, *No*: But he prayed them to send one of the Family *out to inquire*, *and doubtless they would hear of it*: Upon which a Messenger was sent, who brought in Word from a man that travelled upon the Road, *That it was on Fire indeed.* After Dinner this *Urmstraw* desires his Horse to be saddled, that he might be gone. The Esquire intreats him to stay till next morning: But he answered, *If I should stay*, *I should sleep no more this night than I did the last: Therefore I would go see* London *before its quite burned: For I shall never see it more.*

Sunday morning the Fire being begun in *London*, a person coming from *Deptford*, when he came to *Barnaby-street-end* in *Southwark*, hears a Woman cry out against a *Frenchman* for throwing *Fire-balls*, he runs after him, and lays hold of him: He asked him what Commission he had for so doing? He answered, *That his Commission was in his Chest.* The People coming in, they search'd him, and found *Fire-balls* in his Pockets. He was delivered to the *Guard* in *Southwark*, but heard of no more.

A

A Citizen being burnt out of his Houſe, had hired a Lodging in *Queens-ſtreet* in *Covent-Garden*; and going up *Holborn*(there being a Crowd of people)ſteps in amongſt them,and hears a Woman ſay, that ſhe had a hand in Firing the City. The People askt her, whether ſhe were an Anabaptiſt? She ſaid No: Are you an Independent? She ſaid No: Are you a Presbyterian? She ſaid No: Are you a *Roman Catholick*? to which ſhe would give no anſwer.The Citizen asked her, but Miſtreſs had you a hand in Burning the City? She anſwered, what would you have me ſay? *I have confeſſed it already, and do deſerve to Dye for it*: this ſhe ſaid with great trembling, and ſeemed to be much troubled. The Citizen enquired for a Conſtable,the People reply'd there was one gone for, But a Gallant comes, and takes her by the Arm, and leads her away, ſaying he would have her examined, and forthwith another Gallant cloſeth with him, and they both carryed her to the *Griffin* Tavern in *Holborn*. The Citizen follows them, to ſee the reſult of the buſineſs. But, they, with the Maſter of the Houſe, ſhut out the Company (all but the Citizen, ſuppoſing him to be one of their own Companions)but asking one the other concerning him, and finding him not of them, put him out again. Whereupon he goes to the next Company of Souldiers, and inquires for their Captain, who replyed, he was not there, but told him, Yonder is my Lord *Craven*, unto whom the Citizen repaired, and acquainted his Lordſhip, That there was a Woman apprehended (and reſcued by a couple of Gallants) that had Confeſſed ſhe had a hand in Burning the City, and was at ſuch a Tavern. Whereupon the Lord *Craven* calls to a Captain in the ſtreet, and ordered him to go with that Man and apprehend the Woman that he ſhould direct him to; Whereupon he goes with the Citizen, and takes her with the firſt Gallant, who ſtood up highly in her defence, and carries them both to an Alehouſe on the other ſide of the way. The Citizen perceiving that nothing would be done with her, leaves his name with the Captain, and where he might be found,but was never called for to juſtifie the words ſpoken by her.

A Woman ſtanding in *White-Chappel* with a Company about her, was askt what the matter was? She ſaid, that ſhe met two young men in that place, and asked them how it was with the Fire: They anſwered, *Its now almoſt out, if it can be kept ſo,but the Rogues renew it with their Fireballs.* Ay ſaith another Woman, Young men, if you have a heart to it, you may be hired to throw *Fire-balls* too; For I know where twenty were hired yeſterday to throw them. It was askt her, what was become of the Woman that ſpake thus? She anſwered, That ſhe had apprehended her and delivered her to the under Beadle of *White-Chappel*-Pariſh. The Woman falling under the accuſation (not being able to deny it) there being many Witneſſes at that time that heard it: She was delivered to Sir *John Robinſon*, but heard of no more.

One from *France* writes to his Correſpondent in *London*, to know the truth of what was muttered in *Paris*, *Whether London were laid in Aſhes or no*. The Letter being dated a week before the Fire began.

From Surry *in or near* Darkin, *a Perſon in ordinary habit* (*who was yet obſerved to take place of all the Nobility and Gentry among the Papiſts*) *ſeeing the People of* Darkin *mourn for the Burning of the City, he ſpake ſlightingly of it, telling them, They ſhould have ſomething elſe to trouble themſelves for, and that ſhortly* Darkin *ſhould laid be as low as* London. *Whereupon the People made at him,and one Mr.* Howard a *great Papiſt reſcues him, and ſends him away in his Coach to* London. *This was depoſed before Sir* Adam Brown, *a Juſtice of Peace and a Member of Parliament.*

Theſe following Relations (for ſubſtance) were delivered to Sir *Robert Brooks*, Chairman of the Committee, a little before the Prorogation of the Parliament, and others are ready to be juſtified.

A true Relation made by one of the Grand Jury, at Hicks-Hall, *at a general Quarter-Seſſions, preſently after the Fire in* London.

THat near *Weſt-Smithfield* in *Cheek-Lane*, there was a man taken in the very Act of firing a Houſe,by the Inhabitants and Neighbours;and carrying him away through *Smithfield*,to have him before a Juſtice for the fact committed, The Kings Life Guard perceiving it, made up unto them, and demanded their Priſoner from them; but they refuſed to let him go. The Life-Guard men told them, That he was one of the Kings Servants, and ſaid, *We will have him*; and thereupon they drew out their Swords and Piſtols, and reſcued him out of the peoples hands by force of Arms.

A Bill of Indictment was brought againſt him, and two or three Witneſſes did ſwear unto it, and the Bill was found by the Grand-Jury, who did carry it to the *Old-Baily*, and preſented to the Lord Chief Juſtice; but it came to no further Tryal, nor was ever ſeen after at the *Old-Baily*, ſo far as this perſon upon his beſt enquiry could ever hear or learn.

Concerning a Houſe-keeper at So-ho, *who fired his own Dwelling-Houſe.*

FIrſt he ſecured all his Goods in his Garden, and then went in and fired his Houſe; which when he had done, he endeavoured to get away out at his Fore-Door. A Neighbour demanded of him who had fired his Houſe? He anſwered, *The Devil.* Upon that, his Neighbour bid him ſtand, or he would run his Halbert into his guts. His anſwer was, *If you do, there are enough left behind me to do the work.* Whereupon he was ſecured, and a Bill of Indictment brought againſt him, and about three Witneſſes did ſwear to it, and his Son came in a Witneſs againſt him, who was demanded by the Foreman, What he could ſay as to the firing of his Fathers Houſe? He ſaid, that *his Father did fire it with a Fire-ball.* It was demanded of him, whether he did fire it above ſtairs, or below? He anſwered, *Above-ſtairs.* The

Bill was likewise found; but the Petty-Jury being too much influenced and over-awed by the L. C. J. *K.* did not find him guilty.

Humphrey Ayrs of *White-Lion-Court* in *Barbican* Porter is ready to depose upon Oath, That on the third of *September* 1666, being the Monday, at which time the Fire was as farre off as *Walbrook*, he coming to *Budge-Row*, and no Fire near that he could perceive, but on a sudden he saw two houses about the middle of *Budge-Row*, betwixt St. *Antholines* Church and *Walbrook* break out in a light fire in their middle stories, before ever the tops of the said Houses catcht or were toucht with fire, so that they burnt downwards till the Roof fell into the Fire.

The like is attested by *Mr. Morton* a Gold-smith near the end of *Foster-Lane*, who averrs, that the people that dwelt in *Aldersgate*, having removed their Goods and abandoned the same, he on a sudden saw a fire in one of the Rooms, which must needs be set on fire as well because there was no other fire near thereabouts at that time, nor for many hours after, as also for that it began not on the top but inwardly, and so flam'd forth through the very stones; But by his calling out for help it was for that time Quencht, though afterwards fired again; It being so convenient for their purpose, who design'd to have carryed on the flames further up *Aldersgate-street*, though in that respect God prevented them.

In the same manner A Person of eminent Quality, and another very worthy Gentleman both then of the *Temple*, have attested, that in that fire in 1666, they saw the fire break out at the *Temple* when no fire was near, nor could they possibly make any reasonable apprehension how from the common Conflagration any fire should reach thither, or catch at the place where they observ'd it to break out.

A Maid was taken in the Street with two Fire-Balls in her Lap; Some did demand of her where she had them? She said, One of the Kings Life-Guard threw them into her Lap: She was asked why she had not caused him to be apprehended? She said, that she knew not what they were. She was indicted for this, and the Bill found against her, and turned over to the *Old-Baily*, but no prosecution upon it.

In the time of the Fire, a Constable took a Frenchman *firing a House, seized on him, and going to a Magistrate with him, met with His Royal Highness the Duke of* York, *who asked the reason of the tumult: One told him that a* Frenchman *was taken firing a House; his Highness called for the man, who spake to him in* French. *The Duke asked, Who would attest it? The Constable said,* I took him in the Act, and I will attest it. *The Duke took him into his custody, and said,* I will secure him. *But he was heard of no more.*

On *Munday* the third of *September*, there was a *Frenchman* taken firing a House; and upon searching of him, Fire-Balls were found about him. At which time four of the Life-Guard rescued the *Frenchman*, and took him away from the People, *after their usual manner in the whole time of the Fire.*

One Mr. *Belland* a *Frenchman*, living at *Maribone*, who bought great store of Pastboard for a considerable time before the fire in the City of *London*, to the quantity of twenty gross in one Shop, and much more elsewhere, was asked by a Citizen, What he did with all that Pastboard? He made *Fire-works for the Kings pleasure.* The Citizen asked him, What doth the King give you? He replyed, *Nothing, onely I have Respects at Court:* The Citizen said, *Take heed, Mr.* Belland, *you do not expend your estate, and then lose your Respects at Court, for you are at a great charge. Belland* answered, *Sir, do you think this a great matter? I use all this my self; But if you did see all the great quantities I have made elsewhere, in three several places, three, four, and five miles off, you would say something.* Another time, the Stationer with whom he dealt for Pastboard, being at his House in *Maribone*, and wondring at the many thousands of Fire-Works that lay piled up of several sorts, he said, *Sir, do you wonder at this? if you should see the quantity that I have made elsewhere by other men, you would* WONDER INDEED.

The *Sunday* before the Fire began, this *Belland* came to the Shop where he was wont to buy his Pastboard, but the Stationer being not there, he desired a Citizen (the Stationers Neighbour) to speak to him, and to let him know that he had much wronged him in disappointing him of the four gross of Pastboard which he should have had of him, and said that he should not do his work by the time; and that if he had it not by Tuesday night, it would come too late, he should have no occasion for it after that (which was the Tuesday night before the the Fire) Mr. *Belland* (said the Citizen) what is the reason of your hast? Have you any Shew suddenly before the King? At which he blusht, and would give no answer. Says the Citizen, *What kind of Fire-works do you make, onely such as will crack and run?* Belland answered, *I make of all sorts; some that will burn and make no crack at all, but will flye up in in a pure body of flame, higher then the top of* Pauls, *and waver in the Ayre.* Says the Citizen, Mr. *Belland*, when you make your Shew, shall I see it? Yes, said *Belland*, I promise you, and gave him his hand upon it. Which Citizen in the time of the Fire, being upon the *Thames* in a Boat, saw, to his great amazement, sundry bodies of fire, burning above the Fire of the Houses *as high again as Pauls wavering in the Ayre*, directly according to *Bellands* description.

And after the Burning of the City, the Stationer and the other Citizen agreed to go to *Maribone*, to speak with this *Belland*; and by the way met with his two Maids and his Boy: And having some knowledge of them, asked for young Mr. *Belland*, who told them he was not at home, neither knew they where he was. But the Citizens observing that they carryed with them Rabbets and Capons ready dresst, concluded, they were going to him, and told them so. Whereat, they were surly and bad them go look him, for they would not tell them where he was. Upon that, the Citizens resolved to follow them, and did, till they came to *Whitehall*. The Servants went up stairs and down stairs, on purpose to have lost them, but could not, for they kept close to them. And at last, one of the Maids went to a door and knocked, Crying out, *They were dogg'd by two men, that they could not be rid of*; With that young Mr. *Belland*

opened

opened the door saying to one of the Citizens, *Sir your Servant, how do you do?* One of them answered, *Both I and many Thousand Families more are the worse for you; for you under pretence of making Fire-works for the King, have Destroyed a Famous City, and Ruined a Noble People.* To which *Belland* replyes, *I make nothing but Innocent Things, that will do no harm; for which I have a Pattent from the King.* But the Citizen answered, *If the King gave you a Pattent, it was but for your self:* Who answered, *No.* Said the Citizen, *What made you then to imploy so many men, in so many places?* No, said *Belland*, *I set no man to work, neither know I any Man that makes of them, but my self*, though he had often before said otherwise. While they were thus discourſing, Old *Belland* looks from under the Hanging, Sir, said he, *I hear you charge my Son with Suſpition of Burning the City, I pray you ſpeak lower* (caſting his Eyes about, fearing the Ladies paſſing by might hear) and ſaid, *My Son doth nothing but what he hath a Pattent from the King for, and ſhall have an Order to Sue any man, that ſhall accuſe him.* And he ſaid, *My Son is no Priſoner, but Lodged here to prevent him from the Rage of the Common People.* Well ſaid the Citizens, *You muſt give an Account for what you have done.* And ſo they ſhut the Door upon them.

A Houſe in Shooe-lane *fired by a French-man taken in the Act, yet diſcharged.*

ON *Tueſday* the 4*th.* of *September* 1666. A *French-man* was taken for Firing the *Turn-broach* of the *Temples* houſe, in *Robin-hood-court* in *Shooe-lane* where he lodged. This Court was full of pitiful rotten houſes, and he did the fact early in the morning before ever any fire was come over *Fleet-bridge* or croſs the Ditch; but the woman being up and perceiving it juſt as he was going forth, cryed out to one Mr. *Nicaſius* a neighbour who was then in that Court, *ſaying*, This Rogue hath fired my houſe, and withal came running out of the houſe into the Court after him, thereupon Mr. *Nicaſius* ſeized the Fellow, talkt French to him, ſearcht his pockets and found a writing purporting to be Indentures of Covenant for him and another to ſerve one *Glowde Lantee* of the Pariſh of St. *Leonard Shoreditch* French-fring-maker for 10*l. per Annum* wages, dated 10*th.* of *Jan.* 1665. Atteſted by *John Underwood* publick Notary and *Joſhuah Thirkill* his ſervant. 'Tis uncertain whether his name was *Martin de Humet*, or *Andrew Sommers*, becauſe they were both parties to the ſame Indented Articles, but 'tis more probable it was *de Humet* becauſe the ſame is a French, whereas *Sommers* is an Engliſh name. This perſon being ſo taken in the Fact, was askt if he were a Frenchman, which he acknowledged, the people would preſently have uſed violence to him, but Mr. *Nicaſius* with much ado perſwaded them to the contrary and got their leave to be patient that he might carry him before the Duke of *York*, whom he found with his Guard about *Salisbury Court*, to him he preſented the French man, and related the Fact with its apparent circumſtances in Engliſh; on which the Duke called one of the Horſe Guard, and delivered him unto him, who rode away with him triumphantly towards *Weſtminſter*. The *Mounſieurs* about the Duke making a great noiſe at his delivery, but the next morning Mr. *Nicaſius* enquired what became of the French-man, and the people told him he was let go, nor hath he ſince been heard of by Mr. *Nicaſius* though he hath uſed means to inquire and find him out. The *Turn-broaches* houſe conſiſted only of two Rooms, the uppermoſt of which was the Chamber which this French-man lay, and which he had fired and carried away the key with him, but the people perceiving it ſo ſoon, broke open the Chamber, and had happily quencht the ſame before Mr. *Nicaſius* came back from carrying him before the Duke of *York*.

The ſame Mr. *Nicaſius* had a fair brick houſe wherein he dwelt, being the furtheſt houſe on the right hand in *Plow yard* in *Fetter-lane* adjoyning to *Thavies-Inn Garden*, this houſe on the wedneſday was by ill Councel ordered to be blown up, and Powder brought to that purpoſe, which if it had been done the fire had undoubtedly proceeded much further: But upon his repreſenting the unreaſonableneſs thereof to the King, and that if by playing with the engine on an houſe hard by that was on fire, they could ſo damp the flames that they might not ſeize his houſe, then the ſame being brick would ſcreen and preſerve other paper Buildings behind it, his Majeſty was pleaſed to order that courſe ſhould be taken, and thereby that houſe and divers others were ſaved, though in Mr. *Nicaſius* occaſional abſence for a very ſhort time people got into his houſe with ſtrange pickaxes, and battle-axes, *&c.* Wherewith they broke open his doors, and (beſides what they robbed him of,) brake down all his windows, and threw a preſs Cupboard, Pictures and other combuſtibles into the fire to encreaſe it, and endeavoured to break down the Turret on the top of the houſe and did actually break ſome part of it, which could not be but on purpoſe to let in the fire and that it might the ſooner take hold on ſuch his houſe, which if it had done 'tis moſt probable all *Holborn* had been deſtroyed.

The Information of Thomas Middleton *Chyrurgeon, late Inhabitant of St.* Brides, London.

I The ſaid *Thomas Middleton* do hereby certifie, that upon the Sunday in the afternoon (the day wherein the dreadful fire brake out in *Pudding-lane* which conſumed the City) hearing the general outcry, that the City was fired by *Papiſts* and *French*, I repaired to the top of a Church ſteeple near the *Three Cranes* in the *Vintrey*, where my ſelf and ſeveral others obſerved the motion of the *Fire* for two or three hours together, and we all took notice, that the *Fire* did break forth out of ſeveral houſes, when the houſes which were then burning were at a good diſtance from them every way, and more particularly, I ſaw the fire break out from the inſide of *Lawrence-Pountney* Steeple, when there was no fire near it. Theſe and ſuch like Obſervations begat in me a Perſwaſion, that the *Fire* was maintained by deſign. Upon *Munday* I repaired again into the City, and found as the day before, that the *Fire* did break forth in freſh houſes at a great diſtance one from another. And as I was returning home, paſſing through *Watling-ſtreet* by a Tobacco Merchants houſe, I ſaw the Maſter of the houſe come down ſtairs, driving a young fellow before him, ſaying to him, *You Rogue, do you come to Rob me? what did you do in my Garret?* or words to that purpoſe, and puſhed him out of doors: All which I obſerved, and he ſeemed to be a Frenchman: He was a ſhort black fellow of about 22 years of Age: and as ſoon as he was out of the houſe, he having a looſe

203 coat on, in a way of Privacy, Shuffles something under his Coat, whereupon I said I told of him, and said, *Sirrah, what have you there?* the fellow replyed, *What is that to you, the Master of the House knows me?* Upon that I asked the Mr. of the House whether he knew the fellow, he answered, *he knew him not.* Whereupon I searched the fellow, and found a horn of powder about him, and as soon as the powder was discovered, he fell a rubbing his hands, they being all black with powder: He had also about him a book intituled, *The Jewish Government.* I charged him that he was a French man, because he spake broken English, but he denyed it, and did much Vaunt himself. There coming a Constable by with his staffe, I Required him to carry him to Prison, and I would assist him; So we conveyed him to *Old Bridewel*, and by the way, the People were ready to kill him, calling him *French-Raskal.* I prayed them to forbear, for Justice would give him his Reward. I told the fellow he would be hanged: he made slight of it, saying, *If I die my Soul shall be Saved, but yours shall be Damned.* And when he was put into *Bridewel*, I desired that he might be secured and none suffered to speak with him, till he were Examined before a Magistrate, because the Tobacco-Merchants House was presently Burned upon it. But so it happned, on the next day that the fire came on and consumed my House and Goods, so that I was forced with my Family to fly into the Country, and what became of the Fellow I know not, *Old Bridewel* being burnt also. And understanding that the Parliament hath appointed a Committee to enquire after the Actors in, and Fomenters of that Terrible Fire, I thought good to inform the Honourable Committee thereof, that they may send for the Keeper of the said *Bridewel*, to know what became of the Fellow, that he might receive Justice according to his demerit. Thus much I thought my self obliged to do, as in duty bound to God and my Country. All which I am ready to affirm upon Oath, when I shall be thereunto called.

A further True Relation made by the said *Thomas Middleton*, concerning some occurrences in the great Fire of *London*.

THat upon *Monday the 3d. of Sept.* 1666, *being next day after that dreadful fire began, the Duke of* York *being at* Fleet-bridge *in the afternoon, and the fire not being then come to Ludgate, did declare that those Houses adjoyning upon the bridge should be pulled down the next morning, amongst which was the said* Tho. Middletons, *who thereupon endeavour'd that night to get Carts to carry away his Goods, and had got a Country Cart and loaded it with Goods, but by that time the same was done, there was a strong Guard set a Cross the street, from* Shoe-Lane *to* Salisbury-Court, *which the said* T. M. *perceiving caused the Cart to be driven up to* Shoe-lane, *and then he with other Neighbours, (one of which was Mr.* William Wheatly *a Common Council-man) repaired to the* Captain *of the Guard of Horse under the aforesaid Duke being then in* Salisbury-Court, *whose name was* Peters, *whom the said* T. M. *acquainted, That dwelling on* Fleet-bridge, *and there being order given by the Duke that his House amongst others should be pulled down next morning, He therefore prayd that the man which had his load of goods in his cart in order to remove them, might have liberty to pass and repass through the Guard to fetch the remaining part of his goods, he having a large house and many loads in it, But the said Captain peremptorily denyed such his request, declaring that no cart should pass, except there were an order shewed from the Duke, whereas it was then about 12 a Clock in the night, and the Duke at* Whitehall, *or some where else, not easily to be met with, so that it was impossible to procure such an Order so suddenly; whereupon the said* T. M. *earnestly desired that the cart might be admitted to pass, and offered money for the same, and said that forasmuch as the* Capt. *and his Souldiers could not save his house, he hoped that they would not be instrumental for the destroying of his goods, Adding that he thought he might have some kindness shew'd him in such a difficult hour, for as much as not long before he had voluntarily lent his Majesty Money. The man that owed the Cart standing by all the while, when at last he saw it would not be granted, said it was a very hard thing that when a man cannot save his House, he should be hindred from saving his Goods. To which Captain* Peters *answered, why your Cart has carryed one Load, which the man acknowledging, the* Captain replyed, Then you have done enough, your spokes may be knockt out and your Cart burnt: *So with these unnatural and unchristian Replies* Thomas Middleton *returns to his house where he was not long before some of those destroyers were got on the top of it, throwing the Tiles and bricks down the stairs, so that the said* T. M. *and his Family were forced to leave his house and most of his Goods to be consumed.*

He likewise further saith, *That within a little time after the flames were over, he the said* T. M. *with his Son going near the ground where his house had lately stood, saw a Man that had took up a Musquet that lay in the Ruines not burnt, and as the said* T. M. *was coming towards him, he saw him take the Musquet, and break it, whereupon the said* T. M. *asked him wherefore he did so, and the fellow replyed, and said it was no matter if Thousands of them were destroyed, or words to that purpose, upon which the said* T. M. *asked him what he was that would destroy the Arms of the King? supposing they were some of the Souldiers Arms, to which he replyed that he did belong to a Major or Coll. whose name the said* T. M *doth not now remember, but* T. M. *did tell the said Fellow that he was a Papist, which proved true, for the said* T. M. *and others searching his pockets, found therein a Mass-book Printed in Latine, with a particular Prayer for the Queen of* Spain, *&c. In the interim comes a Captain, to whom the said* T. M. *made this Relation and delivered the man into his Custody, who said he would carry him before the Committee that sat in the* Temple *to examine such matters, but of the man or matter, the said* T. M. *never heard more, save only about a year afterwards the said* T. M's. *Son (who was at the taking of him as aforesaid) walking in the* Strand *at noon day the said Fellow met him and without any provocation struck him with all his force upon the head with a great stick or club, and then supposing he had knockt him down, ran into* Somerset House *and there sheltred himself.*

Mr.

Mr. Stewarts *Information.*

IN the time of the Fire, near *Bridewell*, there was a man ſadly bemoaning the great Loſs he was like to ſuſtain (the Fire being within five or ſix houſes of him) who did beſeech the people for Gods ſake, they having no Goods of their own in danger, to help him throw out Trunks, Cheſts, Beds, *&c.* out at a window, having procured two *Carts* or *Waggons* to carry them away. Whereupon I ran into his Houſe with ſeveral others, broke down his Windows, threw out his Goods, and loaded the Carts; and there being ſome interval of time before the return of the Carts, and ſeeing a Room wherein were many Books and looſe Papers (which ſeemed to be a Library) I went in and took down a Book, which proved to be *Ovid Metamorphoſis*, and while I was looking upon it, there came into the ſame Room an Old Man of Low Stature, with a white Frock, who looked alſo on the Book as it was in my hand; I took him in my mind to be ſome Groom come out of a Stable, and thought him to be preſumptuouſly fooliſh, ſuppoſing ſuch a mean like Old Man ignorant of that Language in which the book was written, it being in Latin, but I ſpoke not to him: In the mean time, there brake forth a Fire amongſt the Papers which were behind us, there being none in the Room but he and I. Whereupon the reſt of the people coming in, cryed out, we had ſet the Room on fire, and ruſhing in upon us, put out the fire with their Feet: whereupon I took hold of the Old Man by the Buttons under the throat, and ſaid, *How now Father, it muſt either be you or I muſt fire theſe Papers.* There was a ſmall thing of a black matter, which looked like a piece of a Link burning, which queſtionleſs ſet fire on the Papers, but it was immediately trod out. A multitude of people thronged in; and when I ſaid, *How now my Father*, and took hold of him, he ſaid, *Parce mihi Domine*: The people which did not underſtand it, cryed out, *He is a Frenchman, kill him*, and with pulling of him, his Perriwig fell off; then appeared a Bald Skull, and under his Frock he had Black Clothes, I think of Biſhops Sattin, whereupon he ſeemed to be a grave Eccleſiaſtick Perſon. I had much a do to ſave him from the People, but at laſt brought him before the Duke of *York*: we found in his Pocket a bundle of Papers cloſed up with Wax like a Pacquet, which was delivered to the Duke of *York*. I know not what was written in them, neither do I know what Country-man he was; but methoughts he looked ſomething Jeſuit-like. This I am certain of, that when I went into the Room there was no fire in it, and it was fired when there was none but he and I in it, yet I cannot ſay I ſaw him do it, though I cannot but ſuſpect he did it, and the rather, becauſe there were ſeveral houſes untouched betwixt this houſe, and where the fire was coming on, when the Papers in the Library where thus on fire as I have related. What became of this fellow after we had delivered him to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, I have not heard.

John Stewart.

NOt long after the Burning of *London*, Mr. *Brook Bridges*, a young Gentleman of the *Temple*, as he was going to attend Divine Service in the *Temple*-Church, in a Pew there found this following Paper, which immediately, either by himſelf or a Relation of his, was delivered to Sir *William Morrice*, one of his Majeſties principal Secretaries of State; the Contents of the Paper are as follows:

A VVarning to Proteſtants.

I Who have been a *Papiſt* from my Infancy, till of late; and in Zeal for their horrid Principles, had too great a ſhare in the Fireing of the City; And did intend to do further miſchief to the *Proteſtants* (of which I am now, and ever ſhall be a Member) do upon abhorency of that Villany, and Religion that hath moved me to it, declare to all *Proteſtants* the Approach of their ſudden Ruine, that it may be prevented, if it be not too late.

When I, together with other *Papiſts*, both *French*, *Iriſh* and *Engliſh*, fired the City; others were imployed to maſſacre the *Proteſtants*, we thinking thereby to deſtroy the Heads of your Religion; but the Maſſacre was diſappointed by the Fear of him who was the chief Agent in this Villany. And the *Fire* not having done all its Work, they have often endeavoured to fire the remaining part. They intend likewiſe to land the *French* upon you: To whoſe Aſſiſtance they all intend to come, and for that purpoſe are ſtored with Armes: And have ſo far deceived the King, that they have the Command of moſt part of the Army and the Sea-Ports. The *French* intend to Land at *Dover*, that Gariſon being moſt *Papiſts*, And the *Papiſts* in *England* have expreſs Command from *Rome*, to haſten their buſineſs before the next Parliament, and to diſpatch. Therefore as you love your Lives and Fortunes, prevent your Ruine, by removing all the *Papiſts* in *England*, eſpecially Colonel *Legg* from the *Tower*, and the Lord *Douglaſs*, and all his Adherents and Souldiers from *Dover*, and by diſarming all *Papiſts*. I have ſuch an abhorrancy, that I would willingly undergo any Puniſhment for it, and declare my ſelf openly, were I not aſſured that I could do you more good in concealing my Name for the preſent. Delay not from following theſe Directions as you love your Lives; And be not deceived by any Pretences whatſoever.

Thus we see, that then, even presently after that dreadful Calamity, there wanted not various proofs of its being contrived and carryed on by Popish Treachery: By what means these Informations were smothered, 'tis not my business now to inquire; 'tis certain, had they been sufficiently taken notice of, and encouraged, and due prosecution made thereupon, it might have prevented many mischiefs which since happened: But we have now a more full discovery of that villanous Intrigue from their own Mouths; for as I my self have more than once heard them own and boast of the Exploit, so nothing can be more plain than what Dr. *Oats* hath made out in his Depositions Sworn before that worthy and since Marty'd Gentleman, *Sir Edmondbury Godfrey*, on the *6th* of *September* last, Paragraph 34, To this effect:

That in *July* 1678, *Richard Strang*, the then last Provincial of the Jesuits, did tell him, That their Society of Jesuits did get 14 thousand pounds in that Fire in 66, and that he the said *Strang*, with three other Jesuits and a *Dominican* Fryar, all there named, designed, and were chief Instruments in effecting the same; That they intended to have Burnt it sooner, *viz.* in *Feb.* 1664, but had not then got persons and things ready for Execution: That they commonly met at the *Green-Dragon* at *Puddle-Dock*, and pretending themselves *Fifth-Monarchy-men*, first drew in one *Green* a poor man, by furnishing him with 30 l. to joyn in the Plot of Firing the City, and killing the King, who soon after brought in 8 more of the same Gang; but at last some notice was taken of their Design, and away the Jesuits are gone, leaving the poor silly seduced new Brethren of the *Fifth-Monarchy* to suffer for their Roguery, and accordingly 8 of them were Executed in *May* 66, but never spoke a word of the said Fathers, nor indeed could they, for they knew not their true Names, nor ever suspected them to be Jesuits or Papists, whereupon the said *Strang* further said, That he himself and the others returned again in *June* following, and fell again to prosecute their Design, which had been carried on in the mean time by others of their Society. In short, he said they got 50 or 60 *Irish*, and divers *French*, who were very faithful to ply the work, and got one *Everard*, who was chief Keeper of their Fire-works, a place in the Kings Service, relating to the publick Ammunition, the better to colour it; That himself by the Name of *Walker*, and the said *Fryar*, took a Lodging in *Aug.* 66. in *Fanchurch-street*, that they might be at hand, it having before been resolved where they should begin; That all things being thus prepared, one *Neal* of *VVhite-Chappel*, whose charge it was to see the Fire carried on through *Thames-street* to the *Tower*, called him up about 12 a Clock, and before he could make him ready, the Fire was begun; That there was Fourscore or upwards imployed therein as Servants by the Society, and that they spent 700 Fire-balls, and had others, both Men and Women, attending to Plunder what they could, having a Warehouse in *VVild-street*, and another at *Somerset-house*, to receive what they so got, which amounted to the value of 14000 pounds, as aforesaid, *&c.*

As for the *Fifth-Monarchy-men* that were Executed, mentioned by the said *Strang* to Mr. *Oats* in this Discourse, 'Tis very observable what Account the *Gazett* gave of their Tryal.

'Tis in the *Gazett* published on *Munday April* the 30*th* 1666. The words are these.

At the Sessions in the Old-Baily, John Rathbone, *an old Army-Colonel*, William Saunders, Henry Tucker, Thomas Flint, Thomas Evans, John Miles, William Wescot, *and* John Cole, *(formerly Officers or Soldiers in the late Rebellion, were Indicted for Conspiring the Death of his Majesty, and the overthrow of the Government, having laid their Plot and Contrivance for the Surprizal of the Tower, The Killing his Grace the Lord General, Sir* John Robinson *Lieutenant of his Majesties Tower of* London, *and Sir* Richard Brown, *and then to have declared for an equal division of Lands, &c. The better to effect this Hellish design,* THE CITY WAS TO HAVE BEEN FIRED, *and the Portcullices to have been let down to keep out all assistance, The Horse-Guard to have been surprized in the Inns where they were quartered, several Ostlers having been gain'd for that purpose, the Tower was accordingly viewed, and its surprise ordered by Boats over the Moat, and from thence to scale the VVall; one* Alexander *who is not yet taken, had likewise distributed sums of Money to these Conspirators, and for the carrying on the Design more effectually, they were told of a great Council of the* GREAT ONES *that sate frequently in* London, *from whom issued all Orders, which Council received their Directions from another in* Holland, *which sate with the States, and that the* Third of SEPTEMBER *was pitcht on for the attempt, as being found by* Lillies *Almanack, and a Scheme erected for that purpose, to be a Lucky day, a Planet then ruling which Prognosticated the downfal of Monarchy. The evidence against these Persons was very full and clear, and they accordingly found Guilty of High-Treason.*

Thus that *Gazett verbatim.* From whence we may observe,

1. How exactly the Account given by Father *Strang* to Mr. *Oats* agrees herewith, as to the Number of Persons, *Time*, *Design*, &c.

2. How industrious these Popish Conspirators are, and how dexterous in turning themselves into all shapes, and complying with all humours to carry on their designes, as here pretending to embrace and promote *Fifth-Monarchy-Principles*, Levelling, *&c.* which should methinks caution all Protestant Dissenters from the Establisht Church-Government, yet to abhor all Conspiracies, and never to be drawn into any Plot or Seditious Pranks on any pretensions whatsoever, lest whilst by indirect means they fondly hope to advance some little Notions and Whimsies of their own, they shall but do the Jesuits Drudgery, and really be found diligent Instruments to advance that *Scarlet VVhore* whom they so loudly declaim against and abominate.

3. The

3. The Jeſuits herein Acted with that Deviliſh Policy, which is ſo much the Study of their Society; for having ſuch an horrid Plot on Foot, they thought fit to find out ſome other Party, upon whom they might lay the Scandal of it, but it ſeems could meet with none ſo ready to be Bubbled as the *Fifth-Monarchy-men*; For, ſaid the ſubtle Fathers, if we can perſwade them to the Buſineſs, *viz.* Fireing the City, and Killing the King, Then not only our work will be done to our hands, but we ſhall have an excellent occaſion to fall not only on theſe people, but whoever elſe we ſhall pleaſe to call Fanaticks, as their Accomplices; and all the World ſhall acknowledge, that we do but Juſtice in cutting them off, when they ſhall be made guilty of ſuch Treaſon and Villany. On the other ſide, if they attempt and fail in it, Let the *Rogues Hang*, we and our Church are free, both from the Danger and the *Odium* of it; Nay more, we ſhall gain this advantage, That when we ſhall do it in earneſt, 'twill certainly be laid at their Doors, becauſe of their former Attempt, and to load them the heavier, they had ſet down the Names of all the moſt eminent Diſſenters, and ſuch as had ſerv'd under the Parliament, as concern'd in this Plot, and left it with theſe people, That as a Liſt of the Conſpirators, it might be taken with them, and conſequently all thoſe perſons ſecured in Cuſtody at a time when they deſign'd the *French*, with whom we were then at War, ſhould invade the Kingdom; and I am credibly inform'd, they had all been taken, had not his Grace, the late Duke of *Albemarle* Interpoſed.

4. As they had to do with ignorant Enthuſiaſtical people, ſo they managed them accordingly; Telling them a Story of an *Equal Diviſion of Lands*, a Councel of Great Ones that muſt be nameleſs, and another yet greater that ſate with the States; But eſpecially they forgat not to name the *Third of September* to them, being the day or next ſave one, themſelves had ſo long pitcht upon for the Burning of *London*; and for this purpoſe, the Oracle, *Lillies Almanack*, muſt be conſulted, but indeed, it was the Aſtrology of St. *Omars* that reſolved the Queſtion; for they did this meerly, that if they ſhould be diſcovered, that circumſtance ſhould likewiſe be divulged as part of this *Fifth-Monarchy-Plot*, and conſequently being remembred by people when they ſhould ſee the City on Fire, They might thence take occaſion to fall upon the Fanaticks as the Incendiaries; and 'tis more than probable, that not finding theſe Half-witted Fellows very fit to ſerve their Purpoſes actively, They reſolved to make them do it paſſively, and might themſelves cauſe them to be betray'd, it being nothing infrequent with the Jeſuits to imitate their Father the Devil, in tempting people firſt to Villany, and then to be the firſt that ſhall accuſe them.

An Account of ſome other Fires ſince that Grand Conflagration in 66.

NExt after deſtroying the City of *London*, the Popiſh Deſign hath all along been to Ruin and lay waſt its Suburbs; This ſeveral of the Fathers, as *Gifford*, and others, have declared to me, and the ſame is evident by matter of Fact; For knowing the Borough of *Southwark* to be a place of eminent Trade, and generally a ſober induſtrious people, how oft have they made Attempts thereon, till at laſt they laid the beſt part thereof in Aſhes. As firſt,

At the George-Inn *the* 25 *of* July, *about* 8 *a Clock in the Morning.*

Concerning the manner of this, *John Whitler* Head-Oſtler at the ſaid Inn, did atteſt, That the ſame morning he was removing ſome Baggs of Hopps which lay in a ſhed near to a Flax-ſhop, in which was ſome Tow and other Combuſtibles ordinarily uſed to ſtuff Chairs with, and then he did not perceive or ſmell any Smoak or Fire, nor had any Candle or Fire been in the ſaid Flax-Shop for many Months before, to his or any of the Families knowledge; But as he was removing the ſaid Packs, there came in 4 perſons like Gentlemen, to take Coach for *Dover*, or that way, which Coach was ſtanding by the ſaid Shed, and they by it drinking, immediately after which, the ſaid Oſtler was called into the Street, and left all in ſafety, but in ſhort time returning, met the ſaid Coach driving out with all ſpeed, and found the ſaid Flax-Shop on Fire.

Anthony Blake the Head-Tapſter atteſteth that he waited on thoſe Gentlemen, filling them drink, and being ſent for 6 Canns, at his return the Coach was driving away, and the Tow in the place aforeſaid all on a Flame; Mr. *Weyland* the Maſter of the Houſe, and his whole Family ſolemnly atteſting, they know not how it came to kindle there, but verily believe it muſt come through ſome Treachery.

This is the more probable, becauſe one *Harriſon*, ſome ſmall time before, had told Mr. *Atkins* at the *Grey-hound-Inn* in *Holbourn*, that there would within three weeks or a Month, be great and dreadful Fires about *London* and *Southwark*, and particularly mentioned the *Talbot* and *George-Inns*, and adviſed him to put off his Houſe and Goods, which *Harriſon* in the time of this Fire was ſeen ſuſpitiouſly lurking about the *Talbot*-Inn, (which ſuffered much by this Fire) and being known by the ſaid Mrs. *Atkins*, Daughter of the Gentlewoman that kept the *Talbot*, and coming thither to help

 them,

them, he was ſeized, and carried to a Foot-Company that ſtood in Arms near the ſaid Inn, and a Charge given them by my Lord *Craven* and Sir *John Smith*, then one of the Sheriffs of *London*, to keep him ſafe; after the Fire was put out, enquiry being made for him, the Captain told them he was diſcharged by the Lord *Craven*. However, on the 27 of *July*, being informed he taught School in *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, he was retaken, and examined before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, where the following Articles were prov'd againſt him upon Oath.

1. *That he had had frequent Correſpondency with Jeſuites and Papiſts.*
2. *That he had ſpoken to ſeveral of his Acquaintance to go with him to Popiſh Meetings, declaring that he knew of many.*
3. *That he had been perſwaded to turn Mendicant Fryar, and hath been offered a ſtipend to turn to the Romiſh Religion.*
4. *That he knew there would be divers great and dreadful Fires in and about* London *within a month.*
5. *That he adviſed Friends to rid their hands of all their Concerns in and about* London, *for there would be a great conſumption of houſes there.*
6. *That when he was in Cuſtody of the Foot Company aforeſaid, Mr.* Atkins *aforeſaid offering to ſwear the former Article; he threatned him if he did, it ſhould Coſt him the beſt houſe he had.*
7. *That he ſaid there were forty Thouſand* French Papiſts *lately come over, to his knowledge, beſides many that were amongſt us already.*
8. The Lord Mayor asking him, *Who perſwaded him to turn Catholick?* He anſwered, *The King's Under-Barber*, Phillips.

After which he told the Court, That when he was firſt apprehended for theſe things, my Lord *Craven* diſcharged him, and took him with him in his Barge to *Whitehall*. He further told the Court, that he was ſometime an Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Lovejoy* School-Maſter at *Canterbury*, and that he had Letters Teſtimonial of his goood behaviour from the Dean of *Canterbury*: Upon which my Lord Mayor remembred that he had ſeen him with Mr. *Lovejoy*, and ſaid, that Mr. *Lovejoy* told him, *That he was an Idle Rogue*. And ſo he was committed to *Newgate*.

On *Saturday* the 30th of July, it was further deſpoſed upon Oath by *Thomas Roe*, before Sir *John Fredrick*, as follows.

The Information of Thomas Roe *of* Bernards Inn *Gent. taken the* 30th *of* July 1670 *by Sir* John Fredrick, *Alderman, one of His Majeſties Juſtices of Peace in the City of* London, *upon Oath, as followeth.*

Thomas Roe ſaith, that he hath for at leaſt twelve or thirteen years laſt paſt been acquainted with one *Joſeph Harriſon*, who was examined lately at the Guild-Hall *London*, before the Honourable the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, upon ſuſpition of his being a Conſpirator in the Fireing the City and Suburbs in ſeveral parts thereof.

Thomas Roe, and *Joſeph Harriſon*, having been School-fellows at *Eaton Colledge*, and being thereby acquainted; *Joſeph Harriſon* hath ſeveral times lately been with him, and adviſed him to with-draw his Concerns, and remove above twenty miles out of the City; for that the City, and twenty miles round. would be ſuddenly deſtroyed and laid waſte (or to that purpoſe:) Whereupon *Thomas Roe* asked him, whether he were privy to any ſuch conſpiracy, or concern'd in its Agitation? preſſing him with divers Arguments to diſcover what he was acquainted with of that kind. *Harriſon* replyed, That he had no perſonal and poſitive knowledge thereof. *Thomas Roe* demanded upon what ground then he did thus adviſe him? *Joſ. Harriſon* replyed, That he was ſometimes converſant among ſome *Papiſts*, and perceived a Plot or Deſign was carrying on by them againſt the City of *London* and the *Proteſtant Religion*; which Plot or deſign (ſaid he) the *Papiſts* call, *The Game of Trap*, or, do you underſtand *Trap ad Crucem?* which is the watch-word amongſt them. Further, *Joſ. Harriſon* ſaid, That he was informed of thoſe things by ſome *German Proteſtants*, and that he had offers of fifty pounds *per annum*, made him by ſome *Jeſuites* and *Papiſts*, to turn to their Religion; but he had refuſed it, and would not embrace the Romiſh Religion.

Thomas Roe further ſaith, That about five weeks ſince, he walked through *New-Cheapſide*; and from thence into *Mark-lane*, with *Joſeph Harriſon*, in company with Mr. *Moſeley* (a Gentleman belonging to *Bernards Inn* likewiſe) and one of his acquaintance, together with another man, a ſtranger to *Thomas Roe*. Upon their firſt aſſociating, *Harriſon* ſaid unto him, That he would not diſcover himſelf to be an *Engliſhman*, but pretended himſelf to be a *German* or *Italian*, (whether of the two he doth not well remember) and that he might not detect himſelf, ſpake in the company, as occaſion offer'd, in *Latine*. But leaving the place where they tarried in *Mark-lane*, going towards *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, Mr. *Harriſon* told Mr. *Roe* ſecretly, That he believed that Mr. *Moſely* underſtood the Game of *Trapp* by ſome ſigns he had obſerved from him, and that he would try him. Then going altogether into a houſe, about the end of *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, Mr. *Harriſon* (having by this time diſcovered himſelf

ſelf to be an *Engliſhman*) ſaid *Trapp*, and made a Croſs over his face with his finger, directing himſelf to Mr. *Moſeley*; whereupon Mr. *Moſeley* did alſo ſay *Trapp*, croſſing his forehead or face two or three times, and with a quick motion drew his finger over his own Throat. Upon which, Mr. *Roe* asked Mr. *Moſeley* what was the meaning of *Trapp*? but he refuſed to tell. Mr. *Roe* urging him again, He replied, He would not, ſaying, You are not of my Religion. Then Mr. *Moſeley* asked Mr. *Harriſon* what his Name was? (for he knew him not by Name) He anſwered, *Harriſon*. Mr. *Moſeley* replied, I never ſaw your Name. Mr. *Harriſon* made anſwer, Is it *Don Olanſo del Harriſonio*; if ſo, ſaith Mr. *Moſeley*, I have ſeen your Name.

After this, Mr. *Moſeley* and the other ſtranger being parted, and Mr. *Roe* and Mr. *Harriſon* being alone, ſaid *Harriſon*, I told you Mr. *Moſeley* did underſtand *Trapp*; you may ſee there is a Liſt of the *Trapp-Gameſters*. Now, whether Mr. *Moſeley*'s imitation of Mr. *Harriſon* was feigned or real, Mr. *Roe* could not diſtinguiſh; but as they two were paſſing through *Cheapſide* homewards, Mr. *Harriſon* looking upon the New-Buildings, ſaid, To what purpoſe do they Build this poor City? it will again be deſtroyed; at the ſame time he pointed at two ſeveral perſons, ſaying, That is a *Trapp-Gameſter*, and there goes another *Trapp-Gameſter*.

Mr. *Roe* further informs, That ſince the laſt Term, Mr. *Harriſon* told him, he would write all the Rogueries of the *Trapp-Game* and *Gameſters* in a *Play*; and that he would undertake to ſhew him Twenty ſix Papiſts Meetings in and about the City and Suburbs of *London*; but (ſaid he) ſome of them are very private, and if you be diſcovered not to be a Papiſt, you will (peradventure) be poyſoned or ſtab'd.

Mr. *Roe* doth further ſay, That when the ſaid *Harriſon* adviſed him to Remove with all his Concerns above Twenty Miles from *London*, the ſaid *Roe* asked him if *Windſor* were not far enough, it being both their Native place, and about that diſtance? The ſaid *Harriſon* anſwered, Not; reflecting upon the Caſtle. And further, *Harriſon* told Mr. *Roe*, That the Jeſuits by a Compoſition of Ingredients, make ſuch a Matter, the Fume of which would corrupt any mans Intellects; and that he the ſaid *Harriſon* could do it.

This *Harriſon* (who 'tis probable was ſome Prieſt, or at leaſt Proſelyte) as you have heard, was committed to *Newgate*, but we cannot learn there was any legal Proſecution againſt him.

The damage of this Fire at the *George-Inne* was conſiderable, for it Burnt three parts of the ſaid Inne and 140 Loads of Hay; and at the *White-Hart* there was Burnt and blown up one Stable, one dwelling-houſe, and 4 or 5 Lodging Chambers. At the *Three-Cranes* near adjoyning to the ſaid *George-Inn* on the *North-ſide*, three dwelling houſes and a Still-houſe; and at the *Talbot* three dwelling houſes, a Waſh-houſe, and (which is moſt lamentable) two perſons kill'd out-right, and ſix or ſeven wounded.

A Brief Account of a Fire Providentially prevented in Goat-Yard *near St.* Margarets-Hill *in* Southwark.

ANother attempt was on *Thurſday Aug.* 11. 1670. about 10 of the Clock at Night, a Woman ſiting at her door in *Goat-yard* aforeſaid, heard a great Hiſſing noiſe, and turning to ſee what might be the cauſe thereof, ſhe ſaw a light upon a Shed or Hovel in a Wheel-wrights yard, bounding upon the ſaid *Goat-yard*, on which Shed or Hovel were old Wheels, and ſuch combuſtible ſtuff, whereupon ſhe cried out Fire; which cauſed ſeveral Neighbours to come forth, who with ſpeedy application of Water, quenched the ſaid Fire; which done, they diligently ſearched the place, where amongſt the old Wheels, they found a *Canvas* Bagg, in which was ſome Sulphurous matter, compounded with other Ingredients, and about half a Yard of Match tied to it, one end of which ſaid Match had been fired, and on ſtrict obſervation, ſeveral Spoaks had the marks of Fire, and ſcent of Gunpowder and Sulphur remaining upon them. This villainous Deſign was miſchievouſly placed for the accompliſhing of ſome great Deſolation; for, near adjoyning to the ſaid Shed was a Loft full of Hay, the Boards of it old and dry, and behind the ſaid Shed was alſo a great quantity of Billets, and adjoyning to that Hay-loft was a Timber-yard, wherein was about an hundred Load of Boards and Timber. A Juſtice of Peace inhabiting near the ſaid place, had the Match and combuſtible Matter aforeſaid delivered to him, and there are ſufficient witneſſes yet living, of the whole matter, as herein is related.

Several other Attempts were made on *Southwark*, but without any considerable Effect, until the 26*th* of *May*, 1676. and then they fatally accomplisht their Design, setting Fire to the house of one Mr. *Welsh* an Oyl-man, scituate near St. *Margarets-Hill*, between the *George* and *Talbot*-Inns, (it seems that was the place ordered by the Superiours) which broke out about four of the Clock in the Morning, and was carried on with that Art and Violence, that it consumed 500 dwelling houses or upwards, many stately Inns, the Meal-market, the Prison of the Compter, *&c.* The whole Loss, as to what was actually destroyed, was modestly computed to be between Eighty and one hundred thousand pounds, besides damage to the Inhabitants by loss and interruption of their Trade: St. *Thomas*'s Hospital was happily preserved, chiefly by means of a new invented Engine for conveying of water, but he that made it, hath since been threatned to have his house Burnt for his pains, which has likewise been attempted, as herein after is related: The manner of contriving this Fire hath been confessed by *John Groves* (lately Executed) who was chiefly concern'd therein, and did on the 10*th* of *August* 1676, in *Wild-house* Garden declare, *That having prepared their Fire-works, he, with three* Irishmen, *procured by Doctor* Fogarthy, *to be his Assistants, went over and did the business; the said* Groves *bragg'd that he himself did set fire to the said Shop*; and by the manner of the thing, 'twas plain, That it must be done by Treachery; For most of the Family being out of Town, there had been no Fire in the House for 3 or 4 days before; nor did the Watch that stood hard by all Night, perceive any danger, but the first that perceived it were some Letter-Carriers, who, going early to the Post-Office, as they passed by, saw a great Light at the Cellar Window which opened to the Street, and thereupon looking down, they saw a Fire in the Cellar, but not so great, but if they could presently have got in, they doubted not but three or four pail-fulls of water might have quench'd it; but whilst they stood calling to wake the people who were fast asleep, and endeavour'd in vain to open the street door; The fire got through the Shop-Floor, where meeting with great store of Oyle, it instantly set the Shop and Stairs on a Flame, and the people had much ado to get out at a Window into the *Talbot* Inn to save their Lives. The said *Grove* further declared, that for this Service, the Society (*Richard Strange* then Provincial) gave them a Thousand pounds, *viz.* Four Hundred pounds to him the said *Groves*, and Two Hundred pounds apiece to the three *Irishmen*; and yet (besides carrying on their Designe of weakning and impoverishing Protestants) got considerably by the Bargain; for *Groves* affirm'd they got at least Two Thousand pounds by that Fire, for whilst the Fire raged, they had their Instruments to Plunder houses, and Steal what goods they could, and convey them to their Ware-houses at *Wild-street* and *Sommerset-house*. And touching this their gaining Two Thousand Pounds by *Southwark-Fire*, the said *Richard Strange* the Provincial, hath likewise acknowledged it to be true; yet it should seem they were not content with all this Desolation, but endeavoured still to carry it on further; for after the Fire was believ'd to be stopt and Mastered, about 10 a Clock at Night, on a sudden, a House appeared on Fire near St. *Mary Overies* Church, but on the other side thereof furthest from the General-Fire, so that it must needs be wilfully set on Fire, but by blowing up of one house in time, and good Help, it was prevented from spreading further.

Of the Fires at Wapping, Lime-house, *and* Shadwell.

THese were Places that the Conspirators have divers Years resolved should be Destroyed by Fire, and in pursuance thereof, not a few Attempts have been made to that purpose. As,

First, on the 29*th* of *June* 1673, there was a Fire promoted over against *Wapping-Dock* in a Bakers-house amongst his *Bavins*: Now that this was wilfully and with Design set on Fire, besides what I and others know of such their Resolutions to destroy that place, the circumstances attending it, may easily convince a considerate Impartial man; for about a Month before, there was found in the said heap of *Bavins* a new *Cordevant Glove* full of Gunpowder and other ingredients, by a Boy that happened to be at Play there, and that very Night it began; there were seen several Gentlemen with Swords by their sides, that had that day been drinking at the *Fortune Tavern* near the place, with some of the Bakers Family, and were seen, in the Evening the Fire happened, to walk round a place called the *New-Market*, which was on the Backside of the Bakers House, and to go in and out towards the Bakers said House backwards, about an hour

hour or two before it happened, which began on *Saturday* Night between the hours of Eleven and Twelve, and continued most fiercely Burning till 8 or 9 in the Morning, which made a great Devastation, being no doubt carried on and endeavoured to be Augmented by the Assistance of those wicked Instruments who first occasioned it.

The great Fire at St. *Katherines* was designed for the Burning of the Ships in the River, though in that respect, by the special Providence of God, and timely Help, there was no mighty mischief done, but on Shore a great number of houses were destroyed.

Shadwel Fire began at *Shadwell-Dock* in a Brew-house, in which there had not been any Fire for a considerable time, nor can account be given how it should happen by accident, and therefore we may probably Assign it to the same mischievous hands.

But all these mischiefs did not satisfie the Romish undertakers, but they resolv'd on a more general Devastation; For no longer ago than the 30*th* of *August* last, the before named *Blundel* at *Fenwicks* Chamber, produced a Scheme or Mapp, describing the manner of Firing wholly both *VVapping*, *Westminster*, *Toolies-street*, *Barnaby-Street*, *&c.* For *VVestminster*, the Jesuits and their Agents were to begin at the next door to the *Palsgraves-head* Tavern without *Temple-Barr* (being my appointed Post as aforesaid) and carry on the Fire to the *Savoy*, and then the *Benedictines* to mannage it on both sides the way to *Charing-Cross*, and so to *VVhite-Hall*: This was attested on Oath before Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* in *September* last, wherein 'tis observable, though then, and for long after, he was not at all acquainted with me, yet he mentions the very house where I was lodged, and had prepared materials as aforesaid, to be the place for the Commencement of the Fire; so that 'tis plain it was not the design of any particular men, but a thing generally known amongst them, and to be Prosecuted not only by the *Jesuites*, but *Benedictines*, and others had an hand in it: He there likewise sets forth how this should have been done in the time of the great Frost 1676, but put off, because they were not then assured of the *French* Kings Aid, which now they have obtained [*By the Negotiations of* Coleman *and others.*] How *VVapping* and the Ships were to be Burnt by a Fire to be begun near *Limehouse*, and how himself was ordered to ply at the *Hermitage*, with seven more as his Assistants, to help carry it on; for which service he was to have a great Reward, and besides a Priest was every day to come and say *Mass* in his Chamber for the good success of the design, [so much a work of *Religion* do they think it to be, and that Heaven would Interest it self to promote their Hellish *Villanies.*] Furthermore, that but a very few days before his open Discovery, when they began to grow jealous of him, and thereupon had resolv'd to send him beyond the Seas, *Blundel* was ordered to supply his place in mannaging the said Fire at *VVapping*.

And though the Plot were in the mean time partly discovered, yet such was their confidence, that they endeavoured nevertheless to go on with this Design; For on *Wednesday* the 18*th* of *Sept.* 1678, a Fire was promoted near *Lime-house*, in pursuance of such their former Order and Resolution, which began there about five of the Clock in the Morning in a Boat-Builders-yard in a parcel of Reeds, which afterwards being increased by certain dryed and seasoned Timber caught hold of a Sea-Captains house with that violence, that the lower part thereof was possest by the dreadful Flames before any of the Family perceived it, or at least could get out; at last Ladders were brought, and two or three of the Servants made shift to get out at the uppermost Windows, but just as they came to save the Mistress of the House and a Servant-Maid which attended her in her Room, the floor of the Chamber in which they were sunk down, and so they both, without any possibility of help, perished. As also an adventurous Seaman, who presuming too far to save some Goods afterwards in another house, was interrupted in his return by one of the Rafters, which falling on his Head, knockt out his Brains. This Fire was carried on very vigorously, insomuch that in three or four hours time, it burnt down and wholly destroyed between 40 and 50 Houses, and had undoubtedly done much more mischief, had not the indefatigable pains and hazards of a great number of Seamen, or rather, the accidental Absence of some of those Agents ordered to promote it as aforesaid, prevented its further Progress.

But often before this, there were several other Fires, or at least Attempts of that kind, for destroying the Suburbs, as appears by the following Depositions, which deserve our Notice.

The Subſtance of the Examination of Robert Redway *Victualler, at the* Red-Lyon *in* Fetter-Lane, *taken the 6th of* Auguſt, 1670, *by Sir* Thomas Bludworth *Knight, as follows:*

THe Examinate ſaith, That on *Wedneſday* the third of *Auguſt* 1670, about Ten of the Clock at Night, his Houſe was fired up three Stories high, by a perſon or perſons (as he verily believes) who were ſtrangers, and near about the ſame time in his ſaid Houſe; but not preſently miſtruſted by him, he keeping a Victualling-houſe (where it is not uſual to take ſuch ſpecial cognizance of Gueſts.) The fire was diſcovered by one of his Maid-ſervants, who had occaſion to carry a Child to Bed, which Bed ſhe found on Fire, and the Chamber ſo full of ſmoak, as put her into a ſudden fright; but it being but newly kindled, through the induſtry of the Family, with the aſſiſtance of Neighbours, it was ſoon extinguiſhed; But this Examinate was ſo Alarm'd by the unexpected ſuddenneſs hereof, and the many fearful occurrences of this kind of late, that he could take no reſt in his houſe, till he had cauſed narrow ſearch and inſpection to be made in every Corner thereof; cleanſing it from all ſuch matter as might eaſily be fired, locking or bolting the doors of every Room where any Bed was, or that was not common for entertainment.

Yet notwithſtanding all this care and vigilance was uſed, he ſaith, that the very next day, *viz. Thurſday* the fourth of *Auguſt* 1670, his houſe was again fired two Stories high, about twelve of the Clock at Noon, which was diſcovered by one of his Men-ſervants, who, as he was going up one pair of Stairs to attend ſome Gueſts, heard a very great noiſe, cracking and bouncing like Squibs, but much louder, which cauſed him to run down ſtairs, crying out, *Maſter, Maſter, the houſe is on Fire*, whereupon ſearch was made, and the fire found out two pair of Stairs in an incloſed Bed, (commonly called a Preſs-Bed) which was broke out into a perfect Flame, the Rails thereof, with the Deal-boards that incloſed it all round, being on fire, and almoſt conſumed, together with the Bed-cloaths, all ſave the upper Rugg. This Bed this Examinate ſaith, muſt of neceſſity be ſet on fire by ſome Fire-ball, or ſuch like ſtuff, conveyed into the Bed, (or caſt on ſome combuſtible matter about it) at a hole about an Inch and half wide, which was made in a Deal-board, inſtead of a Staple to receive the ſhutter or bolt of the Lock.

Had not the fire been ſeaſonably diſcovered, it would have conſumed the whole houſe, and probably many more. But by ſuch timely detection thereof, it was ſuppreſſed without doing any further Hurt, unleſs to the Goods in the Room adjoyning, and what elſe was near it.

As to the Perſons that are violently preſumed to be the Authors hereof, this Examinate ſaith, That on the ſaid *Thurſday* at Noon, two Perſons came to his houſe and Dined above ſtairs, and by their long continuance there, gave ſome ſuſpition; but nothing appearing till they were gone, cauſed leſs notice; yet in leſs than a quarter of an hour after broke forth the Fire, as aforeſaid, juſt upon the diſcovery of the breaking forth of which, theſe two men, one in Black cloaths, the other in Gray, well apparelled, having his Hair of a bright brown colour, with a Shaſh tyed about him, were ſeen as they went, to make a ſtop near by the Examinates Houſe, ſmiling one upon the other, and pointing at the Fire, which was obſerved by a near Neighbour, who was condoling the Diſaſter, and making ſome compaſſionate reflections on the Neighbourhood, who were like to ſhare in the ſame affliction; at which theſe two men deridingly ſaid, *It was either a Caſualty, or ſet on Fire by the Fanaticks*, and ſo departed.

Now, that theſe two perſons or one of them, were the immediate Inſtruments of this Villany, is more than probable by divers circumſtances, as well as in the opinion of this Examinate and his Neighbours, who took ſome ſmall obſervation of them the latter time; For when they departed, they made no ſtay to change their Money (as is uſual) but had Money ready for what they had to pay.

And the deſcription of the habit, ſtature, and complexion, &c. which the Neighbours gave of theſe perſons, doth exactly agree with the Characters that this Examinate and his Servants deſcribe them by.

But that they were not apprehended or purſued at that Inſtant, muſt be attributed to the deep ſurprize the people of the Houſe and Neighbourhood were in, every one ſtriving to make proviſion to ſecure his own Concern, and partly perhaps to the ſmall Encouragement and little notice then taken by ſome in Office of ſuch ſervices; it being leſs dangerous, as things were ſometimes managed, to be a *Traytor* and a Villain, than to detect or *diſcover* one.

The

The ſubſtance of the Examination of Joſeph Speed, *ſervant to* Abraham Euer *Upholſter in the* Minories, *taken upon oath before the Right Worſhipful Sir* Tho. Bludworth, *July the* 31th. 1670.

THat he the ſaid *Joſeph Speed* being ſent on the *Saturday* before about eight of the clock at night, by his Maſter to carry ſome goods into *Wapping*, in his return homewards in new *Gravel Lane* was overtaken by two proper men in Gentile Habit, the *one* of them in a Light coloured periwigg and a ſtuff ſuit, black and gray mixed, as near as could be gheſſed, by the help of a Link that a perſon paſſed by withall, it being then grown late in the Evening, and a Rapier by his ſide; The *other* in a Cloath coat, his own hair and a ſtick in his hand; Who began to diſcourſe with the Deponent, and after diverſe diſcourſes of the deadneſs of Trade and difficulty of getting money, when they were come into an obſcure loneſome place, being a field commonly known by the name of King *Davids* Fort, he in the Wigg began to declare himſelf more fully, telling the Deponent that there was a way of late come up of geting of money with a great deal of eaſe. He having ſome ſuſpicions of them, by their frequent ſwearing, to ſound the depth of their intentions, ſeemed very inquiſitive to know what way that was, and how glad and ready he would be to embrace it: whereupon at laſt the ſaid perſon in the Wig told him it was to be done *by making of fire-balls* and firing *them*; At which the Deponent, though much ſurprized, yet concealed his reſentments, and pretended to comply with them, diſcourſing after ſuch a manner as might give them reaſon to ſuppoſe him fit for their pupoſe. After ſeveral words paſſed, he in the Wig tells him he ſhall be imployed. Then the Deponent deſired to know when and how. Whereupon the ſame perſon took two fire-balls (as he called them) out of his pocket, ſhews them to him, and tells him he ſhould have Twenty ſhillings to take thoſe Balls, and Fire them in ſuch places as they ſhould direct; the which he expreſſed as follows, *viz.* In the great ſhip that was building in ſuch a yard, being wholly or near finiſhed, and newly Tarr'd on the out ſide: (which Ship was afterwards underſtood to be Captain *Tailors*, though the owner was not mentioned by them; and whoſe Bolt-ſpit lay croſs the ſtreet, at *Wapping*) But if it might not conveniently be done there, then to do it at the houſe adjoyning to the Yard: or if too ſevere a guard were kept thereabouts then at a Tarr-ſhop, near the *Armitage Bridge*, or elſe at the *Talbot* Inn in *Southwark*, where he ſaid, the Deponent might come eaſily to the houſe, the back way, and no body obſerve him. But he principally urged the firing of the ſaid Ship; and as for the time he bid him obſerve the Tide, and be ſure to do it within an hour of low water. He alſo gave him directions touching the manner of firing the ſaid Balls, *viz.* That if he could by any means privately get into the ſaid ſhip, or any of the ſaid houſes, then to wrap one of the Balls in half a pound of pitch, with ſome quantity of Tow, and ſet fire to it. But if that might not be done with ſafety and ſecreſy, then to obſerve a hole or narrow paſſage which was in the middle or Centre of the Ball, into which he ſhould put ſome duſt of gun-powder, and ſetting fire to it, throw it into the place intended. After theſe directions the ſame fellow gave the Deponent one of the ſaid Balls into his hand, who then was urgent for his money, but is denyed till the Ship or one of the houſes ſhould be on fire, They telling him that they would be thereabouts, and when they had obſerved his work to be done, would go to the *Bull-head* Tavern in *Grace-Church-ſtreet*, where they would meet with him and give him his reward. In this diſcourſe about the money the Deponent told them that Twenty ſhillings was too ſmall a matter, and they might well give him four or five pounds, becauſe he ventured his life, being ſure to be hanged if diſcovered: to which was returned by them, that they would certainly procure him a pardon, if it ſhould happen ſo, but of that there was no danger. After all this talk the Deponent willing to apprehend them, tells them he was very dry, and deſires that they would give him ſome drink: to which they would by no means aſſent: But he was ſo importunate with them as begot a ſuſpicion in them of his deſign upon them, whereupon he with the Stick ſaid, *Hang*

him

him Dog, or *Hang him Rogue, he will not do the buſineſs*, or words to that effect; and after ſome other words, endeavoured to ſeize the Deponent, one of them drawing his Sword, but he got away, and they did not purſue him, but run away themſelves croſs the fields as faſt as poſſibly they could, as he turning back at ſome diſtance obſerv'd. They being thus fled the Deponent at once apprehending the hazard of Concealment, and the danger thoſe places might be in that they directed him to fire, did immediately repair to Captain *Tailors* houſe, as alſo to the Tarr-ſhop by the *Armitage* Bridge, acquainting them with this affair, as alſo ſeveral people in *Wapping* as he went along, particularly two Conſtables and their Watch; thence he went home to his Maſter, and preſently inform'd him of it, who repair'd to the next Conſtable, they to the Common Council-man of their Liberty, and then all together to the watch-houſe at *Aldgate*, where part of the Fire-ball was tryed for an experiment, which burned to their general wonder and amazement.

The ſame Night was he to appear before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor at his houſe, but his Lordſhip being in Bed, he was put off till next morning, and then by reaſon of his Lordſhips indiſpoſition, carried before the worſhipful Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, before whom he depoſed the premiſes, and further declared on his oath, that the before-mentioned perſons told him, when the Fire came to the midſt of the Ball, it would flame two yards or two yards and an half high.

An Account of the apprehending of a Scotchman, about the ſame time, at the Croſs-keys in Fleet-ſtreet, *about Firing.*

A Scotch-man pretending great reſpect he had for *William Colborn* (then) keeping the Croſs-keys, a Victualling-houſe in *Fleet-ſtreet*, near *Chancery-lane* end, came to him, and adviſed him, that by all means he ſhould remove his goods out of *London*, and diſpoſe of his houſe. *Colborn* askt for what reaſon, the Scotch-man replyed, Becauſe that he with many others, were imployed to ſet the remainder of *London* on fire, and that they would ſet it on fire at ſeveral places at one and the ſame time, and *Chancery lane* end (which is near the ſaid *Colborns* houſe, as aforeſaid,) they intended ſhould be one of the firſt ſet on fire. With ſeveral other diſcourſes very ſoberly, and after a friendly manner expreſſed. Whereupon *Colborn* (according to his duty) apprehended him, and being brought to his Tryal he was ſentenced to ſtand in the Pillory, and did accordingly ſtand *three times*, once at *Chancery lane* end, and twice elſewhere in the City.

A Relation of a Fire that happened in Budge-row, *in* July, 1670.

ON the eighth of *July* about midnight, in a new houſe, not glazed, in *Budge-row*, a Fire began; the Shop-windows and doors were all made and cloſe ſhut and faſtned when the Brick-layers went away, which was between ſix and ſeven of the Clock in the evening before; (the Carpenters not having been at work that afternoon) and the Bricklayers at that time having nothing to do above ſtairs, but only to build up a wall in the yard. When the fire was firſt diſcovered, it appeared in a Room over the front of the Shop, right againſt the Chimney, where ſtood ſeveral Deal-boards and Laths reared againſt the wall, being prepared in order to floor part of the ſaid houſe, then unfiniſhed; ſome of the next neighbours who heard the firſt alarm of the Fire, do affirm, That if they could preſently have got to it, they might eaſily have quenched it, 'twas ſo ſmall to appearance, or that they could, in caſe they

they had wanted water, have thrown it out at the Window. But before they could get the doors open, it was grown ſo outragious, that there was no venturing up ſtairs to ſuppreſs it, and in ſhort time it ſo far prevailed, as very conſiderably to prejudice four Houſes: That this came by Treachery there is good reaſon to believe; as well becauſe there had been no fire, nay not ſo much as any perſon all the day before in the ſaid Chamber where it began, as alſo for that near *Iſlington*, on the evening before, ſome perſons that were going thitherwards, met two men and one woman, who very earneſtly inquired, *If there were not a Fire in* London *near* Cheap-ſide.

The Information of one William Trigg, *taken before Sir* William Turner, *Knight; one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace for the City of* London, *the* 13th *of* Auguſt, 1670. *as followeth.*

THis Informant ſaith, That he liveth in *Angel-alley* in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, and hath no Family but himſelf, and two young-men and a maid at home at this time (his wife being at or near *Hampſtead* with his ſaid young Child) and that his young men lie at his Shop at a diſtance from his houſe; that the next night ſave one before the fire happened, ſhe call'd him out of his Bed, ſaying, either the houſe was on fire, or there were thieves in it, neither of which being found true, cauſed him to have ſome Jealouſies ſhe intended ſome miſchief, and therefore laſt night after ſhe was gone to Bed, ſent for her Candle down, and caus'd ſearch to be made over and under all the Beds to ſee all ſafe from Fire; that this morning between ſix and ſeven of the Clock when he went forth to his Shop, he did not perceive or ſmell any fire, and left no body in the houſe but his ſaid ſervant maid, and that about eight or nine of the Clock his neighbours came to call him, ſaying, his houſe was on fire, ſo he went home, and up ſtairs, and found it all on fire, two Beds, Curtains and Vallins, and ſome of the Chamber floor under the Bed burnt.

Joſeph Aſhby ſaith, That he living over againſt the ſaid Mr. *Trigg*, perceived much ſmoak to come out of his houſe this morning, and then ſaw the ſaid maid go up ſtairs and down again, through the window; but never heard her cry fire till Mr. *Shirley* went up to her room where the ſaid fire was, and that he ſaw the Window Curtains of that room cloſe ſhut, and that about ſix of the Clock the ſame were open.

William Sherley, and *Matthew Crockford* in effect depoſe the ſame.

Nor could *Mary Torberfeild* the maid-ſervant herſelf on her Examination alledge any thing material, but only denyed that ſhe either went up ſtairs after ſhe roſe in the morning, or that ſhe did open the Window-Curtains, both which were poſitively proved to the contrary as aforeſaid, ſo that there was a moſt violent preſumption that ſhe ſet it on Fire, and accordingly ſhe was committed to *Newgate*, but for want of poſitive Witneſſes that ſaw her do it, diſcharged and Bailed out by ſome of her Confederates as 'tis credibly related.

It is obſervable that this Fire was moſt miſchievouſly deſigned, as being in a place where no Engine could come, the paſſages through the Entries are ſo narrow, and that within five or ſix yards where it began, there lay two or three thouſand Bavins belonging to a Baker: but the providence of God timely prevented, otherwiſe it had doubtleſs ſeized both the Alleys, and then quickly would have reached *Ivin-ſtreet*: But being thus diſcovered before it had got head, it was ſuppreſſed, doing no further damage than to that room where it began.

The

The Fire in the Savoy, 1670.

ABout the latter end of *June*, in the *Savoy*, near One a Clock in the morning, a Fire happened in a back room that had been a Strong-Water-ſhop, where it was firſt diſcovered, which immediately went on from houſe to houſe, Eaſtward and Weſtward, till there were Burnt and Blown up fourteen Dwelling-Houſes in four or five hours time. There is Treachery believed to have been in the bottom, as occaſioning this damage: For it is credibly reported, That Sr. *Jeremy Whithcot* upon his examining the premiſes, had two Watermen brought before him, who did affirm, that they carried two perſons appearing as Gentlemen, over-night, to *Weſtminſter*, who were ſpeaking of the heat of the Evening, and one replyed to the other, in the ſaid Water-mans hearing, That it would be an hotter morning at the *Savoy*. Timely care with the help of Engines and blowing up of houſes *Eaſtwards*, was a prevention of its going further into the *Strand* and towards *Worceſter* houſe. Weſtwards there was a great Brick Wall, which gave ſuch a Check to it, that by Gods good providence, and the induſtry of thoſe that came in to help, it was ſtopt, but two perſons were killed outright and ſix or ſeven hurt.

An Impartial account of the Fire happening near the Royal Exchange, *on the* 23 *of* July 1670. *at the houſe of Mr.* Francis Nowers, *Herauld-painter.*

THE Watch belonging to that Ward, gave in upon Oath before the Coroner and his Inqueſt, that the ſaid Mr. *Nowers* was in his own Balcony at Twelve a clock that night, and that he talkt to them in as ſober and compos'd a frame as ever they ſaw him in their lives, and about one of the clock it appears his houſe was on Fire; being firſt diſcovered by ſome paſſengers going that way, who gave notice to the Neighbour-hood. There were in this houſe, the Maſter and his Brother, a Nurſe and two young Children, a maid-ſervant, and an Apprentice: At the time when this fire began the Maid was in the Kitchin under ground, all the reſt of the Family being in bed; but the ſaid maid underſtood nothing of it till it was noiſed in the ſtreet; upon which ſhe ran up ſtairs to her Maſters room, which ſhe found all on a light Fire. By this time her Maſters Brother (who lay a ſtory higher) hearing a ſudden ſhriek, awaked, and in his ſhirt ran down to his Brothers Chamber, but found the door on fire, and with the ſtrength of the ſmoak was forced back again having much ado to ſave himſelf; yet remembring the Apprentice that lodged on the ſame ſtory, forthwith awaked him, and they ran together out at the Gutter-window and ſo broke their way into the *Dolphin* Tavern near adjoyning.

How this Fire happened is very uncertain; though it is ſuggeſted that it might come by a careleſs Nurſe that lay on the ſame floor with the Maſters Chamber and uſed to have a Candle burning all Night, having in her charge a child of about Thirteen weeks old. But whether it happened ſo or not, the fatal Conſequence was very ſad, for it did deſtroy the Maſter of the houſe and a child in Bed with him; and the ſaid Nurſe and child with her; yet through the timely help of Neighbours it did not much further harm than deſtroying the ſaid houſe, with the upper parts of two houſes adjoyning.

Nor were great and unuſual Fires leſs frequent in theſe times in the Country; of which I ſhall mention only two amongſt many.

The firſt at *Northampton*, where on Munday the Twentieth of *September*, 1675. a dreadfull Fire began in the afternoon, and in few hours ſpace burnt down moſt part of the

High

High ſtreet, the Market place (which was a very goodly one) the Stately Church of St. *Allhallows* and two other pariſh Churches, and above three parts in four of the whole Town. Which being known to be a Corporation of great Trade and generally ſharp enemies to Popery, it may probably be ſuppoſed there might be ſomething of deſign in it, but I ſhall not urge that, becauſe 'tis the general opinion it came by accident.

Another great Loſs by Fire was at *Cottenham* near *Cambridge* happening on *Saturday* the Twenty ninth of *April*, 1676. about ten of the clock in the forenoon, when a great part of the inhabitants, eſpecially the men, were gone to *Cambridge* Market, or otherwiſe imployed abroad: It began in an houſe almoſt at the Entrance of the Town, at a place called *Green End*, and the next houſe to it remaining untoucht, the people were in hopes it would have ended there, but on a ſudden, another houſe being the third from it, was on fire, and from thence (the ſecond ſtill remaining without harm) the Flames were diſperſed almoſt all over the Town, furiouſly raging on both ſides of the ſtreet, and burnt down the whole Street as far as the Church before three of the clock in the afternoon. Which is in diſtance of ground near three Quarters of a Mile, there being about one hundred dwelling houſes, beſides Barns, out-houſes, Corn, Hay, *&c.* conſumed in that ſhort time.

I the rather mention theſe fires in the Country, though generally they paſs unregarded as common accidents; becauſe as I well know the deſign of the *Jeſuits &c.* was, that their Inſtruments ſhould do all the miſchief in this kind, whereever they came, either in City or Country, ſo 'tis well known that about this very time, I mean in 1675. or 76. there were two idle extravagant perſons formerly about St. *Martins Le grand*, one named *Robert Norris*, the other, *Finch*, whoſe ill courſe of life to the great trouble of their friends had reduced them to a condition fit to become the Agents of any villany. Theſe two came on foot into an Inn at *Hodgſdon* in *Hartfordſhire*, and having lodged a while there, took an opportunity and with a light burning Fire-brand, purpoſely carried out of the houſe through the yard down into the Stables, ſet a parcel of ſtraw on Fire; but being obſerved by a young Maid who acquainted the Maſter of the houſe therewith, he that did it was taken in the very act; the ſtraw flaming and the Fire brand lying in it; but being ſeen ſo ſoon was quickly extinguiſhed without much hurt done. One of theſe Companions hereupon run away and made his eſcape, the other being apprehended confeſt he put the Fire-brand there on purpoſe to burn down the Inn and Town if he could do it, and that they came down for that very end, being hired to burn that and ſome other places, and were to have ſuch a ſum (5. *l.* as I remember) for each Town they could Fire; Hereupon he was committed to *Hartford Gaol*. But in his Tryal I know not how things were ſo ordered that though the fire was actually begun in the Straw as aforeſaid, yet it was lookt upon only as an Intention, and conſequently not a Felony, but only a miſdemeanour, for which he was ordered to ſtand in the Pillory, *&c.*

In Town ſtill their work went forward with all the inſolence imaginable; for about the year, 1676. one Mr. *Keeling* a Smith, a very ingenious workman in *Black-fryars*, having made an Engine moſt effectual for quenching of Fires, being ſo contrived that it might be carried into any room, and the pipes of it and conſequently the water conveyed by Ladders or up Stairs into any place where Fire may be, The excellency and great uſe of which Engine was notably Experimented at the Fire in *Southwark*, the *Hoſpital* there being chiefly by means thereof preſerved; For which he was ſhortly after upbraided and affronted by a certain perſon, ſaid to be a *Frenchman*; telling him plainly that he *deſerved to have his houſe burnt for making ſuch an Engine*; and ſeveral other threatning words: nor did they fail to attempt it: For within few days after ſuch Menaces, there was one evening a hard ball thrown out of the ſtreet through a Glaſs window breaking a pane as it paſſed, into a Chamber of his ſaid houſe one pair of ſtairs high, which as providence would have it, fell into the middle of the room where there was nothing near apt to take Fire, but only the boards; into which it burnt a round hole of conſiderable depth, but did no further harm, whether by reaſon the matter of the Fire-ball was not rightly prepared, or what other accident not known. The whole Room was filled with ſmoak and ſtench of burning when the people came into it, which much affrighted them, eſpecially when they found this Ball which was then almoſt cold, and ſaw how it had burnt the boards, and which way it came in, expecting no other but that their houſe was reſolved upon to be burnt.

In the Winter 1677. at the ſign of the Ship in *Shadwell*, the houſe of one *Peirce* a Victualler there, there was a Fire-ball placed ready to be fired under a ſhed, found and diſcovered accidentally

fore the intended miſchief was performed, by ſome of the Watch, it was of the bigneſs of a large Orange, very black in colour, and ſmelt ſtrong of Brimſtone, they that found it brought it to *Shadwell* Watch, and divided it to ſeveral parts, ſome to *Wapping*, and *White-Chapel*, ſome to *Roſemary-lane* Watch, to try Experiments for all their ſatisfaction. From whence Mr. *Samuel Maurice* had a ſmall part no bigger than a Cherry-ſtone, and fired it at the houſe of *Thomas Horn* the Beadle in *Roſemary-lane*, where that little quantity flamed up at leaſt three foot high, and then the flame ſuddenly ceaſing, the Coal left burnt down into an hard Walnut-tree-plank a quarter of an inch deep; This was done in the preſence of *Samuel Maurice*, *Thomas Horn*, and many others in the ſaid *Horns* houſe, where the hole is yet to be ſeen.

The Temple (as we told you before) was a place theſe Incendiaries had particularly in their Eye, whether it were to revenge themſelves in ſome meaſure on the Lawyers, many worthy Members of that Honourable profeſſion having from time to time, in our Parliaments, been the moſt active Patriots to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and prevent the ſly invaſions of Popery, *Law* being the beſt humane out-guard to *Religion*; or whether (as I rather judge becauſe they have told me ſo) that they thereby aimed to deſtroy what Writings and *Records* they could, ſome of which relating to their Conviction of *Recuſancy* have (as I have heard ſome boaſt.) been prevailed with for valuable conſiderations to have been kept there, and never returned to the proper *Offices*, whence effectual proſecution and levies might have been made on Popiſh Eſtates. But for whatſoever particular intent, or perhaps only for the general deſign of doing miſchief; or whether they were (as ſome would have them thought) unconcerned therein, this is too certain, there have happened two grievous and lamentable Fires in the Temple of late.

The firſt on the 28*th.* of *September*, 1677. at the Kings Bench Office, which thereby was burnt down with diver's good Chambers and about a dozen dwelling-houſes in *White-Fryars*; the beginning of this was generally charged on one Mr. *Carpentar*, who was reported to have gone to Bed in drink, but poſſibly it might be by ſome other means: However this is certain, if he were the unhappy occaſion, he ſuffered ſeverely for it, being burnt there, and ſeven or eight perſons killed by the fall of a Wall.

The next was yet more great and calamitous, beginning at one Mr. *Thornberies* Chamber (a Gentleman known to be a very ſober worthy perſon) on *Sunday* the 26*th.* of *January*, 1679. about eleven of the Clock in the Night, the vaſt deſolation hereby cauſed is yet ſadly viſible by te hruines, and by the circumſtances it is moſt apparent that the ſame was Fired by deſign.

After this an Attempt was made on an Inn in *Smithfield*, where a *French-man* came in the evening, ſet fire to the ſtables and ran away, but going into *Thameſtreet* was apprehended, and for the preſent committed, but afterwards for want of a through proſecution got away.

On the ninth of *April* one *Elizabeth Oxley* having dwelt about ſix weeks as a ſervant-maid with one Mr. *Bird* an eminent Attorney in *Fetter-lane*, took the opportunity when all the Family was in bed, to Fire a large Preſs in his Cloſet, in which were kept papers and writings, and when ſhe thought fit, acquainted her Maſter that the houſe was on fire; and running down let in the Watch: but it being obſerved that ſhe had packt up her cloaths, and ſeveral other ſuſpicious circumſtances, ſhe was charged with ſetting the ſame on fire, and at laſt confeſſed the ſame, declaring on her examination, that ſhe was imployed to do it by one Mr. *Stubbs*, who promiſed her five pound to do it. Hereupon Mr. *Stubbs* was ſeized, and acknowledged that he had perſwaded her thereunto, and was to give her five Guinneys, beſides a Crown in hand. And further ſaid, That one Father *Gifford* (the ſame man that I my ſelf was to be an Aſſiſtant to for ſuch wicked purpoſes as aforeſaid) his Confeſſor had put him on this buſineſs, and told him it was no ſin to Fire all the houſes of Hereticks, and that the ſaid *Gifford* had promiſed him one hundred pounds for the ſame, and told him he was to have the money from the Church. And further declared that he uſed to meet the ſaid *Gifford*, and other two perſons, in St. *James*'s fields, in the dark of the evening to conſult theſe matters.

They likewiſe declared ſeveral other things concerning an Inſurrection at home by Papiſts, and an Invaſion ſpeedily to be made by the *French*, *&c.* upon which ingenuous

nuous Confeſſions, the Houſe of Commons became ſuitors to his Majeſty to grant them both his gracious Pardon, which was granted, and lately allowed in Court.

The laſt Intrigue of this kind I ſhall mention is that of *Daniel Clark*, an Apprentice to a Gentle-woman that kept a Flax-ſhop in the *Minories*, who on the fifteenth of *May* laſt ſet fire to his Miſtreſſes houſe by putting a Candle to a bundle of Flax, but being ſeen to do it, the ſame was ſeaſonably extinguiſht without much damage, and he committed to *Newgate*, declaring on his examination, that he was hired to do it by an eminent Papiſt; on the fifth of *June* he was Indicted at the *Old Baily* and thereunto pleaded *Guilty*: And though it appeared he had been much tampered with, yet at laſt the indefatigable pains of the Court got the whole Truth (as I am credibly informed) out of him, and in pity to his youth reprieved him.

After theſe numerous Inſtances I think no ingenuous, impartial man can queſtion that this curſed deſign of treacherous Burning has long time been, and to this day is vigorouſly carried on by the Jeſuites and other Papiſts and their Inſtruments. Alſo that no wiſe man or good ſubject will be wanting in caution to prevent the future deſigns of theſe Incendiaries, or in contributing all he can to bring any of them that ſhall be diſcovered and apprehended to condign and exemplary puniſhment. Which God grant, and ever preſerve his Majeſty, the Proteſtant Religion, and this Honourable City.

FINIS.

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I *Appoint* Dorman Newman, *Citizen and Stationer of* London, *to Print my Depositions concerning the Plot, and none else.*

April 30. 1679.

Edmund Everard.

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THE DEPOSITIONS AND EXAMINATIONS OF Mr. Edmund Everard

(Who was Four years close Prisoner in the *TOWER* of *LONDON*)

Concerning the

Horrid Popish Plot

AGAINST

The LIFE of His SACRED MAJESTY, the GOVERNMENT, and the *Protestant Religion.*

With the Names of several persons in *England*, *Ireland*, *France*, and elsewhere, concerned in the Conspiracy.

Part whereof was five years since made known to persons herein specified; and again tendered to the Honourable Committee of Lords sitting in Parliament at Westminster, *upon Oath; and now tendered to the Honourable House of Commons.*

LONDON:

Printed for *Dorman Newman* at the *Kings Arms* in the *Poultrey.*
M DC LXXIX.

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This Information *of the Plot was five years ſince given by me to perſons herein ſpecified, but was ſuppreſſed; and was again now of late tendered a-new to the Committee of the Lords ſitting in Parliament at* Weſtminſter, *upon Oath, the* 21*ſt of* December, 1678. *And is now tender'd by me to the Commons.*

WHILE I was employed as Agent at the *French* Court for the *Engliſh* Militia's Concerns, one of the Officers brought me at *Paris* to the acquaintance of my Lady *Anne Gourdon*, Siſter to the now Marqueſs of *Huntley* in *Scotland*. She after about a years frequentation, communicated unto me certain important ſecrets concerning a *Popiſh Plot* againſt *England*.

She's a Lady of vaſt correſpondence with the *Popiſh* Clergy and Nobility almoſt through all *Europe*, living ordinarily as a free perſon in Nunneries, and was then in a Convent at *Paris*.

At a time I ſurprized her with two of the chief *Scotch* Seminariſts of *Paris*, in a deep and dark diſcourſe of the Engliſh Affairs; and as ſoon as my Lady made them underſtand that I was one of her privateſt Friends, and Catholickly affected (it being fit ſhe ſhould imagine this) they begun to ſpeak plain enough, to let me perceive that their diſcourſe tended to ſome ſudden deſign for the ſubverſion of the Engliſh Government and Governour, and the ſetting up of *Popery* here in *England*.

But on ſome day of the Month of *November*, 1673, I enquired of my Lady what thoſe myſterious diſcourſes meaned ſhe had with the *Scotch* Prieſt? She after long importunities and proteſtations, revealed unto me that which follows.

I. That there was now a grand Deſign on foot in *England*, for the ſetling of the Catholick Faith there publickly.

II. That there was alſo a projeſt againſt the Parliament that made ſuch a ſtir (as ſhe ſpoke) and was their obſtacle, either totally to diſſolve it, or to ſow ſome diviſions betwixt the King and It; where his Majeſty alſo ſhould find potent Adverſaries of the *Romiſh* Nobility, who would cut out work for him.

III. That there was a very conſiderable party in *England*, who laboured to make the Duke of *York* King, but that the *Scots* indeed were more for the Duke of *Monmouths* being ſuch, if means could be made to bring him over to it, wherein ſhe conceived I might be an uſeful Inſtrument, having been employed under him. But ſaid I, What do they mean to do with the King himſelf? She anſwered,

I. That the now King of *England* would be made away, and diſpatcht after his Father, ſo that he would not be ſhortly in a caſe to annoy any body.

Then I askt her by what means they thought to bring ſuch matters about? and who were the leading-men in the contrivance, and who the Under-agents to carry it on? She ſaid, That all that was too much for me to know at the firſt time; beſides, that it was then too late at night; but that at my return within three days (for avoiding of ſuſpition) I ſhould be fully ſatisfied. But I inſiſted, That theſe were grand affairs whereof ſhe ſpoke, for which conſequently ſhe needed to have more than common grounds. She replied, that I ought not to doubt but that ſhe had the beſt correſpondency in *England*, *Scotland*, and *France*, as having on the one part Madam *de Gourdon* her Aunt, one of the chief Ladies with the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*, which was taken to be of the fitteſt for Intelligence and Intrigues at the *French* Court; and on the other ſide, that ſhe received Letters almoſt every week from the eminenteſt Church-men on this and that ſide of the ſea, as alſo from ſome of the greateſt Nobility of *England* and *Scotland*, namely, from her Brother the Marqueſs of *Huntley*, my Lord *Oxenford* of *Scotland*, Mr. *Maitland* (ſomewhat concerned, as ſhe

ſaid,

ſaid, in the Secretaryſhip of Miniſtry of State of *Scotland*) and from the Earl of *Roches* Chancellor there; but ſhe afterwards run out into ſome of his Love-commerce with her; ſo that I leave to others to infer from the premiſes to which, either to Love, or the Plot-part, or all of this his Letter-Correſpondency muſt be referred. And to confirm further the credit I muſt yeild to her words, ſhe drew forth a Bag full of Letters, a matter of a Buſhel full, and ſhewed ſome more in a Cabinet, ſaying, Are theſe all about trifles, think you? She further produced a picture in mignature of the ſaid Chancellor, and went about to read one of his Letters (of a large and ill-ſhaped Character methought), but withheld, referring me till the fore-mentioned three days term. I in fine, asked how ſhe could avoid ſuſpition, if ſo many Letters were directed to her in her own name? She told me ſhe had taken a good care for that, becauſe her Correſpondents writ to her under ſeveral names by which they called her, and part of her Letters were directed to Mr. *Conne* a *Scotch-man*, living at *Paris* as Agent for the Pope; others were addreſſed to Mr. *Dalliſon* her *Scotch* Phyſician there, ſome to Father *Joſeph*, Prior of the *Engliſh* Benedictines at *Paris*, who was her Confeſſor.

II. Now in the interval, having before been recommended by Dr. *Brien*, Dr. *Molony* Prieſts, and others, to Colonel *Richard Talbot*, and to his Brother *Peter* (the pretended Archbiſhop of *Dublin*) for a perſon that carried on buſineſs after the formalities of the Court of *France*, and the Colonel himſelf having made ſome tryal of me; he on a time deſired me to be aſſiſtant to his Brother the Biſhop, not long ſince come out of *England*: The Biſhop deſired I ſhould go and complement on his behalf, the Marſhal *Bellefond* (Grand Steward to the King of *France*), and know when he might be introduced by him to the Kings Audience about the buſineſs whereof he treated with the Marſhal himſelf while he was in *England* as Ambaſſador (in or about the year 1670.)

The Marſhal being then at Court, kept at *Verſaile*, the Biſhop would have one Mr. *Moore*, a Prieſt and Philoſophy-Profeſſor at *Paris*, to accompany us thither on the next day, having lain that night at *Verſaile*; and the Biſhop ſtriving to make us all merry on the good Catholick Cauſes ſucceſs, I took that opportunity to en-

enquire, whether he thought it not fit to communicate unto me the Heads and Grounds of this affair wherein he was pleaſed to make me his Speaker and Introducer at Court, leſt, ſaid I, any occaſion might happen for me to ſecond it. The buſineſs that I am to repreſent to the King of *France* is this:

Articles againſt the Talbots.

I. It is a buſineſs, ſaid he, which mightily concerns the welfare of the Catholicks in *England*, and of thoſe in *Ireland* eſpecially.

II. That he was to propoſe ways to the King of *France*, whereby to relieve them in their preſent extremities and perſecutions, and for to undertake their protection; and ſome of his ways was to Arm ſome *Iriſh*, and to ſecure ſome Sea-Port Town in *Ireland* for the *French*.

III. He ſaid that he had a ſpecial good Warrant and Commiſſion for this his Negotiation from ſome of the greateſt perſons in *England*.

IV. That he was to ſolicit his Chriſtian Majeſty for a Penſion, or the Arrears payable to himſelf. The next morning I went to the Kings Riſing to acquaint the Marſhal *Bellefond*, that the Archbiſhop *Talbot* was in Town to wait on His Majeſty and Him; he wiſh't me to introduce him: The Marſhal knew him at firſt ſight, and imbraced him, and acquainted the King with his coming; His Majeſty receiving him with great civility, led him into a private Room, where Mr. *Moore* and I following them, he beck'ned to Mr. *Moore* that had the paper, to advance: But I from the doorward ſaw the Biſhop preſent a Letter to the King, and other papers, which I think were ſealed. I over-heard he ſpoke in *Italian* at firſt entrance, their Conference laſted about half an hour; and though that King is ſomewhat of a Grave, and ſomewhat Moroſe temper, yet he often ſmiled, as at Propoſitions that pleaſed him.

But at our coming out from Court, I enquired of the Biſhop of the good ſucceſs of his Negotiation, which I told him ſeemed to be of other or more matters then he acquainted me with. No, ſaid he, 'tis but of the ſame matter I ſpoke to you of laſt night; where-

whereof he ſaid, I ſhould know more, ſeeing he muſt come to Court again and again about it, though the King (continued he) promiſed all poſſible ſatisfaction and hopes of a good iſſue. So, not to increaſe ſuſpicion by further inquiries, I urged him no more, but departed from him for that time to *Paris*. Yet note, that Mr. *Moore* did alſo generally touch unto me the Matters of the aforeſaid Articles and Plot, having heard it from the ſaid Biſhop, *Peter Talbot*, and his papers.

And further obſerve, That one Mr. *Conne* a *Scotch-man* (who was formerly the Popes Nuncio, and then his Agent at *Paris*) had almoſt every day private Conferences with both the *Talbots*, and went betwixt them, their Nuncio, then being at *Paris*; and that the *Talbots* and this *Conne* came often to my Lady *Anne Huntleys*, though my Lady had alſo another pretext to ſee *Conne*. The very ſame night I did communicate all that paſt in this *Peter Talbot*'s Negotiation to Sir *Robert Welſh*, as I had done before that other Plot of Lady *Huntleys*, both fearing leſt this grand ſecret might dye with me, I having many Enemies daily threatning me then at *Paris*; and for that this Sir *Robert* was a man that ſtill made much profeſſion of his Actings, Sufferings, and Loyalty for the King of *England*, in ſuch former diſcoveries; but Sir *Roberts* truer Character I found out too late.

However Sir *Robert* moſt unfaithfully forthwith diſcovered all to Colonel *Talbot*, both that of my Lady *Huntleys*, and the *Talbots* buſineſs; and that I intended ſpeedily to go for *England* to accuſe both him and his brother *Peter*; the Colonel feigning to keep his bed, deſires to ſpeak with me at his own Lodging. The Circumſtances of the meſſage with the Premiſſes weighed, I took one or two along with me to his very Chamber door on another pretext; he preſently deſired to know when I intended for *England*, and when I had ſeen Sir *Robert Welſh*. But by this much, forthwith perceiving I was betrayed; I pretended another occaſion of that voyage, for which beſides I ſeemed not to be very earneſt, if either in *Paris*, or with the now Dutcheſs of *York* (then at *Paris*) he would procure me ſome fit employment of Secretary, or Uſher. And at firſt he went about to perſwade me from com-

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ing over into *England* at all. Then began to threaten me manfully ; and if he heard I did otherwiſe than I ſaid, in ſtealing away for *England* on ſuch occaſions againſt them and the Catholicks, they would infallibly procure I ſhould be forthwith committed to the *Tower* of *London* or the *Gatehouſe*, at my arrival ; which accordingly happened according to his ſpightful propheſie, about ſeven days after I arrived at *London*.

That ſeeing the effect of his threatnings fall out ſo punctually, and not doubting thereupon, but that he, with Sir *Robert Welſh*, and Correſpondents here, were the ſecret Contrivers of my four years cloſe impriſonment in the *Tower* (though a very remote ſurpriſe was put in by them for pretext) therefore I ſaid I was afraid to charge them much, and but warily, whilſt I was in the *Tower* , fearing to fare the worſe by the means of any ſecret friend of theirs.

EVIDENCES.

THE aforeſaid Sir *Robert Welſh* his Evidence, now in *London*, may firſt confirm the truth of this my Information ; for he being now in *London*, can witneſs that I diſcloſed to him all the ſaid Treaſons about five years ſince, in or about the Month of *November* 1673 ; ſo that it cannot be imagined that this my Information is ſome new matter fitted for the times againſt *Papiſts* ; nor that it is ſome odious newcoined ſlander, according to the humour and device of ſome diſſenting parties (as *Papiſts* cavil) , ſeeing that by four or five witneſſes hereafter mentioned , who are none of my Friends, it undeniably appears that I diſcovered this ſaid Plot many years before theſe times were thought of ; nay, and in ſuch a time when I never had ſeen *England*, or knew any perſon there, either by Letters or otherwiſe (except ſuch Officers of the Army that were then in *France*).

I. I did not know but that Sir *Robert Welſh* or ſome other had hinted theſe matters to ſome Miniſter of State.

II. I began to diſcover ſome of theſe matters to Sir *John Rob-*

Robinſon at the beginning of my impriſonment; but whether it was through any defect of my delivery, or that he took ſuch Relations for a deviſed ſtarting from the only point he would have me confeſs againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, againſt whom I never conceived the leaſt harm; but whatever it was for, Sir *John* made light of my Narration concerning the Lady *Huntley* and the ſaid *Talbots* buſineſs, which I am ſure I began to relate to him, at the leaſt in ſubſtance; but how far he ſuffered me to proceed, I cannot now well remember; both for that there's above four years ſince, and for the hard uſages wherewith he ſtill troubled my mind (whereof neither His Majeſty nor the Duke of *Monmouth* knew their continuance ſo long) as my Lord of *Northampton* told me.

III. And ſince my enlargement at the very beginning of this Parliament, I yet went to the *Tower* to deſire Sir *John* to ſecond me for the diſcovering of the ſaid matters; but he at my firſt ſpeaking rejected my propoſal, referring me to the Secretaries. And truly I would as heartily have applied my ſelf to the Secretaries, as to any, but that I feared, leſt of ſome errors which might be found in my carrying on this buſineſs, they would be more likely to charge me therewith, as parties for the King and Laws, than any other chief Parliament-members, who would be more fit to intercede for me, and more at leiſure to ſue out a pardon for me, if need were.

IV. In fine, Col. *Juſtin Maccarty*, being then at *Paris* when theſe matters were vented out of Sir *Robert*, of my accuſing the Lady *Huntley* and the *Talbots*, he, I ſay, with ſome of his Officers, can teſtifie that ſuch a Report came out then, ſome years ſince, if they would ſpeak truth.

V. Nay, and one Capt. *Barret*, with ſeveral other Officers that were beyond ſeas, told me about a fortnight ago, that the report went amongſt the *Iriſh*, That the *Talbots* were committed upon my Information, though I never ſpoke of them theſe four years till now; but that by a fore-boding guilt they knew perfectly, and heard I had grounds enough wherewith to accuſe them; ſo that the *Iriſh* Catholicks here did threaten me, alledging me to be an abettor of Mr. *Oate*'s Informations againſt

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againſt them, which he neither needs, nor did I ever ſee him but in publike, before I gave in this Information; nor *Bedlow*. Beſides, that it appears I made the diſcovery of the Plot, and the aforeſaid matters, before they, had I not had ſome of the *Trojan* Propheteſſes ill fortune; yet in time I hope I ſhall be able to recollect more of the particulars of the matters and perſons herein mentioned.

EDMUND EVERARD.

Jurat. coram me
4 April 1679.

WILLIAM WALLER.

The Information of Mr. EDMOND EVERARD, *taken upon* OATH *before Sir* WILLIAM WALLER, *one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of* Middlesex, *and City and Liberties of* Westminster, *this Fourth of* APRIL 1679.

THE true Contrivers of my Imprisonment were the *Talbots* and Lady *Huntley*, who for discovering of their Plottings, threatned me in expres words, *That if ever I came over into* England, *on that Design, I would be secured in the* Tower *or* Gate-House; *or if I remained in* France, *they would get me laid fast enough:* They put these Threatnings into Execution, for though both they and I were seemingly reconciled, yet they made such a Search for me in *Paris*, that I was faign to change Lodgings very often into remote and by-places; and when I was on my Journey for *England*, one or two of my own servants, whom I dismist at *Paris*, seeing me take Coach privately, carried them word of it, and for some pretence or other they sent one Mr. *Perrig*, who was their acquaintance and *Huntley*'s chief friend, in post to apprehend me; whereof Sir *Edward Hungerford*, of this Honourable House, can testifie from a Friend of his, who heard the same from *Perrig*'s mouth (that is now dead.) And it's to be remark'd, that he could not pursue or apprehend a stranger in *France*, but in a concern against the King of that Countrey; who rather gives protection to strangers that are pursued on any other Account. Before the *Talbots* fell out with me, and when I first determined in my own mind to come over privately into *England*, I inquired of one of the *Talbot*'s servants (who was my Countreyman) where one might take

cheap and friendly Lodgings in *London*, till one were in fit Equipage (I having never been in *England* before) he directed me to one *Kenedy*'s Houſe at the *Pall-Mall*, or to another Countreyman's Houſe of his in St. *Martin*'s Lane, at the Sign of the *Patrick*; the firſt night and hour I came to that Houſe, I told them my Name and Imployment from the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that it was fit I ſhould go and wait on him immediately, leſt he ſhould take it ill; and deſired my Landlord to ſend for ſome Link-boy that knew his Grace's Houſe, where I repaired forthwith; but not finding his Grace at home, I acquainted ſome of the ſervants of my Arrival, to notifie to his Grace: The next day I came, he alſo was abroad earlier than ordinary, on ſome Riding or Recreation Account: But unto Gentlemen of his Chamber, Mr. *Champins* and *St. Giles*, I told I would gladly come to kiſs his Grace's hand, and confer about Buſineſs, in whatever company he were in; ſo that Captain *Watſon* and Mr. *Vernon* were not preſent, who were my Enemies on private Accounts, and would move his Grace doubtleſly againſt me, not to grant me my Requeſt; which partly was ſome Arrears or an Imployment.

The next day I being ill, was let blood and kept my Chamber a day or two: I think the Sunday morning I went to viſit Lieutenant Collonel *Trelany*, who meeting accidently a day or two before, I came to re-viſit on this Sunday morning, who at my firſt ſight found more than ordinarily diſturbed, and courteouſly deſired to know my Lodgings, and whether I had ſeen the Duke? I told him of the ſorry Dwelling I had taken up for a little time, and that I would gladly ſee his Grace without the ſide enemies and with him: He deſired me to accompany him to *Whitehall* Chappel, where I might at the leaſt be ſeen of his Grace. (Thither we went) But the Collonel deſiring me to ſtay about the Chappel Door, thronged in with great haſte, without coming out to me afterwards: In the mean time hearing of Organs and Children ſinging in Surpluſſes, as I had ſeen and heard in the *French Kings Chappel*, where I perceived ſome of the *English Nobility* come as freely as here; I did not know what to think, whether I had not been too forward in ſpeaking of any *Diſcoveries* againſt that *Religion* which might be perhaps of late changed

changed in *England:* for that I had not heard or ſeen ſuch things in the *French Church* at *Charenton*; where I only took my *Idea* of *Proteſtaniſm*; but this erronious ſtate of things (that I now know to be indifferent) did however make me pauſe in my *Diſcoveries*; but whilſt in theſe thoughts, Captain *Watſon* ſtept out of the *Chappel*, who looking on me a-ſquint, went down the *Privy Stairs* in one end, and the other *Watſon* his Nephew, ſpeaking a word or two to me more coldly than ordinarily, went out through the *Guard Hall*, to the other *Stairs*, and preſently follows in the *King's company* the Duke of *Monmouth*; who eying me only, paſt by: at all which *paſſages* of indifferency from former friends I was aſtoniſh'd. But I was in *Scarlet Breeches* and *Stockings*, ſo that I could be eaſily diſcerned and dogg'd to my *Lodgings*; where I went preſently from *Chappel.*

Within two days after two men brought a *Paper* to my ſaid *Lodging*, ſigned by the Secretary, whereupon he ſaid he muſt needs ſpeak with me: I inquired for what? but they could not or would not tell me; but it ſeems by their *expreſſions* to my *Landlord*, they were with him the day before to inquire for me: and they could tell that I had been laſt Sunday at Morning Prayers at *Whitehall*, and there alſo ſeen the ſame Night amongſt others: After break-faſting peaceably, I went with them to *Whitehall*, not thinking this any Commitment Buſineſs. I told my Landlord I thought I would be back within an hour. The Secretary at my arrival, inquiring of my Name, told me he would go and ſpeak with the *King* about me; which I know not whether he did ſo, or no: but returning ſoon after, ſpake not one word to me, but going into his Clerk, he ſent out the ſame *Meſſengers*, who called me into the *Stone Gallery*; who ſaid they had *Orders* to carry me to the *Tower*, but for what they could not tell me.

Sir *John Robinſon* after my Arrival entertained me to Dinner, which continued in the company of his Lady and Solicitor, in a free and cheerful manner in Diſcourſe of the French Cuſtoms, and of his Son, whom I knew at *Paris.*

After

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After Dinner, and having had a Nap with his Chaplain, who came in, Sir *John* inquired of me, Whether I were not a *Roman Catholique?* I told them I had been such, but not one of late; and whether I was in Orders? I told them never; inquiring whether I knew for what I was committed? I told them no, no; No more do I, said Sir *John*, but in the general; afterwards he sent for one Captain *Cressset*, the then Gentleman Goaler, he read unto me a Paper, he called his Warrant, which being but in general words, and giving me no Copy of it, made no such impression upon me, as now to remember the Contents; for I thought it was but some *Tower* formality, wherewith others were served as well as I: for Sir *John* never explained nor insisted upon it, no more did I, but followed Captain *Cressset* to my appointed *Lodging*; which was convenient enough, as also the Diet: so that at the beginning I being not lock'd up neither day nor night, for a Month or thereabouts, and giving my self to reading an *English Chronicle* that belonged to my Landlord, I unconcernedly expected a speedy enlargement, after the Duke of *Monmouth* should come to hear of my Imprisonment; unto whom I desired Sir *John* to give notice of it; but I had no return.

After some Months, Sir *John* sent for me, and said he had Order to examine me; he inquired, What and whom I verily thought were the Causes of my Imprisonment? I told him that the Lady *Anne Gourdon*, alias *Huntley*, with *Peter Talbot*, Titular Bishop of *Dublin*, were assuredly the Causes of it; and might well contrive by other Instruments some false Accusation against me, for to weaken the testimony I was to give against them of their plotting against *England:* for that the said Lady had informed me of a Design the *English Catholiques* had against the *King's Person*, his *Government*, and *Religion*; and that she had correspondency with her Brother the Marquis of *Huntley*, my Lord of *Rothes*, my Lord of *Oxenford* of *Scotland*, and other Catholiques and Priests, this side and beyond Seas: That the said *Peter Talbot*, before I brought him to the *French King*'s presence, told me, That he was to treat with that King from some very great Person or Persons in *England*, for to raise men in *Ireland* for the *French King*, and that I had declared these things in *France* to one Sir *Robert Welsh*, who

desired

desired me to acquaint the Duke of *Ormond* therewith. So Sir *John* being in haste to go to *Whitehall*, took these Heads in his *Table-book*, and said he would acquaint them above with it; but bid me not to mention the Duke of *Ormond* at all, for he was a good man. I bring him in onely by occasion, said I. Next day Sir *John* sent for me, and desiring to know what other things I could say, I began to particularize the forementioned relations of the *Plot*; but he broke me off of that, saying, *That these were but trifles, and that we cared not in* England *what Priests and Women beyond Seas, could devise; and that he took such Stories from me but as starting-holes from the only point he had to urge against me. That unless I would confess other matters against the Duke of* Monmouth, *he would rack me next day, and afterwards hang me.* I said, *He might do what he pleased, but that I neither knew or could confess any such Design:* And so I was sent back to my *Lodging*, but my forwardness to speak ever afterwards of any *Plot* against *England* was well abated, by this Storm. I desired my Keepers Wife and Child, here present to pray for me, for that I was to be rack'd the next day. I asked my Keeper, *What a Rack was? An Instrument*, said he, *to stretch the Body and Limbs out of all joynts, sometimes full of Needles; and that it was called the Daughter of some Duke. I do not now remember which.* But this Family being weak persons, were themselves frightned at this sad and terrible threatnings; alledging, *That none was ever carried to be executed out of their house.*

Sometime afterwards I was sent for to be examined, to *Whitehall*, before the Secretary, my Lord of *Bath*, of *Newport*, and some others, I never saw before: They inquired, Whether I had been imployed under the Duke of *Monmouth?* And whether I knew some other persons, I do not now remember my self? with such other Questions; out of which I could not yet know certainly the Cause of my Commitment; for no body appeared against me, as I think, at that time, one only at the second time: So they in a general manner urged me still to confess, to confess, what evil Design I had in coming to *England:* I said still, *I had none, nor could I confess any:* And so was sent back to the *Tower*. Some Weeks or Months afterward I was sent for to *Whitehall* again, where one *Dallison*, who was formerly in *France* entertained by me

for writing, appeared. He there ſaid, *That I there in* France *threatned ſome perſons here in* England, *and that he thought that it was the Duke of* Monmouth, *becauſe of non-payment of Arrears.* I told him, *That that was a bad inference, that becauſe I threatned ſome body, it muſt be therefore the Duke of* Monmouth, *who had never any ground ſo to do; for that he had ſigned an Order for payment of me; and ſpoke to Captain* Watſon *and Doctor* Goafe *for it: Though I never was yet paid.*

But the pretext or ground from which they took the occaſion of this ſlanderous Allogiſme, was from the matters of ſome private quarrels, which one Mr. *Hampton* and the Lady *Anne Gourdon* would have me vindicate againſt ſome of their Rivals; which I complimentally was ſtill wont to promiſe them I would do, the better to inſinuate my ſelf into their ſecrets, concerning the *Plot* and other matters.

The Lady *Gourdon* would have the Earl of *Rothes* his Lady to be made away, ſhe being a *Presbiterian*, begot (as ſhe ſaid) a great obſtacle to the *Roman Catholick Religion*'s progreſs in *Scotland*, and her own Rival, *&c.*

Mrs. *Wingfield*, alias *Hampton*, a Benchers Wife of the *Temple*, then alſo in *Paris*, went alſo about to all *English Gentlemen* there, to avenge her quarrels againſt her Husband, who as they ſay (not without ſome good cauſe) has caſt her off: She applied her ſelf to me, who not approving of thoſe violent means, I obtained for her a Letter of Recommendation for Juſtice to be done to her, from the *French King* to the *King* of *England*, ſigned by Secretary *Pompone*, directed to Secretary *Arlington* in *England:* This was in 73, but ſhe not finding any good by this Letter, ſhe went on to propoſe to me her old ways; ſo ſeeing her incorrigible, fearing ſhe would fall into worſe hands, and hoping to get back the money I had lent to her and laid out for her; I kept in with her till ſhe could get money to pay me: but finding no hopes of either the one or the other, I bid this *Dalliſon* my Man, to take her in hand, to pretend to cloſe to her Deſigns, till I could get my money. I directed him to her *Lodgings*, but he told me that Sir *Robert Welsh* and himſelf knew her well enough: And that he would get me one *Johnſon* a Student in *Phyſick*,

Physick, who would act his part in the Comedy better than any. I told them I would share with them both of what was due to me by this Woman, and what besides they could get from her: She proffered to give some Hundreds of Pounds, then in the hands of Monsieur *de Basti* in *London*, and her Daughter besides in Marriage, to any that would kill her Husband by the Sword, Poyson, *&c.* But finding she could not perform the payment of a far less sum due to me, and that to receive into my company persons of so wicked principles in Religion and Moralities, was scandalous; I cast them all off in *Paris*. She some Weeks before came over unknown to me into *England*, but the next day after my Arrival here, I met her accidentally, and she brought me to her Lodging; having now cast of *Dallison*. Also he there in *Paris* met with the *Talbots* every night, and with Sir *Robert Welsh*; amongst them it was contrived that *Dallison* should come over into *England*, and turn these petit matters wherein I seemed to comply with these Ladies, as if I intended them against the Duke of *Monmouth*, for not payment of Arrears, *&c.* and by this means they thought to blast my Discovery of the *Plot* against them, when I came into *England*; and that I would be certainly secured when I arrived there: and they had the assurance to threaten me there-with to my face. Their threats came punctually to pass, for I was secured according to their Contrivance within a few days after I was in *London*.

Now when Sir *John* and the *Secretary* did so oft press me, What might give grounds to this Slaunder of some Design against the Duke of *Monmouth*, I have related these matters abovesaid, unto them concerning these Womens Proposals, which I conceived to be the only ground and pretext of that Slaunder, they made me sign it, I think; which taking but for a formality of no great importance, I did do; and though I did but out of a complemental policy hearken to these Womens designs, I could not be at quiet there at the *Tower* with Sir *John* and others, till I had said, That I had a real intention to serve these Women in the premisses, though Mr. *Hawkins* the *Tower Chaplain*, and Mr. *Robinson* the *Tower Gentleman Jaylor*, may witness that I told them and others, That I dallied with these Ladies only. But what-ever Sir *John* or the

Secre-

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Secretary can make of this or any other lie, the Popiſh plotters ſent into their hands, to ſlaunder my Evidence, cannot be material to the purpoſe, and I will be ready to anſwer it. And though Sir *John*'s ill uſage and threats of Racking of me, and hearing that he was wont to give an account of me to the Duke of *York* (the *Talbot*'s Maſter) though I ſay, theſe things did diſcourage me to ſpeak further of the *Plot* whilſt I was in the *Tower*, either to Sir *John* or the *Secretary*, yet after I had been abroad a while, during the laſt *Parliaments* Sitting, I went to him to the *Tower*, intreating him to ſecond me in the diſcovering of the ſaid Matters aforeſaid, for the good of the Government; *John Bagot* his Man I think was in hearing; but he with a Check rejected me: which diſcouraged me ſo, as almoſt never to ſpeak any more of the Matter. Till a Lord of the *Parliament*, to whom I diſcovered the whole, by the means of a Friend, had received me again to make the Diſcovery, as I have done on the Twenty fourth of *December* laſt before the Committee of Lords upon Oath, Three Months ago before this Information I now do give into the Commons.

Jurat.

FINIS.

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THE

SUBSTANCE

OF THE

INFORMATION

OF

Richard Perkin

OF

SHUTBORROW,

In the COUNTY of

STAFFORD;

Taken upon Oath at *Stafford* Assizes 1679. by Sir *Robert Atkyns* Knight, then one of the Judges for that Circuit.

LONDON,

Printed for *Richard Baldwin* in *Ball-Court*, near the *Black Bull* in the *Old Baily*. 1681.

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The Substance of the Information of *Richard Perkin*, as it was taken upon Oath by Sir *Robert Atkyns* Knight, then a Judge at *Stafford* Assizes 1679.

THis *Informant saith, that about Seven or Eight Years since, Mr.* Arthur Fox, (*then Servant to the Present* Lord Aston) *came to him, and to another of his Friends, and told them that there was a* Bastard-Child *laid to his charge, by one of his Lords* Tenants Daughters, *and did acknowledge to them that he* did several Times lie with her, *and that by the best computation of Time he could make, he had just grounds to believe that she had done him no wrong in this her* charge, *and that he verily believed himself to be the* Father of the Child, *and therefore came to them as his particular* Friends, *for their advice in the case, how to prevent the noise and scandal and great charge that was like to ensue hereupon, and desired them to treat with the Young Womans Father and Mother about it, and to offer them a certain Summ of Mony to free him from all future charge from, or by reason of this business.*

In Pursuance of this request, this Informant and his Friend *addressed themselves to the Young Woman, and to her Father and Mother. The*

Young

Young Woman with the greateſt Aſſeverations and Proteſtations did affirm that ſhe had never lain with any man *whatever, but the ſaid Mr.* Fox, *and that he was the real* Father of the Child; *then they came to a Treaty with her Father about aſcertaining the charge, and agreed that Mr.* Fox, ſhould Pay Thirty Pounds, to be for ever diſcharged from the ſaid Child, *Part of which Summ was accordingly Paid.*

When they returned to Mr. Fox, *and had acquainted him what Agreement they had made for him, with the Father and Mother of the Young Woman, he ſeemed exceeding well ſatisfied therewith, and returned them many Thanks, owning himſelf very much obliged to them both, for their great care and pains in tranſacting this Affair for him, and bringing it to an iſſue, ſo much to his content.*

Mr. *Eures* the Prieſt belonging to the *Lord Aſton's* Houſe, was abroad whilſt this buſineſs was in agitation, but returning in few days before all the ſaid 30 *l.* was paid, was informed by Mr. *Fox* himſelf what agreement was made for him by this Informant and his Friend as aforeſaid.

Mr. *Eures* having thus underſtood the whole caſe, told Mr. *Fox,* that what he had done was not ſufficient to take off the *Scandal* from their *Church*; for to his knowledg this ſtory was much talked of abroad, and that with very ſevere *Reflections* upon the *Roman Catholicks* in general; and there-

fore

fore as his *Ghoſtly Father*, he would adviſe him what was to be done in order to the taking off ſo great a ſcandal from their Church, and added, that he had conſulted Mr. *Peters*, *another Prieſt*, about it; and that they were come to a *Reſolve* what method ſhould be uſed; and therefore required him to prepare himſelf for *Confeſſion*.

Accordingly Mr. *Fox* came to *Confeſſion* to the ſaid Mr. *Evers*, and owned the whole matter as aforeſaid; then Mr. *Evers* told him again, he ſtill continuing upon his knees, that the *Scandal* that was hereby brought to their *Church* and *Religion*, was very great, and therefore for the taking it off, and preventing further *ſcandal* for the future to their *Church*, to my *Lord Aſton*, or to *himſelf*, Mr. *Peters* and he had agreed upon this courſe, *viz. That he ſhould go immediately to his Lord* Aſton, *and on his knees before his Lord and Lady, with ſolemn Oaths and Aſſeverations, deny that he ever had any thing to do with the ſaid young Woman in that nature; and that he was altogether innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge; and that after this he ſhould go up to the Chapel where the Congregation was met, and there in like manner deny it, with the like Aſſeverations; and to confirm them in the belief of the Truth of it, he ſhould then before them receive the Sacrament.* When Mr. *Evers* had finiſhed theſe *Inſtructions*, he gave him *Abſolution* before he roſe from his

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knees, telling him, *That if he observed these Instructions, he was absolved from the said Crime, and therefore Innocent of it altogether, and might so declare himself as aforesaid.* And for his further *Penance*, he enjoyn'd him to visit the *Chappel* once a day for the space of a a month next following, and to say such *Prayers* as he should particularly direct therein: *All which Instructions in every particular the said Mr.* Fox *punctually observed.* His Friend aforesaid being in the Chappel when the things enjoyn'd were done, *viz.* when he disowned the Fact with solemn Oaths, and received the Sacrament upon it, and did the Penance enjoyned him.

After this Mr. *Foxes* other Friend that had assisted in composing the Affair with the Father and Mother, came to him, to know what care was taken about the Payment of the Moneys, because he stood engaged for it, and supposed he should be called upon for it; to which *Mr. Fox* answered, That what he had done since that *Agreement* was by *Mr. Evers* his order, nor should he do any thing else but by his advice; upon which his Friend repairs to *Mr. Evers*, and desires to know of him what they intended to do, and when the money should be paid; *Mr. Evers* answered, That what *Mr. Fox* had done in reference to the denying of the Fact, was done upon mature deliberation, and good advice; and that it was the best way

that

that could poſſibly be propoſed in that Affair, and that he ſhould not need further to concern or trouble himſelf about it; his Friend then told *Mr. Evers*, that he ſtood engaged for the moneys, having promiſed to ſee it paid. and that he was therefore in danger of being ſued for it; to which *Mr. Evers* replies, that he would take ſuch effectual care about it, with the *Lord Aſton*, that he ſhould not ſuffer thereby, and ſo he did, as appeared by the ſequel; for the Lord *Aſton* ſoon after ſent for the Father and *Mother* of the *Young Woman*, and told them, that if they did not deſiſt from ſpreading ſuch a Report, that *Mr. Fox* was the Father of the ſaid Child, he would ruine them, to which the Father anſwered, That it was not in his power to ſtop the ſaid Report; nor was it any thing but Truth, and *Mr. Fox* himſelf had confeſſed, that he was the Father of the Child; at which refuſal the *Lord* was very much incenſed, and preſently ordered him to be deprived of ſeveral Profits that he enjoyed, as one of his Lordſhips Tenants and Servants.

FINIS.

A Notice to the Reader.

THe Reader is desired to take notice, that though the Title mentions only the name of *Richard Perkin*, and though he only made the Information upon Oath, yet to make the Story Perfect, there is sometimes intermixed with it, what came to the knowledge of the other Friend concern'd with Mr. *Perkin*, who for some reasons best known to himself, thinks fit to conceal his name, and is therefore throughout the Information called only *his Friend.*

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A

NARRATIVE

OF UNHEARD OF

POPISH CRUELTIES

TOWARDS

Protestants beyond Seas:

OR, A

NEW ACCOUNT

OF THE BLOODY

Spanish Inquisition.

PUBLISHED AS A

CAVEAT

TO

Protestants.

By Mr. *DUGDALE.*

LONDON,

Printed for *John Hancock* at the *Three Bibles* in *Popes-Head*-Alley over against the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhil*, 1680.

To the Most Excellent PRINCE

JAMES

Duke of Monmouth, &c.

I Have often wondered that the Cruelties as well as Villanies of the *Romish* Church have not long ere this provoked Almighty God to avenge upon her all the Blood of his Saints, which she hath every where as so much Water, spilt upon the face of the whole Earth; but reflecting upon the many Sins of Gods own people (which certainly have been the only cause of the withholding of his most just and expected Judgments from being poured forth upon her from the fullest Vials of his Wrath) I have again considered of the Justice as well as Goodness of God herein; Justice to be revealed from Heaven upon her, when the Fulness of her Abominations shall be accomplished; and his Goodness and Mercy to his People, in purging them by these his Chastisements from the Dross and Tin of their Iniquities. Here we have a Revelation of the great God in two of his greatest and most glorious Attributes, his Mercy and his Judgment, according to their respective Objects. The Holy King and Prophet *David* wondred no less than he grieved at this matter, till he went into the Sanctuary of God, where he *understood the End of wicked men, and that verily there is a Reward for the Righteous, and a God that Judgeth in the Earth.*

With

With what *Antichriſtian*, no leſs than *Inhumane Cruelty* ſhe hath behaved her ſelf towards the *Saints and Servants of God*, , whom ſhe calls *Hereticks*, this ſmall Hiſtory will ſufficiently acquaint Your Grace, and will, *I* hope, prove a ſufficient Alarm to the Nation, to rowſe her up as one Man, to prevent and hinder the Rooting or Springing of her vile Superſtitions here for the time to come. No, *Sir*, the People of *England* are doubtleſs ſufficiently cautioned and fortified againſt any ſuch Attempt; however it may not perhaps be unſeaſonable to remind them, and fully ſet before them the *barbarous Cruelties & unchriſtian Severities* wherewith the *Holy Inquiſition* (for ſo they falſly ſtile it) is to the ſhame and ſorrow of the beſt amongſt them in Foreign Countreys, where it is ſuffered in the higheſt pitch of Rigor to be managed; no, we hope ſo great is the Goodneſs of God both towards our Prince and People, that 'tis paſt not only the ſtrength, but Malice of our *Romiſh Adverſaries* to hurt either his *Sacred Perſon* or the *Government*. May *the Good Will of him that dwelt in the Buſh* preſerve and ever keep Your Grace from any of their wicked Attempts upon Your Excellencies Perſon, from dividing you from Your Princes Favour; or, which can never be, Our moſt Sacred and ever Dread Soveraign from His good Subjects and People; and let all true-hearted *Engliſhmen* ſay *Amen*.

Your Graces Moſt Humble Servant,

and Dayly Orator,

RIC. DUGDALE.

The *Original*, *Progress* and *Practice* of the *SPANISH INQUISITION*.

The Spaniſh Inquiſition,

WHen King *Ferdinand*, and *Iſabel* had expelled the *Turks* out of the City and Territories of *Granata*, and other places of *Spain*; who had lived there Seven hundred ſeventy and eight years; they ſet upon the Reformation of Religion, and the Conquered *Moors* Liberty to ſtay and to enjoy all their Goods, provided they would turn Chriſtians: And whereas alſo, there were many *Jews*, who had continued there, ſince *Titus* conquered *Jeruſalem*; they gave them leave to ſtay upon the ſame condition; but all ſuch as refuſed were commanded preſently to depart out of *Spain*. Yet afterwards finding, that thoſe Perſons were Chriſtans, only in Name, and had ſubmitted only to ſave their Eſtates; inſtead of providing godly Miniſters with meekneſs to inſtruct them, and to them for their Errors: (by the advice of the *Dominican Friers*) they erected the Inquiſition; wherein the poor Wretches inſtead of Inſtruction, were robbed of all their Eſtates; and either put to moſt cruel Deaths, or elſe ſuffered moſt intollerable Torments, by whipping, *&c.* And leading the reſt of their Lives in Ignominy and Poverty: Neither was this inflicted only upon ſuch as Blaſphemed Chriſt, but for the Obſervation of the leaſt *Jewiſh* or *Mooriſh* Ceremony, or the ſmalleſt Error in the Chriſtian Religion. But this Inquiſition at firſt erected againſt *Jews* and *Moors* was afterwards turned againſt the faithful Servants of Jeſus Chriſt; and for the ſuppreſſing of the Goſpel, and the Profeſſion of it.

Invented by Dominicans

As ſoon as Information is given in againſt any one, though but for a very ſmall matter; they do not preſently cite the Perſon to appear before them, but they ſuborn one of their own Officers, called a Familiar to inſinuate himſelf into his company, who taking occaſion to meet the Party thus accuſed, uſed, thus to greet him. Sir, I was yeſterday by accident at my Lords Inquiſitors, who ſaid that they had occaſion to ſpeak with you, about certain of their affairs; and therefore they commanded me to Summon you to appear before them to Morrow at ſuch an hour: The Party daring not to refuſe, goes to the place, ſends in word that he is come to attend them; and ſo when he is called in, they ask him, what Suit he hath to them? And when he anſwers that he comes upon Summons, they enquire his Name: for ſay they, we know not whether you are the ſame man or not, but ſince you are come, if you have any thing to inform this Court of, either concerning your ſelf or any other, you may let us hear it, for the diſcharge of your own conſcience. The Parties ſafeſt way, is conſtantly to deny that he hath any thing to declare to them; but if through ſimplicity, he doth accuſe himſelf or any other; they rejoyce, as having attained their deſires, and ſo preſently commit him to Priſon: If nothing be confeſſed,

feſſed, they diſmiſs him; pretending that for the preſent they know not whether he be the Party or no: After his departure they let him alone for ſome ſpace, and then ſend for him again, exhorting him, that if he know or hath heard any thing, that concerns their Holy Court, to diſcloſe it to them, for (ſay they) we know that you have had dealings with ſome Perſon ſuſpected in Religion; and therefore remember your ſelf well; If you confeſs, you ſhall fare the better, and you ſhall but do therein as a good Chriſtian ought to do: If ſtill he refuſe, they threaten, and ſo diſmiſs him.

Subtilty.

Yet they have always one or other to keep him Company, to creep into his Boſome, and grope his Conſcience; who under the colour of Friendſhip, ſhall viſit him daily, and have an eye to all his dealings; obſerve what Company he keepeth, with whom he conferrs, *&c.* So that without Gods ſpecial aſſiſtance, it is not poſſible to eſcape their Snares. The Inquiſitors alſo, if they meet him, ſpeak courteouſly to him, promiſe to befriend him, *&c.* and all to make him more careleſs of himſelf, that they may undo him before he be aware: But if the Party be a Stranger, or one that is like to make an eſcape, or that they hope to gain any thing by his confeſſion, they preſently clap him up in Priſon, in which Priſon great Numbers die, either ſtarved with hunger, or by extremity of racking of them, *&c.*

Their dealing with Strangers.

If any one that is accuſed, chance to make an eſcape, they have many devices to find and fetch him in again; they have Store of Searchers to whom beſides the common Signs, they give his lively Picture, whereby they may eaſily know him, An *Italian*, at *Rome*, having wounded an Apparitor, fled to *Sevil*; the Familiars were ſent to ſeek him, and when they had found him, though they had his Counterfeit, yet by reaſon that he had altered his Habit, they were doubtful whether it was he or no, the rather becauſe he had changed his Name, whereupon they followed him only upon ſuſpicion; but one Day as he was walking, and earneſtly talking with ſome Gentlemen, two of thoſe Familiars ſuddenly called him by his old Name: The Party earneſt in talk, and not minding it, looked behind him, and made anſwer, whereupon they preſently apprehended him, clapt him in Irons for a long time, then whipt him, and condemned him to the Gallies, during his Life. So ſoon as any is arreſted by the Familiars, they take from him all the Keys of his Locks, or Cheſts whatſoever: and then they take an Inventory of all his goods, leaving them to ſome man that will undertake to be accountable for them. But in the Sequeſtring, or rifling the Houſes, if they have any Gold, Silver, or Jewels: theſe Familiars, which are uſually, Bauds, Theives, Shifters, and the vileſt of People, will be ſure to filch ſome of it; and the reaſon of this Sequeſtration, is, that if the Party be condemned, the holy Inquiſition may enjoy his whole Eſtate.

Their Familiars.

Sequeſtration.

As ſoon as the Priſoner is entred within the firſt Gate of the Priſon; the Gaoler asketh him, If he hath a Knife about him, or Mony, or Rings, or Jewels? and if a woman, whether ſhe hath Knives, Rings, Chains, Bracelets, or other Ornaments; and all theſe the Gaoler ſtrips them of, as his Fee, and this is done, that the

Script of all In priſon.

the Poor Priſoners may have nothing to relieve themſelves with during their Impriſonment: They ſearch them alſo, to ſee whether they have any Writing, or Book about them, which likewiſe they take from them; then they ſhut them up in a Cabin, like to a *Little-Eaſe*, where they have little Room for cleanlineſs and but little light.

Some are thus kept all alone for two or three Months, ſome as long as they live; others have company, as the Lords Inquiſitors pleaſe. When the party hath been in priſon a week or two, the Gaoler perſwades him to petition for a day of hearing, telling him, the ſooner the better; and that it will much further his Cauſe, and bring it to ſome good effect, *&c.* whereas it were far beter for him to ſtay till he be called for; for then he hath nothing to do but to anſwer their Objections. But the poor Priſoner not knowing this Myſtery, is uſually ruled by his Keeper, intreating him to ſtand his Friend to procure him a day of hearing; whoſe Suit is eaſily heard, and the Priſoner is brought into the Conſiſtory; then the Inquiſitors ask him, What is his Requeſt? The Priſoner anſwereth, That he would gladly have his Matter heard: Then they labour by threatning him with worſe uſage if he conceal the Truth, to cauſe him to confeſs the thing whereof he is accuſed; and if they can but draw him to this, they have their deſires; for uſually they draw more from him than they could have proved againſt him. Then they adviſe him to let him come from himſelf; promiſing that if he acknowledge his faults, he ſhall preſently be releaſed and ſent home; if yet he ſtands mute, they then charge him to disburden his Conſcience, and in the mean time to return to his Priſon, till he hath better bethought himſelf, and then he may ſue for a new day of hearing, and ſo they diſmiſs him. And ſome days after, they call for him again; asking him whether he be yet determined to tell ought? But whether he plead his Innocency, or confeſs ſome little, they ſtill urge him to disburthen his Conſcience, and perſwading him, that they adviſe him for the beſt, and in love and compaſſion to him, but if he now refuſe the Favour proffered, he ſhall find them afterwards ſharp Juſtices, *&c.* and ſo ſend him back again to priſon.

Subtilty.

How Inquiſitors deal with the priſoners.

The third time he is called for, they uſe the like Subtilty, to draw him to Confeſſion; telling him, that if he refuſe, they muſt uſe extremity, and do what they can by Law; by which word, they mean extream tormenting and mangling of him. Then if the party confeſs any thing, Nay, ſay they, we are not yet ſatisfied, we have not all you can ſay, you keep back ſomething on purpoſe, and ſo they remand him to priſon.

Having thus excruciated him day by day, if they can yet get nothing out of him, they then require an Oath of him, and hold a Crucifix or Croſs before him, whereby the poor Chriſtian muſt at laſt needs ſhew himſelf; for knowing that he ought to ſwear by God alone, who hath reſerved this Honour to himſelf, he muſt refuſe the Oath; which if he do, then they read a large Indictment againſt him, wherein they lay to his Charge things that never any man accuſed him of, and which, it may be, himſelf never thought of; and this they do to amaze him, and ſo to try if he will confeſs any of theſe miſdemeanors; or if they can trip him in his Anſwers, and ſo catch him

in

in their net. Then they put him to answer to every Article particularly *extempore*, without any time of deliberation; then they give him Pen, Ink and Paper, requiring him to set down his Answer in Writing, to see if they can find any difference betwixt his former Answer and this: And if the party chance to confess ought, then they enquire of whom he learned it, and whether he hath spoken of it before others, and who they are, and hereby many are brought into trouble; for whether they liked it or not, they are sure to be questioned, because they did not come and declare it to the Fathers Inquisitors. Then pretending to shew him favour, they appoint him an Advocate, to blind the Peoples Eyes, as if they proceeded according to the Rules of Justice; but this Advocate dares not tell his Client any point of Law that may do him good, for fear of angring the Inquisitors; neither may he speak privately with his Client, but either before an Inquisitor or a Notary.

Two or three days after the party hath had the Copy of his Accusation, he is called into the Court, where his Advocate is, as if he intended to defend his Cause; but indeed he dares say nothing to the purpose, for fear of angring the Inquisitors; only he chears up his Client, and bids him tell the Truth in any case, as the only way to prevail in that Court, and then is the Prisoner sent back again; who hopes that now his Case will be heard, and his Business dispatched; whereas usually these good Fathers let him lie two, or three, or four years in prison, without ever calling for him again: And if through Loathsomness and Intolerableness of the Prison, any sute to come to Hearing, it may be, with much ado he obtains it; but usually that favour is denied them, yet at length, when they please, they call for him to hear the Depositions of the Witnesses against him, which yet is not done till the poor Prisoner, by his grievous imprisonment, is brought so low, as that they think he will rather chuse Death, than such a Life, and therefore will be willing to tell all, that so he may be rid out of his Misery: then between rebuking and a gentle admonition, they tell him, that though he hath stood out so long, yet at length they would have him wiser, to confess the Truth; but if he yet refuse to be his own Accuser, then the *Fiscal* produceth the Depositions, which are deliverd to the Prisoner; but they are drawn up so intricately and ambiguously, that he knows not what to make of them; and this they do to conceal the Witnesses, lest he should except against them; and so to set him on guessing, that so, if he chance to reckon up any others, to whom he spake any thing about any of those Matters, they may thereby get more Grist to their Mill; for they presently Outlaw such persons, as Favourers of Hereticks, for suffering an Heretick to sow such pestilent Seed amongst them, without complaining thereof to the Inquisitors.

The Keeper of the Prison also is examined what he hath seen and observed of him in the Prison; and his Testimony is as good as two Testimonies to take away the Prisoners Life.

They have also promoters to bring in Accusations, who are admitted, though Frantick *Bedlams*, or the veriest Varlets that be, and if in their Informations, they chance to want words of weight, the Inquisitors will help them out, and prompt them, word by word. Then after three or four daies, the Prisoner is called again, to put in his

Answer

Anſwer to the Depoſitions; But in the *Interim*, his Advocate never comes at him, to aſſiſt or direct him; but he is left to himſelf, without any help, ſave of God alone. His anſwer being viewed, he is remanded to Priſon again with this *Item*, that if he confeſs not the truth, they will extort it out of him by extremity.

After two or three Months more he is called for once again, and required to ſpake what he hath for himſelf, or elſe they muſt draw to an end. And if he ſtill ſhrinks not, but ſtands firm in his Juſtification; they proceed to other Dealings, in compariſon of which, all their former dealings are not only ſufferable, but ſeem reaſonable and full of gentleneſs; for their future Actions far exceed all Barbarouſneſs; the Devil himſelf being not able to go beyond them in their monſtrous Cruelty and Tyranny: for not long after, the Priſoner is called in before the Inquiſitors, who tell him, they have deeply conſidered his whole Caſe, and found out that he doth not declare the whole truth; and therefore they are reſolved that he ſhall be racked; that by force they may draw from him, what by fair means he will not acknowledge; and therefore they adviſe him, rather to do it voluntarily, and thereby to avoid the Pain and Peril, that yet attends him: yet whether he confeſs, or not confeſs, all is one; to the Rack he muſt go; Then is he lead into the place, where the Rack ſtandeth; which is a deep and dark Dungeon, under ground, with many Doors to paſs through, ere a man come to it; becauſe the Shricks and Cries of the tormented ſhould not be heard. Then the Inquiſitors ſeat themſelves upon a Scaffold, hard by the Rack; and the Torches being lighted, the Executioner comes in, all arrayed from Top to Toe, in a Suit of Black Canvas; his head is covered with a long Black Hood, that covereth all his Face, having only two Peepholes for his Eyes; which ſight doth more affright the poor Soul, to ſee one in the likeneſs of a Devil to be his Tormentor. The Lords being ſet in their Places, they begin again to exhort him to ſpeak the truth freely and voluntarily; then with ſharp words, they command him to be ſtripped ſtart naked, yea, though the modeſteſt Maid, the chaſteſt Matron in the City; whoſe grief in regard of the Rack, is not ſo great, as to be ſeen naked in the preſence of ſuch manner of Perſons: For theſe wicked Villains, without any regard of Modeſty, will not by any Praiers of godly Matrons, or chaſt Maidens forbear one jot of that Barbarous Impudence; as if a ſhirt or ſmock could hinder the violence of the Rack, from ſufficiently tormenting them.

They proceed to the Rack.

The Party being thus ſtripped; the Inquiſitors ſignifie to the Tormentor, how they would have him or her ordered. The firſt kind of Torment, is the Gibbet or Pully; but firſt one comes behind him, and binds his Hands with a Cord, eight or ten times about; the Inquiſitors calling upon him, to ſtrain each harder than other: they cauſe alſo his Thumbs to be bound extream hard with a ſmall Line; and ſo both Hands and Thumbs are faſtned to a Pully, which hangs on the Gibbet; then they put great and heavy Bolts on his Heels, and hang upon thoſe Bolts betwen his Feet certain weights of Iron, and ſo

The Gibbet.

ſo hoiſe him or her up from the ground; and while the poor Wretch hangs in this plight, they begin to exhort him again to accuſe himſelf and as many others as he knows of; then they command him, to be hoiſed up higher, to the very Beam, till his headtouch the Pullie; having hung thus agood while, they command him to be let down, and twice ſo much weight to be faſtned to his Heels, and ſo hoiſed up again, and one Inch higher, if it may be; then they command the Hangman to let him up and down, that the weights of the Irons hanging at his Heels may rent every joint in his Body aſunder; with which Intolerable Pains, if the party ſhreek or cry out, they roar out a loud to him, to confeſs the truth, or elſe he ſhall come down with a Vengeance: then they bid the Hangman ſuddenly to ſlip the Rope, that he may fall down with a ſway, and in the midway to ſtop; thus they give him the *Strappado*, which being as ſoon done, it rends all his Body out of joint; Arms, Shoulders, Back, Legs, *&c.* by reaſon of the ſudden jerk, and the weights hanging at his Heels; If yet he remain conſtant, they ad more weight to his Heels the third time; and the poor Wretch already half dead, is hoiſed up the third time, and to increaſe his miſery, they rail at him, calling him Dog and Heretick, telling him that there he is like to make his end: If the poor Creature in his Pangs call upon Chriſt, entreating that he would vouchſafe to aid and aſſiſt him, thus miſerably tormented for his ſake; then they fall to mocking and deriding him, ſaying, why calleſt thou on Jeſus Chriſt? Let Jeſus alone, and tell us the truth; what a crying out upon Chriſt makeſt thou? *&c.* but if the Party deſire to be let down, promiſing to tell ſome what; that is the ready way to make him be worſe uſed; for now they think that he begins only to broach the matter, for when he hath don, they command him to be halled up again, and to be let down as before; ſo that uſually theſe Torments are exerciſed upon him, for three hours together; Then they ask the Gaoler if his other Torments are ready, to affright the poor Soul; The Gaoler anſwereth, that they are ready, but he hath not brought them with him: Then the Inquiſitors bid him to bring them again the morrow, for ſay they, we will try other ways to get the truth out of this Fellow: and ſo turning to him that lies in miſerable pain, having all his joints out; how now, Sirrah, ſay they, how like you this Geer? have you enough of it yet? well, ſee that you call your wits to morrow, or look to die then, for what you have felt is but a Flea-Biting, in compariſon of what is behind. And ſo they depart.

Inhumane Cruelty.

Railings.

Scoffs.

Threats.

Then the Gaoler plays the Bone-Setter, ſo well as he can, ſetting his Joints, and ſo carries him back again to Priſon, or drags him by the Arms or Legs moſt pitifully: and if they mean to rack him no more, after two or three days they ſend for him again, and cauſe him to be brought by the Rack; where the Hangman ſtands in the likeneſs of a Devil, as before, the more to affright him: when he comes before the Inquiſitors, they fall perſwading him to confeſs the truth at laſt; and if he confeſs any thing, he may chance to to go to the Rack again, whereby they hope to extort more; and

when

when indeed they intend to rack the Party again, then at three days end, when the Ach in his Joints is moſt grievous and painful to him, they ſend for him, requiring him to declare all his Hereſies, and to Impeach all ſuch as he hath had conference with about them; and all ſuch as he knows to be of that mind, or elſe he muſt prepare himſelf for the Rack; and if he continue conſtant, he is again ſtripped of his Clothes, and hoiſed up with weights at his Heels, as before; beſides which, as he hangs at the Pullie, they bind his Thighs together, and Legs about the Calf with a ſmall ſtrong Cord, and with a ſhort piece of wood they twiſt the Cord till it be ſhrunk ſo deep in the fleſh that it is paſt ſight, which is extream and terrible torment, worſe than any he hath yet endured; and in this plight they let the poor Soul lie two or three hours, the Inquiſitors in the mean time not ceaſing to exhort, perſwade, threaten and ſcoff at him.

Another cruel Torment.

Yea, ſometimes they proceed to another kind of Torture, called the *Aſelli*, which is after this manner; There is a piece of Timber ſomewhat hollowed on the top like a Trough, about the middle whereof there is a ſharp Bar going acroſs, whereon a mans back reſteth, that it cannot go to the bottom; it is alſo placed ſo, that his Heels ſhall lie higher than his Head; then is the naked party laid thereon, his Arms, Thighs and Legs bound with ſtrong ſmall Cords, and wreſted with ſhort Truncheons, till the Cords pierce almoſt to the very Bone; then they take a thick fine Lawn Cloth, laying it over the parties Mouth as he lies upright on his back, ſo that it may ſtop his Noſtrils alſo; then taking a quantity of Water, they pour it in a long ſtream like a Thred, which falling from on high, drives the Cloth down into his Throat; which puts the poor wretch into as great an Agony as any endure in the pains of death; for in this Torture he hath not liberty to draw his Breath, the Water ſtopping his Mouth, and the Cloth his Noſtrils; ſo that when the Cloth is drawn out of the bottom of his Throat, it draws forth Blood with it, and a man would think that it tore out his very Bowels; this is iterated as often as the Inquiſitors pleaſe, and yet they threaten him with worſe Torments, if he confeſs not; and ſo he is returned to priſon again: Yet many times, after he hath lain there a Month or two, he is brought again to the Rack, and uſed as before; yea ſometimes five or ſix times, even as oft as they pleaſe; for their Luſt is their Law: and yet they have another Torment with Fire, which is no whit inferior to the former: They take a Pan of burning Charcole, and ſet it juſt over againſt the Soles of the parties feet, juſt before he goes to the Rack; and that the Fire may have the more force upon them, they baſte them with Lard or Bacon: But if all Extremity of Torments will not force him to confeſs what they deſire, nor to deny the Truth; they uſe other means, by ſubtil Interrogatories and frequent Queſtionings, to draw him into ſome Snare or other: Yea, if yet they cannot prevail, then ſome one of the Inquiſitors comes to him in private, and ſhews himſelf much affected

The Trough.

Torment with fire.

Subtilty. affected with his Misery, weeps with him, comforts him, gives him Advice, seems to impart such a Secret to him, as he would scarce impart to his Father, or dearest Friend alive; and this they use most with Women; whereas they are but fair Baits upon deadly Hooks, whereby they seek to destroy them: whereof we have this Example.

A woman & her 2 daughters and her Niece. At *Sivil* there were apprehended a godly Matron, two of her daughters, and her Niece, who all of them underwent the forementioned Torments with manly Courage, and Christian Constancy, because they would not betray each other, nor other godly persons in that City.

A Judas. Then one of the Inquisitors sent for the youngest Maid oft to his Chamber, pretended much compassion towards her, spake much to comfort her, told her what a grief it was to him to see her Torments, and then he used familiar and pleasant communication to her; and told her he would advise her the best way to free her self, Mother, and Sister from these Troubles, that he would undertake the ordering of their Business, and then perswaded her to tell the whole Truth to him, and he bound himself with an Oath that he would stop all further proceedings against them, and procure their dismission; having thus out-witted the poor Maid, who gave too much credit to him, she told him of some points of Religion which they had wont to confer of amongst themselves; and so when he had gotten out of her what possibly he could, like a perfidious Villain, contrary to his Vows, Promises.

Perjury. and Oath, he caused her to be racked again, to get more out of her; yea, they put her also to the intolerable pain of the Trough, and through extremity of Pangs and Torments, they at last extorted from her a betraying of her own Mother, Sister, and divers others, which were immediately apprehended, tortured, and at last burnt with Fire. But when they were brought with great pomp upon the Scaffold, and had the Sentence of Death past upon them, this Maid went to her Aunt, who had instructed her in the Principles of Religion, and boldly, without change of countenance, gave her hearty thanks for the great benefit which she had received by her means, entreating her to pardon her for what she had offended her at any time, for that she was now to depart out of this Life; her Aunt comforted her stoutly, bid her be of good cheer, for that now ere long they should be with Christ: This Woman was openly whipt, and kept in prison during her Life, the rest were all presently burned.

Another Device they have is this; When they think that Prisoners which are together do talk together of Religion, exhorting and comforting one another, as they have occasion or opportunity; the Inquisitors commit to prison, under a colour, a crafty Knave, whom they call a *Fly*, who after two or three days, will cunningly insinuate himself into the bosom of the other prisoners, and then pretending a great deal of Zeal to Religion, he will proffer Discourse to them, and by degrees get out of their Mouths something where-

of

of he may accuſe them: Then doth he move for a day of Hearing, and ſo getting to the Inquiſitors, impeaches the Priſoners, who ſhall be ſure afterwards to hear of it to their ſmart; yea, theſe *Flies* aſſoon as they are out of one Priſon, for the hope of gain, will be content preſently to be put into another, and then into a third, where they will lie in Chains, as the other Priſoners do, enduring Hunger, Cold, Stink, and the Loathſomneſs of the Priſon, and all to betray others; and this mans Accuſation is as ſtrong and valid as the Teſtimony of any other Witneſs whatſoever. Other *Flies* alſo there be that ſerve the *Holy Inquiſition* abroad, ſlily inſinuating themſelves into the Company of the Common people, who are ſuſpected to be *Lutherans*, and when they can pump any thing out of them, they preſently betray them. They have yet this other Device, when they can catch any man that is noted for Religion, or a Miniſter that hath inſtructed others, after he hath been in priſon a while, they give it out, that he upon the Rack hath diſcovered all his Diſciples and Acquaintance, and they ſuborn others to aver that they heard it: And this they do to draw the ſimple people to come of their own accord, and to confeſs their faults to the Inquiſitors, and to crave pardon; whereupon they promiſe them favour.

The Inquiſitors and their Officers uſe to call their Priſoners Dogs and Hereticks, and indeed they uſe them much worſe than moſt men do their Dogs; for firſt, the place where uſually each of them is laid, by reaſon of the ſtraightneſs, ill Air, and dampneſs of of the Earth, is liker a Grave than a Priſon; and if it be aloft, in the hot weather, it is like a hot Oven or Furnace, and in each of theſe Holes uſually two or three are thronged together, ſo that they have no more room than to lie down in. In one Corner is a Stool of eaſement, and a Pitcher of Water to quench their Thirſt; in theſe Cells they have no Light, but what comes in at the Key-hole, or ſome ſmall Cranney; other-ſome there are much worſe, not being long enough for a man to lie in; ſo that ſuch as are put into them, never likely come out till they be half rotted away, or die of a Conſumption. *Their cruelty concealed.*

Their Diet is anſwerable to their Lodging; the Rich pay large Fees to the *Holy Houſe*, and every Priſoner is rated as the Inquiſitors pleaſe; but ſuch as are poor, the King allows Three pence a day, out of which the Steward, Landreſs and ſome other neceſſary Charges are deducted, ſo that not one half of it comes to the Priſoners ſhare; and if any be moved with compaſſion to relieve them, it is counted ſuch an hainous Offence, that it will coſt him a ſcourging till blood come at leaſt. It once hapened that there was Keeper appointed for their Priſon in the Caſtle of *Triana* in *Sivil*, that was of a courteous diſpoſition by Nature, who uſed the Priſoners well, and cloſely, for fear of the Inquiſitors, ſhewed them ſome favour; at which time there was a godly Matron and her two Daughters committed to priſon, which

being put into ſeveral Rooms, had a great deſire to ſee each other for their mutual comfort in their diſtreſs; whereupon they beſought the Keeper to ſuffer them to come together, if it were but for one quarter of an hour; the Keeper yielded, and ſo they were together about half an hour, and then returned to their former Priſons; within a few days after, theſe women being racked in a terrible manner, the Keeper fearing leſt they would confeſs that little favour which he had ſhewed them, of his own accord went to the Inquiſitors, confeſſed his Fact, and craved pardon; but they deemed this ſo hainous an offence, that they preſently commanded him to be haled to priſon, where, by reaſon of the extremity ſhewed him, he fell mad; yet this procured him no favour; for after he had been a whole year in a vile Priſon, they brought him upon their Triumphant Stage, with a *Sambenito* upon him, and a Rope about his Neck, and there they cenſured him to be whipt about the City, and to have two hundred ſtripes, and then to ſerve in the Gallies for ſix years. The next day one of his mad Fits coming upon him as he was ſet on an Aſſes back to be ſcourged, he threw himſelf off, ſnatched a Sword out of the Officers hand, and had ſlain him if the people had not immediately laid hold on him; whereupon he was bound faſter on the Aſſes back, had his two hundred ſtripes, and was for this offence condemned four years longer to the Gallies.

All pity denied them.

Another Keeper at another time had a Maid, who ſeeing how miſerably the Priſoners were uſed, pitying their diſtreſſed condition, who were hunger-ſtarved and almoſt pined, ſhe would ſometimes ſpeak to them at the Grate, exhort and comfort them as well as ſhe could, and ſometimes would help them to ſome good and wholeſom Food; yea by her means the Priſoners came to underſtand one anothers condition, which was a great comfort to them; but this at laſt coming to the Inquiſitors ears, they enjoined her to wear the *Sambenito*; to be whipped about the Streets, to receive two hundred Stripes, and to be baniſhed the City for ten years, with this Writing on her Head, *A Favourer and Aider of Hereticks*. And whereas all other ſorts of perſons in priſon and bondage are allowed to recreate and refreſh themſelves with Singing at their pleaſure, theſe poor Souls are forbidden this ſmall Solace in their great miſery; for if any of them ſing a Pſalm, or openly recite any Portion of Scripture, the Inquiſitors take it very hainouſly, and preſently ſend to them, requiring them to be ſilent upon the pain of Excommunication; and if the Priſoner make light of this Warning, he ſhall have a Bit ſet on his Tongue to teach him Obedience; and this they do both to deprive the poor Souls of all kind of Solace, and to keep other Priſoners from knowing how their Friends do; ſo that it often falls out that a man and his Friend, the Father and Son, yea, the Husband and Wife ſhall be in one Priſon-houſe two or three years together, and not know of each others being there, till they meet upon the Scaffold, upon the great day of Triumph:

A Maid whipt ſhewing them favour.

The Priſoners denied leave to ſing Pſalms.

By reaſon of this cruel uſage, many of the Priſoners die, ſome of their Torments, others of the ſtink of the Priſon, and others of Diſeaſes contracted by Hunger, Cold, ill Diet, *&c.* They have alſo an Hoſ-

pital,

pital, unto which they remove such as fall sick in their Prisons, where yet they are not dealt more gently with in any thing, save that they have Physick allowed them for their healths sake; but none are suffered to come to them but the Physitian and the Servants of the Hospital; and assoon as the Patient is on the mending hand, he is carried back to the place from whence he came. *Their Hospital.*

If the Prisoner be half naked, or want something to lie on, and thereupon pray the Inquisitors that his necessity may be considered; the Answer which he receives is this, well, now the Weather is warm, you may live full well without either Cloaths or Couch; and if it be the Winter-time, his Answer is, True, it hath been a great Frost of late, but now the Cold is come down again, and it will be more seasonable weather; care you for the Garments wherewithal you should cloath your Soul, which consisteth in uttering the Truth, and discharging your Conscience before this *Holy House*; and if the Prisoner desire to have some good Book, or the Holy Bible, to enable him to pass that troublesom and careful time to some profit, the Inquisitors answer him, That the true Book is to speak the Truth, and to discharge his Conscience to that Holy Court, and that he ought to be occupied in laying open his wounds to their Lordships, who are ready to give him a Plaister, whereby it appears that all their care and desire is, that the poor Prisoner may have nothing to look on or think on but his present miserable state, that the grief thereof grating upon him, may force him to satisfie the Request. *Cruel Mercy.*

The last Act of the Tragedy remaineth, wherein both Parties are pleased and have their desire; The Inquisitors in obteining their Prey; the Prisoners in finding some end of their miserable usage; But two or three days before the Solemnity, they use severally to call before them all such whose Estates are confiscated, examining them what Lands or Goods they have; where they lie, charging them upon great penalties, not to conceal one jot; telling them that if any thing be afterwards found, Felony shall be laid to their Charge, and he with whom it is found shall pay soundly for it, and when all is Confessed, they are returned to Prison again. *Their Condemnation.*

The night before the Festival, they cause all the Prisoners to be brought into a large Room, where they are informed of the several times of Penances that they are to do the next day: The next Morning very early the Familiars come, and attire the Prisoners in their several Habits, in which they are to appear before the people: Some in *Sambenitoes*, which is a long Garment painted all over with ugly Devils, on his head he hath an High Crown'd Hat, whereon a man is Painted Burning in the Fire with many Devils about him, plying him with Fire and Faggots; besides their Tongues have a cleft piece of wood put upon them, which nips and pincheth them that they cannot speak, they have also about their Necks Cords, and their hands fast bound behind them. On this sort come these constant Martyrs Disguised first to the Stage, and then to the Stake, and in the like sort do all the rest come forth arrayed as the others and set *Their Habit*

forth

forthwith the like notes of Infamy, either more or leſs, as the Inquiſitors pleaſe to diſgrace them in the ſight of the People: on each hand of every Priſoner, goeth a Familiar all armed to guard him; as alſo two *Friers*, with every one that is to die, who perſwade him tooth and nail to deny that Doctrine that formerly he hath profeſſed, now at the going out of this world; which wicked Importunity is a grief to the poor Servants of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Inquiſitors alſo paſs in great Pomp from the Caſtle of *Triana* to their Scaffold; and when all are ſet in their places, a Sermon begins, framed on purpoſe in Commendation of the Holy Houſe, and in confutation of ſuch Hereticks as are preſently to ſuffer; but the greateſt part is ſpent in ſlanderous reproachs, wherewith they vilifie and diſgrace the truth, and the profeſſion of it. The Sermon being ended, the Sentence againſt the Priſoners are read: firſt againſt ſuch as have eaſieſt puniſhment, and ſo in order to the greater; which ſentences are commonly theſe, Death without mercy, whipping in ſuch extremity, that the perſons ſeldom eſcape with their Lives, Condemnation to the Gally, forfeiture of all their Eſtates, *&c.*

Then doth the chief Inquiſitor abſolve all ſuch as have forſaken Chriſt, and are come home to the Church of *Rome*, from all the Errors for which they ſhewed themſelves penitent; but though hereby they are abſolved from the fault, yet not from the puniſhment, for notwithſtanding their Recantation, they muſt abide the puniſhment without mercy.

And whereas multitudes of People reſort to this ſpectacle, ſome coming twenty Leagues to ſee it, the Inquiſitors have this trick to uphold their Kingdom, they cauſe all the People preſent to take an Oath to live and die in the ſervice of the Church of *Rome*, hazarding both Lives and Goods againſt any that ſhall oppoſe it, as alſo to their Power, to uphold and maintain the holy Inquiſition, and to defend all the Officers thereof, *&c.*

A wicked Oath.

Degradation.

Then if there be any amongſt the Priſoners to be degraded, they proceed after this manner. Firſt they apparell him in his Maſſing Robes, then they deſpoil him again of every part thereof; then are his Hands, Lips, and the Crown of his Head ſcraped with a piece of glaſs, or ſharp Knife till they bleed again, to ſcrape off the holy Oyl wherewith he was annointed at his Ordination. In the end of their Sentence, which is pronounced upon ſuch as are to be burned, they uſe this abominable Hypocriſie: They bequeath him to the Secular Power, with this humble requeſt to them, to ſhew the priſoner as much favour as may be, and neither to break any Bone, nor pierce the skin of the Body; This ſhews their great Impudence, that having already given ſentence on him to be burned, they yet ſhould pretend ſuch Mercy and Clemency towards him, whom all along themſelves have uſed with ſuch extream Cruelty.

Hipocriſie.

They

They uſe alſo this Trick further; that in reading the Crimes, for which he is condemned; they do not only miſreport ſuch things as he confeſsed upon his Examination; but they deviliſhly father upon him ſuch things as he never ſpake, or thought of in all his Life; and this they do to diſgrace him, and to make him and his Opinions more abhorred of all men; and to encreaſe their own Eſtimation and Credit, as being neceſſary Officers to rid the world of ſuch peſtilent Perſons; and all this while the Priſoners tongue hath a cleft peice of wood upon it to his intolerable pain and grief, that he cannot anſwer for himſelf, nor gainſay that they charge him with.

All theſe things being finiſhed; the Magiſtrate takes them into his hand, and conveys them preſently to the place of Execution, with divers Inſtruments of Satan about them, calling and crying to them, to forſake the truth; and when they cannot prevail, after the Priſoner is tyed to the ſtake, they break his Neck in a trice, and then they report amongſt the common People, that they recanted their Hereſies at the laſt hour, and ſo came home to the Church of *Rome*, and therefore they felt no pain in the Fire at all. *Abominable Lies.*

Such as are not condemned to die, are carried back, and the next day brought up to be whipt; after which ſome of them are ſent to the Gallies; others kept in Priſon all their Life time. But all have this ſpecial charge given them, that they never ſpeak of any thing that they have heard, ſeen, or felt, during their Impriſonment in the Inquiſition; for if the contrary be ever proved againſt them, and that they utter any of their ſecrets; they ſhall be taken for perſons relapſed, and be puniſhed with greateſt ſeverity; their Judgment being Death without Redemption; and hereby they keep in all their Knavery and Tyranny cloſe and ſecret to themſelves: and if any of them be releaſed, becauſe their faults were but ſmall; they are yet ſo careful, leſt their cruelty ſhould come to light, that they inhibit him the company and conference with any other, than ſuch as they ſhall appoint and allow him: neither will they ſuffer him to write to any Friends, except they firſt have the peruſing of the Letters. *Their Cruelty concealed.*

Sometimes alſo, after they have impriſoned men in ſuch a miſerable ſtate for a year or two, and can extort nothing out of them by their torments, nor prove any thing againſt them by witneſs, ſo that they muſt neceſſarily diſmiſs them, they then call them into the Court, begin to flatter them, and tell them what a good opinion they have of them; and that they are reſolved to ſend them home, for the which fatherly favour extended toward them in ſaving their Lives and Goods, they are to account themſelves much beholding to their Lordſhips, &c. and ſo at laſt they diſmiſs him with ſpecial charge of ſilence; and when he is gone they have ſpecial Spies abroad, to ſee how he takes the matter, and if they find that he complains of his puniſhments, or diſcloſes their ſecrets, they preſently commence a new Suit againſt him.

A Lady Imprisoned. On a time, the Inquisitors at *Sivil* apprehended a Noble Lady, the cause was for that a Sister of hers, a very Virtuous Virgin; who afterwards was burned for Religion had confessed in the extremity of her Torments; that she had sometimes had conference with this her Sister about matters of Religion: This Lady when she was first apprehended, was gone with Child about six Months, in respect whereof they did not shut her up so close at , nor deal so severely with her, as they did with others; but within four days after she was brought to Bed; they took the Child from her, and the seventh day after they shut her up in close Prison, and used her in all things as they did other Prisoners; the only wordly comfort she had in her misery, was that they lodged her with a Virtuous Maiden, that was her Fellow-Prisoner for a time, but afterwards burned at the Stake: This Maid whilst they were together was carried to the Rack, and so sore strained and tore thereon, that she was almost pulled in peices, then was she brought back and thrown upon a Bed of Flags, that served both to lie on: The good Lady was not able to help her, yet shewed singular tokens of love and compassion towards her,

Their Cruel Usage of her.

The Maid was scarce recovered, when the Lady was carried out to be served with the same Sauce, and was so terribly tormented in the Trough, that by reason of the streight straining of the Strings piercing to the very Bones of her Arms, Thighs, and Shins; she was brought back half dead to her Prison, the Blood gushing out of her Mouth abundantly, which shewed that something was broken within her; but after eight days the Lord delivered her from these cruel Tygers, by taking her mercifully to himself.

They torment her in the Trough.

She died.

John Pontio Upon one of their days of Triumph, there was brought out one *John Pontio*; of a Noble Family, a Zealous Professor of the Truth, and one of an holy and blameless Life, and well learned; he was eminent also in works of charity, in which he had spent a great part of his Estate; being apprehended for the Profession of the Gospel, he was

cast

caſt into Priſon where he manfully maintained the truth in the midſt of all their cruel dealings with; at laſt they caſt into Priſon to him on of their Flies, who by his Subtilty and Craft ſo wrought upon him, that he drew from him a Promiſe to yield obedience to the *Romiſh* Church. But though God ſuffered him to fall a while, to ſhew him his Frailty, yet afterwards in much mercy he raiſed him up again with double ſtrength, to that which he had before, and before his Execution he manfully defended the truth againſt a Subtle *Frier*. The things which he was condemned for, were theſe; that he ſhould ſay, that from his heart he abhorred the Idolatry, which was committed in worſhipping the Hoſt; that he removed his Houſhould from place to place, that he might ſhun coming to Maſs; That the Juſtification of a Chriſtian reſteth only in the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt apprehended by Faith, *&c.* That there was no Purgatory; that the Popes pardon were of no value: And for my ſelf (ſaith he) I am not only willing, but deſirous to die, and ready to ſuffer any puniſhment, for the truth which I have profeſſed: I eſteem not of this World, nor of the Treaſures of it, more than for my neceſſary uſe; and the reſt to beſtow in the Propagation and Maintenance of the Goſpel, and I beſeech God daily upon my Knees, for my Wife and Children, that they may always continue in this quarrel even unto death; and when he came to his Execution, he patiently and comfortably ſlept in the Lord.

Human Frailty.

Recovery.

His Speech at Death.

At the ſame time, there was alſo brought forth one *John Gonſalvo*, formerly a Prieſt; but by his diligent ſtudy of the Scripture, it pleaſed God to reveal his truth to him, ſo that he became a Zealous Preacher of it, labouring in all his Sermons to beat into mens minds, the truth and means of our Juſtification, to conſiſt in Chriſt alone, and in ſtedfaſt Faith in him; for which he was apprehended and caſt into Priſon, where he endured all their cruelty with Chriſtian Courage: at laſt with two of his Siſters he was condemned; his Mother alſo and one of his Brothers were impriſoned with him for the truth, and executed ſhortly after; when he with his Siſters went out at the Caſtle-

John Gonſalvo.

Tormented in Priſon.

Caſtle-Gate; having his Tongue at liberty, he began to ſing the 106 *Pſalm* before all the People; who had often heard him make many godly Sermons; he condemned all Hypocrites as the worſt of People; whereupon they ſtocked his tongue. Upon the Stage he never changed Countenance, nor was at all daunted: when they all came to the Stake, they had their Tongues looſed, and were commanded to ſay their Creed, which they did carefully: when they came to thoſe words, the Holy Catholick Church, they were commanded to add, *of Rome*, but that they all refuſed; whereupon their Necks were broken in a trice, and then 'twas noiſed abroad, that they added thoſe words and died, confeſſing the Church of *Rome*, to be the true Catholick Church.

A Church in Sivil.

There was in *Sivil* a Private Congregation of Gods People, moſt of which the Inquiſitors conſumed in the Fire, as they could diſcover any of them: amongſt others that were apprehended, they took four women, famous above the reſt, for their Holy and Godly Converſation, but eſpecially the youngeſt of them, who was not above one and twenty years old; who by her diligent and frequent reading of the Scriptures, and by conference with Godly and learned Men, had attained to a very great meaſure of knowledge, ſo that whilſt ſhe was in Priſon, ſhe nonpluſs'd and put to ſhame many of thoſe *Friers* that came to ſeduce her.

Some of them caſt into Priſon.

Another of theſe Women was a Grave Matron, whoſe Houſe was a School of Virtue; and a place where the Saints uſed to meet and ſerve God day and night: But the time being come wherein they were ripe for God, they together with other of their Neighbours were apprehended and caſt into Priſon; where they were kept in dark Dungeons, and forced to endure all the cruel and extream torments before mentioned; at laſt they were condemned, and brought forth to the Scaffold amongſt other Priſoners: The young Maid eſpecially came with a merry and chearful Countenance, as it were triumphing over the Inquiſitors, and having her tongue at liberty, ſhe began to ſing *Pſalms* to God, whereupon the Inquiſitors cauſed her tongue

A Cleft-Stick.

to

to be nipped, by ſetting a Burnacle upon it: after Sentence was read, they were carried to the place of Execution; where with much Conſtancy and Courage they ended their Lives; yet the Inquiſitors not ſatisfied herewith, cauſed the Houſe of the Matron (where the Church uſed to meet) to be pulled down, and the ground to be laied waſt, and a Pillar to be erected upon it, with an Inſcription ſhewing the cauſe. *Their death* *Their Malice.*

There was alſo apprehended another worthy Member of the ſame Congregation, called *Ferdinando*, he was of a Fervent Spirit, and very zealous in doing good; a young Man, but for his integrity of Life very famous: he had ſpent 8 years in educating of Youth, and had endeavoured to ſow the Seed of Piety in the hearts of his Scholars, as much as lay in him to do in a time of ſo great Perſecution, and Tyranny; being at laſt apprehended for a *Lutheran*, he was caſt into priſon and terribly tormented upon the Gibbet, and in the Trough, whereby he was ſo ſhaken in every joint, that when he was taken down, he was not able to move any part of his Body; yet did thoſe cruel Tormentors drag him by the Heels into his priſon, as if he had been a dead Dog; but notwithſtanding all his torments he anſwered the Inquiſitors very ſtoutly, and would not yeild to them one jot. During his Impriſonment, God uſed him as an Inſtrument; to recal and confirm a *Monk*, who had been caſt into Priſon for confeſſing the Goſpel openly: But by means of the Inquiſitors Flatteries and fair Promiſes, he had ſomewhat relented: Gods providence ſo ordering it, that *Ferdinando* was caſt into the ſame Priſon, and finding the *Monk* wavering, he rebuked him ſharply; and afterwards having drawn him to a ſight of, and ſorrow for his ſin, he at laſt ſtrengthened him in the promiſe of Free Grace and Mercy. Herereupon the *Monk* deſired a day of hearing, where before the Inquiſitors he ſolemnly renounced his recantation, deſiring that his former Confeſſion might ſtand, whereupon a Sentence of Death paſſed upon them both; after which the Inquiſitors asked *Ferdinando*, whether he would revolt from his former Hereſies? To which he anſwered, that he had profeſſed nothing but what was agreable to the pure and perfect word of God, *Ferdinando.* *His Torments.* *A ſpecial Providence.* *Humane Infermity.* *Recovery.*

and ought to be profeſſed of every Chriſtan-Man, and therefore he would ſtick to it to his death; then they did clap a Barnacle upon his Tongue, and ſo they were burned together.

Execution.

Juliano.

There was alſo one *Juliano* called the little, becauſe he was of a ſmall and weak Body; who going into *Germany*, was there converſant with divers learned and godly men, by which means he attained to the knowledge of the truth, and became a zealous Profeſſor of it, and earneſtly longing after the ſalvation of his Country-Men, he undertook a very dangerous work, wihch was to convey two great dry Fats, full of Bibles, printed in *Spaniſh* into his own Country: In the attempt he had much cauſe of fear, the Inquiſitors had ſo ſtopped every Port, and kept ſuch ſtrict Watch to prevent the coming in of all ſuch Commodities; but through Gods mighty Protection, he brought his burden ſafely thither, and which was alſo miraculous, he conveyed them ſafe into *Sivil*, notwithſtanding the buſie Searchers, and Catchpoles that watched in every corner; theſe Bibles being diſperſed, were moſt joyfully and thankfully received; and through Gods Bleſſing wrought wonderfully amongſt Gods people to ripen them againſt the time of Harveſt: But at laſt the matter broke out by the means of a falſe Brother, who going to the Inquiſitors played the *Judas*, and betrayed the whole Church to them, ſo that there were taken at *Sivil* at one time, eight hundred Chriſtians, whereof twenty of them were afterwards roſted at one fire.

Zeal.

A ſpecial Providence.

A falſe Brother.

20 *Roſted.*

Amongſt theſe, this *Juliano* was one of the firſt that was apprehended and ſent to priſon, where he lay without any company, laden with Irons above three years, yet was his conſtancy ſo great and wonderful, that the Tormentors themſelves were ſooner wearied in inflicting, than he in ſuffering Torments; and notwithſtanding his weak and wearyiſh Body, yet he remained undanted in mind in the undergoing of all their Tyrannies, ſo that he departed from the Rack leſs dejected than he came to it; neither threatnings, nor pains, nor torments made him ſhrink or yeild one jot to them; but when he was drawn back to his priſon,

priſon, he would tell his Fellows how he had conquered and confounded his Enemies, ſaying they depart vanquiſhed; the Wolves flie with ſhame, they flie with ſhame.

In the Day of their Triumph, when he was brought out apparelled (with his other Fellow-Priſoners) in all their ſhameful Habits, he exhorted them with a chearful countenance, ſaying, *My Brethren, be of good Chear, this is the hour wherein we muſt be faithful Witneſſes unto God and his Truth before men, as becomes the true ſervants and Souldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, and ere long we ſhall have him to witneſs with us again; and within a few hours we ſhall Triumph with him in Heaven for ever*; but hereupon they preſently clapt a Barnacle upon his Tongue, that he ſhould ſpeak no more, and ſo he was led to his Execution; but though he could not ſpeak, yet by his Countenance and Geſtures, he ſhewed his chearful and quiet mind; then kneeling down, he kiſſed the Step whereon he ſtood, and being tied to the Stake, he endeavoured by his Looks and Geſtures to encourage his fellow-Martyrs in their Sufferings, and ſo they quietly and patiently reſigned up their Spirits unto God. *His Death.*

There was alſo one *John Leon*, a *Taylor* by trade, who out of a blind Deovotion to ſerve God, reſolved to enter into a Monaſtery; but by Gods Providence it ſo fell out that he entred into a Cloiſter at *Sivil*, wherein moſt of the Monks were well affected to the true Religion, amongſt whom in two or three years ſpace he was ſo grounded in the Principles of Religion, that he reſolved to leave that kind of Life, which accordingly he did, and went into the Countrey; yet after a time, he had a great mind to confer with his former Schoolmaſters; but when he came back to the Cloiſter, he found that they were all fled into *Germany*; hereupon he reſolved to follow them, and through many Dangers and Perils it pleaſed God at laſt, after a long and tedious Journey, to bring him ſafe to *Frankford*, where he met with ſome of his old Acquaintance, and with them he travelled to *Geneva*, about which time Queen *Mary* ſuddenly dying, and Queen *Elizabeth* of Bleſſed Memory, ſucceeding her, the *Engliſh* Exiles, *John Leon.*

Exiles who lived in thoſe parts, were called home; whereupon divers *Spaniards* that ſojourned at *Geneva*, thinking *England* a fitter place for their Congregation, reſolved to acompany the *Engliſhmen*, and for this end they diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral Companies, that they might travel with the more ſafety. The Inquiſitors took the departure of theſe *Monks* ſo ill, that not ſparing any coſt, they ſent Flies abroad to apprehend them, who waylaid them, eſpecially at *Colen*, *Francfort*, *Antwerp*, and in all the ways that led from *Geneva*: This *John Leon* had gotten him a Companion, with whom he travelled towards *England*, who being diſcovered at *Argentine*, were dogged into *Zealand*, and as they were ready to take Ship, they were apprehended. *John Leon* took his arreſt very compoſedly, never changing countenance at it: they were preſently carried back into the Town, where they were miſerably racked to diſcover their Fellows, and not long after were ſhipped for *Spain*; having great Irons wrought like a Net that covered both head and feet, within which alſo was another peice of Iron made like a tongue, which being thruſt into their mouths took away their ſpeech; they were alſo loaden with other Engines and Fetters of Iron, wherewith they were bound hand and foot, and in theſe continual pains and torments they lay a Ship-board till they came into *Spain*, and then *John Leon* was ſent to *Sivil*, and his Companion to *Validolid*, where afterwards in defence of the truth he ſuffered Martyrdom; but *John* remained long in priſon, where he taſted of the Inquiſitors Tyranny, ſuffering both hunger and cold, and enduring all their torments one after another, and at laſt was brought out in their ſolemn ſhew, arraied after the uſual manner: It was a ſad ſight to ſee ſuch a Ghoſt as he was; his Hair ſo grown, his Body ſo lean, that he had nothing but Skin and Bones left on him, and his pain much encreaſed by having a Barnacle upon his Tongue. After Sentence of Death pronounced upon him, they ſet his Tongue at liberty, hoping that he would have recanted, but he made a ſtout and godly confeſſion of his Faith, and ſo quietly ended his Life in the flames.

Leon goeth towards England.

Is apprehended.

Sent to Spain.

Tormented.

Martyred.

There

There was alſo burned at the ſame time a Godly Virgin, that had formerly been a *Nun*, but being through Gods Grace converted, ſhe left her Cloiſter, and joyned her ſelf to the Church of Chriſt; being apprehended by the Inquiſitors, ſhe was treated as others had been before her; and at laſt was brought on the Scaffold, where with Manly Courage ſhe put the Inquiſitors to a foul Foil; not only conſtantly affirming the Truth; but ſharply rebuking thoſe Fathers, calling them Dumb Dogs, a Generation of Vipers, *&c.* Being brought to the ſtake, with a chearful Countenance ſhe underwent the pains of Death, and ſo quietly ſlept in the Lord. *A Maids Sufferings. Martyrdom.*

There was alſo one *Chriſtopher Loſada*, a Phyſitian, a Learned Man and very well ſtudied in the Scriptures; as alſo of a very holy Converſation, inſomuch as he was choſen Superintendent of the Church of Chriſt in *Sivil*, which at this time was very great, though diſperſed into Corners. At laſt he was apprehended by the Inquiſitors, before whom he had made good Confeſſion of his Faith, for which he endured hard and ſharp Impriſonment with moſt cruel Torments, and the open Infamy of their ſolemn Shew: And laſtly was adjudged to the Fire. As he ſtood at the ſtake, the Barnacle being taken from his Tongue, hd diſputed notably with ſome *Monks* that came to ſeduce him; and when they ſpake *Latine*, that the Common People might not underſtand them; *Loſada* alſo began to ſpeak in *Latin* ſo copiouſly & eloquently, as was ſtrange to hear that he ſhould have his wits ſo freſh when he was ready to be burned, after which he patiently reſigned up his ſpirit to God in the Fire. Chriſtopher Loſada. *His Conſtancy. His Death.*

There was alſo in *Sivil* one *Arias*, a man of a ſharp wit, and well ſtudied in Divinity, but withall of a Crafty Wit and Inconſtant Nature, which Vices he yet covered with a Cloak of Religion; whereby he deceived many. About this time there were alſo in this City two ſorts of Preachers, and both had a great number of Auditors; the one taught School-Divinity, and were continually calling upon their Hearers to often Faſtings, Mortification, Self-denial, Arias.

denial, Frequency of Prayer, Humility, &c. But themſelves practiſed nothing leſs than theſe things: And indeed all their Religion conſiſted in Words and Bodily Exerciſes, as running to *Maſſes*, Hallowed Places, Shrift, &c. The other ſort dealt more ſincerely with the Holy Scriptures, out of which they declared what was true Righteouſneſs and perfect Holineſs; By means whereof that City above all others in *Spain*, bore the name for juſt and true Dealing, and it pleaſed God that the brightneſs of this Light did diſcover all the Counterfeit Holineſs, and Phariſaical Devotion of the other Party: The cheif Labourers in this Harveſt, were *Conſtantine*, *Ægidius*, and *Varguius*, all Doctors, and ſober, wiſe and learned Men, who by this kind of Preaching procured to themſelves many Enemies, but above all others, *Arius* was the moſt ſpightful and malicious, yet he carried it ſo cunningly that he ſtill kept up his Reputation with theſe men, but it was not long before he diſcovered himſelf, and that upon this occaſion. There was one *Ruzius*, a Learned Man, queſtioned before the Inquiſitors for ſomething that he delivered in a Sermon about the Controverſies in Religion; the Inquiſitors appointed him a day of hearing; and two or three days before, *Arias* met him, ſaluted him courteouſly, and diſcourſed familiarly with him: then did he pump out of him all thoſe Arguments wherewith he intended to defend himſelf before the Inquiſitors. When the day came, and *Ruzius* appeared, *Arias* went on that ſide where his Opponents were, which much amazed *Ruzius*, and in the Diſputation, *Arias* being prepared, did ſo wittily enervate all his Arguments, that *Ruzius* had nothing to ſay for himſelf, and ſo was fain to yield the Cauſe, and *Arias* went away with the Honour of the Field, though he got it by Treachery. Yet did this *Arias*, being of St. *Iſidores*'s Monaſtery, Preach ſo practically, that a great Light began to dawn in that dark place; for the whole Scope of his Sermons was to overthrow their Profeſſion; he taught them, that ſinging and ſaying of heir Prayers night and day was no Service of God, that the Holy Scriptures were to be read and ſtudied with diligence, whence alone the true Service of God could be drawn, and which alone tells us the true obedience to his will, to the obtaining whereof we muſt uſe Prayer as a Means, proceeding as well from a ſenſe

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and feeling of our own Infirmities, as grounded upon a perfect truſt and confidence in God.

By laying theſe Foundations ,through Gods Bleſſing, he began to make them out of Love with their *Monkiſh* Superſtition, and much provoked them to the ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures; beſides alſo his Sermons, he read daily a Lecture upon *Solomons* Proverbs very learnedly, and made application thereof with good Judgment and Diſcretion; alſo in private conference he did much good: the Lord alſo ſo ordered it in his wiſdom, that he met with Scholars that were very tractable, ſuch as were not greatly wedded to their Superſtitions. And ſuch was the force and might of Gods Election, that theſe few good Seeds ſo fructified, that in the end they brought forth a great encreaſe of Godlineſs; for divers of the *Monks* that hereby had their Conſciences awakened and cleared, to ſee their former Hypocriſie and Idolatry, ſought out for further Inſtruction, and through Gods mercy, they light upon thoſe Preachers which taught the truth with more ſincerity, of whom they learned the Principles of pure and perfect Religion, ſo that by degrees they left that evil Opinion which they had formerly conceived againſt the *Lutherans*, and were deſirous to read their Books: and God miraculouſly provided for them, they had all ſorts of Books brought them, that were extant at that time, either in *Geneva* or *Germany*, whereby it came to paſs, that there were very few in all that Cloiſter, but they had ſome taſt of true Religion and Godlineſs; ſo that inſtead of mumbling their Mattens, they brought in Divinity-Lectures, and Vain Faſting was turned into Chriſtian Sobriety; neither were any taught to be *Monkiſh*, but to be ſincerely and truly religious.

But conſidering, that when this ſhould be once known, they could not live in any ſafety, they reſolved among themſelves, to forſake their Neſt, and to flie into *Germany*, where they might enjoy more ſafety of their Lives, and freedom of their Conſciences; but how to get thither, was all the difficulty; if one or two ſhould go firſt, the reſt would be expoſed

poſed to danger; if many ſhould go together, a thouſand to one but they would be taken again, being to travel from the furtheſt part of *Spain* into *Germany*: yet upon Debate they concluded that they muſt all either ſpeedily depart, or ſhortly be apprehended by the *Inquiſitors*, who now had got ſome inckling of the matter; and God ſeeing them in this Diſtreſs, ſhewed them a means how, under an honeſt pretence, a dozen of them might depart together within a Month, and each of them betake himſelf a ſeveral way to *Geneva*, where they appointed, by Gods aſſiſtance, all to meet within a Twelvemonth: the reſt, which were but young Novices, were left behind; who yet not long after were ſo ſtrengthened by God, that they endured the Brunt of Perſecution when it came, three of them being burned, and divers others diverſly puniſhed.

The aforementioned Servants of Jeſus Chriſt forſook that place where they lived in honour, eaſe, and plenty; and by undertaking for Chriſt's ſake a voluntary Exile, expoſed themſelves to Shame, Ignominy, Wants, yea, and were in continual danger of their Lives alſo. And under God *Arias* was a great means of this, who by his Miniſtry had firſt enlightned them with the Knowledge of the Truth; for which he was often complained of to the *Inquiſitors*, and was convented before them; where he ſo cunningly anſwered the Matter, that he was ſtill diſcharged: but this laſt Apprehenſion (through the Mercy of God) brought forth in him the Fruits of true Repentance; for he did ſo deeply and unfeignedly bewail and repent of his former withholding of the Truth in unrighteouſneſs, that whereas he uſed to be exceeding fearful of the Rack, he being brought to it, and upon it, with a marvellous conſtancy withſtood the enemies of of Gods Truth, and took up the *Inquiſitors* roundly, withal telling them that he was heartily ſorry, and did moſt earneſtly repent him, for that he had wittingly and willingly in their preſence impugned the Truth, againſt the godly Defenders of the ſame; many other ſharp Rebukes he gave to the *Inquiſitors* ſo often as he came to his Anſwer: But at laſt he was brought forth arrayed in their accuſtomed manner, upon their Day of Triumph; at which time, he alſo made

Arias *his Recovery.*

His Courage.

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a notable Profeſſion of his Faith, and ſo was led from the Stage to the Stake with a merry and chearful countenance, where, by the notable Example of his Repentance at his Death, he made ſatisfaction to the Church of Chriſt for all his former unfaithful and hypocritical dealing with it; and ſo quietly ſlept in the Lord.

And thus you ſee what hath been the Lot and Portion of the Church and People of God, *viz.* That *through many Tribulations they ſhould enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* Here you have a certain and infallible Mark of the true Church of Chriſt, *viz.* *To be hated and perſecuted by the Devil and his Inſtruments.* Herein, as in a Perſpective, you may look back upon the perſecution of the Church of Chriſt, by reaſon of that cruel *Spaniſh Inquiſition.*

Upon the whole, let us conſider, if that Religion ſhould be ſet up amongſt us, which allows of ſuch Cruelty and Tyranny, whether or no we have not cauſe to fear the worſt, and to prepare for it. *Fore-warned, Fore-armed.*

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APPENDIX.

THe Inſtitution of this *Spaniſh Inquiſition* at firſt was not only neceſſary (as the condition of affairs then was) but exceeding laudable, had it been kept within the bounds at firſt intended; but inſtead of being uſed on the *Jews* and *Moors*, it hath been turned on the *Proteſtants*, and that with ſuch violence and extremity of Torture, that it is counted the greateſt Tyranny, and ſevereſt kind of Perſecution under heaven; inſomuch that many *Papiſts* who would willingly die for their Religion, abhor the very name and mention of it, and to the death withſtand the bringing in of this Slavery amongſt them; this was it which cauſed the irremediable Revolt of the *Low-Countries*; the greateſt part of that Nation, at the time of their taking Arms, being *Roman* Catholicks; yet it is planted and eſtabliſhed in *Spain* and all *Italy* (*Naples* and *Venice* excepted) the management thereof committed to the moſt zealous and rigorous *Friers* in the whole Pack; the leaſt ſuſpicion of Hereſy, (as they call it) Affinity or Commerce with Hereticks, reproving the Lives of the Clergy, keeping any Books or *E*ditions of Books prohibited, or diſcourſing in matters of Religion, are Offences ſufficient; nay they will charge Mens Conſciences under the pains of Damnation, to detect their neareſt and deareſt Friends, if they do but ſuſpect them to be herein culpabl. Their proceedings are with great ſecrecy and ſeverity; for, 1. The parties accuſed ſhall never know their Accuſer, but ſhall be conſtrain'd to reveal their own thoughts and affections. 2. If they be but convinced of any Errour in any of their Opinions, or be gainſayed by two Witneſſes, they are immediately condemned. 3. If nothing can be proved againſt them, yet ſhall they with infinite tortures and miſeries be kept in the houſe divers years, for a terrour unto others. And laſtly, If they eſcape the firſt Brunt with many torments and much anguiſh, yet the ſecond Queſtion or Suſpition brings Death remedileſs. And as for torments and kinds of Death, *Phalaris* and his Fellow-Tyrants came far ſhort of theſe Blood-hounds.

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The Administration of this Office, for the more orderly regulation and dispatch thereof, is distributed into 12 Courts or *Supream Tribunals* for the several Provinces of *Spain*, no one depending upon another, but in sort subordinate to the *General Inquisition*, remaining in the Court near the King's Person, which hath a kind of Superintendency over those Tribunals. In all which, those of the Secular Clergy sit as Judges, the Friers being only used as Promoters, to inform the Court, and bring more Grist unto the Mill of these *Inquisitors*: every one hath the title of Lord, and are a great terrour to the Neigbouring Peasants; certain it is, that by this means the people of this Kingdom are so kept under, that they dare not hearken after any other Religion than what their Priests and Friers shall be pleased to teach them; or entertain the Truth, if it comes amongst them, or call in question any of those palpable and gross Impostures which every day are put upon them: for by this means the People of this Kingdom have been, and still are, punctual Followers of the Church of *Rome*; and that too in the very errors and corruptions of it, taking up their Religion on the *Popes* Authority, and therein so tenacious or pertinacious, that the King doth suffer none to live in his Dominions which profess not the *Roman* Catholick Religion; of which they have been, since the time of *Luther*, such avowed Patrons, that one of the late Popes being sick, and hearing divers men to bemoan his approaching end, uttered some words to this effect; My Life, said he, can nothing benefit the Church, but pray for the Prosperity of the King of *Spain*, as its chief Supporter. And thus you have the Original of the Inquisition.

FINIS.

The Administration of this Office, for the more orderly re-
gulation and dispatch thereof, is distributed into 12 Coun-
cils or Supreme Tribunals for the several Provinces of Spain, no one de-
pending upon another, but in fort subordinate to the Central
Junta, residing in the Court near the King's Person, which
hath a kind of Vice-Patronage over those Tribunals. In all
which those particular Clergy sit as Judges, the Laity being
only called as Deputies, to inform the Court, and bring more
Credit unto it. For those Magistrates: every one hath the title
of Lord, and are appointed to be Neighbouring Peasants;
certainly, that by this means the people of this Kingdom are
to keep under, that they dare not hearken after any other Reli-
gion than what their Priests and Friers shall be pleased to
teach them; or entertain the Truth, if it come amongst
them, or call in question any of those palpable and gross Im-
postures, which every day are put upon them: for by this
means the People of this Kingdom have been, and still are,
punctual Followers of the Church of Rome; and that too in
the very Circumstances and commotions of it, taking up their Re-
ligion on the Pope's Authority, and therein to tenacious or
pertinacious, that the King doth suffer none to live in his
Dominions which profess not the Roman Catholick Religion;
of which they have been, since the time of Luther, such
avowed Patrons, that one of the late Popes being sick, and
hearing divers men to bemoan his approaching end, uttered
these words to this effect; My Life, said he, can no-
thing benefit the Church, but pray for the Prosperity of
the King of Spain, as its chief Supporter. And thus you
have the Original of the Inquisition.

FINIS.

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AN

ACCOUNT,

OF THE

Behaviour of the Fourteen

Late Popish Malefactors,

whil'st in *NEWGATE.*

And Their

Discourses with the Ordinary,

VIZ.

Mr. *Staley,*	Mr. *Green,*	Mr. *Fenwick,*
Mr. *Coleman,*	Mr. *Hill,*	Mr. *Gawen,*
Mr. *Grove,*	Mr. *Berry,*	Mr. *Turner,*
Mr. *Ireland,*	Mr. *Whitebread,*	AND
Mr. *Pickering,*	Mr. *Harcourt,*	Mr. *Langhorn.*

ALSO,

A *CONFUTATION* of their Appeals, Courage, and Cheerfulness, at *Execution.*

By *SAMUEL SMITH,* Ordinary of *Newgate,* and Minister of the GOSPEL.

He who is First in his Own Cause, seemes Just; But his Neighbor comes, and Searches him, Prov. 18. 17.

It is not probable, that such who will Perjure themselves, to Calumniate Protestants, should be Capable of giving any real Testimonies for Themselves.

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The Unmasking of the Thirteen Popiſh Malefactors:

AND

Their Diſcourſes with the Ordinary, &c.

IT being deſired of me by a Worthy Divine, that I ſhould Publiſh what I ſaid to *Staley*, who was Condemn'd for Treaſonable Speeches: Likewiſe my Diſcourſes with the other Twelve Jeſuitical and Popiſh Conſpirators, before their being Drawn out to their Execution: I could not (though with ſome reluctancy at firſt) but grant him his Requeſt; hoping that this Narrative may be of publick Uſe and Benefit to all, into whoſe hands it ſhall come; to acquaint them with the Truth of what I ſpake to them, by way of Advice, to Prepare them for their approaching Death: And that I may give ſome Satisfaction, to ſuch as are apt to be ſtaggered in the Belief of their Abominable Crimes, becauſe they frequently Avowed their Innocency. Which Satisfaction I ſhall perform in order as they Suffered.

I. Mr. Staley.

THe firſt perſon Executed, was Mr. *Staley*, who ſpake Treaſonable words againſt his Majeſty, which expreſly threatned to take away his Sacred Life. I did frequently, after the Sentence of Death was paſt on the ſaid *Staley*, viſit him in order to Prepare him for his Execution. In my firſt Addreſs to him, I told him, I came not to inſult over him, but out of Conſcience to diſcharge the Duty of my Office: He received me with great willingneſs, and ſaid, *He had great Terror upon his Conſcience for the Guilt of his many and great Sins*; yet utterly deny'd the ſpeaking of thoſe words for which he ſtood Condemned. I told him, that the readieſt way to be free from thoſe Terrors, was to make an Ingenuous Penitent acknowledgement; and that for Tongue-ſins or ſecret Heart-ſins formerly Indulged, God might juſtly deſert him, to enſnare himſelf by ſuch Treaſonable Words. He ſaid, *He never had any thought of miſchief againſt the Kings Perſon.* I replied, that words were the natural product of thoughts, and a frequent Prologue to

the most abominable Actions. He persisted in denying, that he spoke any words tending to that sense; but when I told him, that his friend, who was Drinking with him, could, or had Deposed upon Oath, that he spake those very words: He replied, *Nay, if my Friend will sware so much, it is probable I might (in the heat and extravagancy of Passion) utter them, though they never were intended in my Heart.* He had great Remorse for the sinfulness of his Life, and expressed some particulars which I shall not mention. I told him, if he expected any settlement of true serenity in Conscience, that he must not seek it in adhering to the *Romish Religion*; For false and loose Principles can never produce solid and lasting Comfort: then I undertook to convince him from the Sacred Scriptures, of the many Absurdities which are maintain'd by Popish Doctors, that it is a presumption not to doubt of Salvation, and yet that a person may Merit it, which is utterly inconsistent; for if any man doubt of his future happy estate, how can he Merit it? and if he may Merit it, what need he doubt, when by works of a self-Righteousness, he can create a Title, or may lay Claim to Eternal Life? I judged it necessary, in order to the removing his Terror in Conscience, to inform him aright; that although it were impossible to fulfil the Covenant of Works, or to attain any Perfection in this Life; yet there is a Foundation of hope, for degenerate Man-kind as restored to the Image of God by Christ; Whose satisfaction to divine Justice, is of infinit value and vertue: so that Christ being the only Mediator by Redemption, it is Blasphemy, and the highest Sacriledg to constitute or invocate any Saint or Angel as a Mediator of intercession. For this is equivalent to Christ's Infinit Satisfaction, as grounding the Right of his intercession, especially considering, that Mediatory Intercession is only the representing and pleading the Merit of infinit Satisfaction. Upon this, he exprest an Assent to what I had affirmed, by bowing his head; and applying his hand to his Breast, he said, *Sir, Go on.* Then I unfolded the nature and necessity of Faith and Repentance in order to the Justification of a sinner; how they were the conditions of the Covenant of Grace, So required of us, for pardon of sin, and eternal Life; As that they could not be extracted out of the power of free-will in man, but were the sole purchase of Christs free-Love; who by his Spirit, infusing the principle of Faith and Repentance, doth Regenerate, and actually reconcile a sinner to God; and so Redeem, or set him free from the slavery of his corrupt will, which he cannot shake off by any Improvement of Natural Reason, or moral Resolutions. I stated also the difference twixt true saving faith and repentance, from that which is false: And that the Office of Faith, is not only to rely on

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the mercy of God, and merits of Christ, but also to give back the the whole man, in an hearty resignation, to the conduct and government of Christs Word and Spirit in all things. That Saving-Repentance was not an Act of meer Attrition, which only effects a legal consternation in Conscience, from the apprehension of guilt, and divine Wrath: But true Repentance is Evangelical, wrought deep in the heart by sound Contrition for sin as sin, chiefly for offending the Holy God: so that it is the result of an holy filial Ingenuity, and is incouraged by the hope of Mercy, attended with an hatred of all sin, and a studious resolution to walk in all holy Obedience. Here I told him, what an unsound dangerous Opinion that was of the *Romish Doctors*, who maintain Attrition only with the receit of the Eucharist, and the Sacrament of Absolution at the very point of Death to be a sufficient Pasport for a comfortable Exit out of the World, or Ticket to claime Salvation: After this, and some other Discourse, he thankt me for my Advice, and said, *He was much Benefited, Supported, and Comforted thereby*: And desired me, as frequently as I could, to renew my visits of him; so I promised I would, and then I prayd with him; and he was very intentive, and much affected with what I Pray'd.

When I came again, he complained, that his heart was not so throughly Contrite for sin as he desired; that he was much perplexed that he had no more Assurance of a future happy state. I stated the nature of true saving-Faith, that it was an adherence to the free grace of God in Christ, for pardon and Eternal Life, joyned with an obedient self-resignation; and where this was wrought, the soul-state was safe, tho assurance of Gods Love might be wanting. For this was not an essential Priviledge, absolutely necessary to Salvation, but only a peculiar favor given to strict walking Christians; and that only at some set-times, in great extremity and need of such hidden *Manna*. That it was rather of the nature of a Rational short sensation, than the Ground of setled Comfort; which is the result of an *Heroical* strain of Faith, to trust in God, when he seems to reject and slay us; and that the Lord doth more esteem this resolute dependency, in the midst of seeming-contradictions, than the most multiplyed Acts of external Worship. Upon this he was somwhat more serene in his mind: And I told him, that in praying and seeking the Lord more fervently, comfort would gradually be obtained.

The next day he distrusted his Heart, as to the Truth of his Faith and Repentance, which I told him, was a good signe that he was in a hopeful way of making his Peace with God. That he must wait in believing that he should obtain Comfort promised to the Penitent.

He desired me to pray with him, and for him; and to prepare to speak somwhat of the sufferings of Christ, when I should next Visit him. Accordingly, from that Text, *I am Crucified with Christ*, I treated of many parts of his Bitter Passion, and of his Soul-agonies, inferring matter not only of Comfort from thence, but also of Instruction, for our Imitation and Conformity. I left him afterward in a frame more willing and fit to Die; and comming to him on the very Morning he was to Suffer, he told me, that *Now he had more Comfort, and an hope of his future Happy-state*: yet renouncing all opinion of worth in his own Tears, Prayers, and Humiliation. He was solicitous, if the Executioner should deal with him according to the strictness of the Sentence, lest feeling any pain (if Cut down, & ript up Alive) he should Curse, or use any Unchristian word: *Which rather than to do* (said he) *I would Bite my Tongue in pieces; for I dread Sin now, more than Death.* I told him, that I hoped the manner of his Execution would be mitigated; however, that God would prevent Sin in him at the time of his Suffering, because he was so anxious as to distrust himself, and cautious to avoid all unbecomming Words or Gestures. After some farther Discourse, I pray'd with him, and he was much pleased with my attendance about him; yet he spared me from going with him to the place of Execution for some Reasons. I cannot say how he declared himself there, because I was not present: But upon my whole Observation of his Behaviour in Prison, I do charitably judge, he was a real Penitentiary. It was doubtful to some, whether he dyed in the *Roman* or *Protestant Religion*; because (as I think) he did not at last declare himself either way: Yet this I am sure of, that if he had solid and true Comfort in Dying, this could not proceed from such a sandy foundation as his old Popish Principles, but only from Self-abhorrency in the sense of his great Sinfulness, and the defectiveness of his best *Repentance* and *Obedience*, that he might build his hope on *Christ*, and his *Righteousness* only, as the *Rock* of Eternal Life.

II. Mr. Coleman.

I Come now to *Coleman*, of whom I can say very little, because he had an Arrogant opinion of his own Abilities; and out of an Hope to be Canonized for a Saint, despised and rejected any Assistance from me, either by Discourse or Prayer. I offered him both on the next day after the Sentence of Death pass'd upon him; but he returned me this Answer (by the Messenger I sent to him, to know if he would admit me) *That he had but a very short time to Prepare himself for Death, and would not be hindred in the Loss of any part of it*; thanking me for my offer of Visiting him, but desired me to forbear. I put a fair construction on the Message brought me at the first, thinking he might

might be very buſie at that time, about ſome extraordinary emergency, or indiſpoſed to be Viſited; and therefore told the Meſſenger, that I would attend on him on ſome other fit time. The Officer told me, that Mr. *Coleman* would never admit me; and he inferred it from his manner of ſpeaking that Meſſage which he ſent by him; he obſerved his Countenance and Geſtures in the delivery of it. So I totally deſiſted. Yet when he was brought down from his Chamber in the *Preſs-yard*-ſide, to go to the Sledge, I ſtayed him a little, ſaying, Mr. *Coleman*, You did not think well of admitting me, yet know, I have earneſtly Prayed that God would give you true and great Repentance for your great Crimes, ſtand not out in your denying of them. Some other words I uſed, to which he replyed in ſhort and quick tone, *Thank you, thank you.* As I moved nearer with him towards the gate, he ſaid, *Sir, I muſt beg your Pardon.* It being a ſtrange word to drop from Him, I askt him for what? He replyed, *That I did not Admit you; but truly, it was not in any contempt of your Office; but when you ſent to me, I was under ſome perplexed Thoughts; and for other Conſiderations, thought it not Convenient.* Then I told him, that I would pray for him as a dying man, which he took well, and ſo we parted.

III. Mr. Grove.

MR. *Grove* was Executed on Friday the 24th. of *January* 1678. I ſpake to him in the Chappel theſe words (before he was carried down the Stone-ſtairs unto the Sledg:) Sir, I earneſtly deſire you, Now that you are going to appear at the Tribunal of Chriſt, that you would clear your Conſcience and ſpeak the Truth, that you may die in Peace: And I do Exhort you, that you would beg of God great Repentance for your great ſins. He repli'd, *That he did underſtand his Duty.* Yet I perſiſted, to exhort him not to truſt to the merits of any Saint or Angel, but wholly to go out of himſelf, not grounding any Confidence of his Salvation on any prayers, tears, nor the deepeſt Humiliation of his own heart. That even Cardinal *Bellarmine* ſaid, when dying, *It was ſafeſt to rely wholly and ſolely on the Alſufficient Merits of the bleſſed* Jeſus. Mr. *Grove* replied, *That Thomas a Kempis had ſaid the ſame:* To which I replied, Do you conſider of it, and Act accordingly: For you muſt not hazard your Souls eternal welfare by any preſumptious mixing of your own good works with Chriſts Infinit Satisfaction and Merits. For the Apoſtle ſaint *Paul* ſaith, *If Juſtification be of Works, it is altogether of Works; but if of free Grace, it is altogether of Grace.*

So I took leave of Mr. *Grove*, desiring him to consider well of what I had said, Praying that the Lord would in much mercy look upon his soul to pardon him, and fit him for his approaching Death. Mr. *Grove* seemed to take in good part what was said to him. After which, he was conducted down to the Sledg.

IV. Mr. Ireland.

MR. *Ireland* was Executed on the same day with Mr. *Grove*, to whom I had not time to say more than these few words, *viz.* Sir, I do earnestly beg of God to grant you mercy and pardon for your great sins. Trust alone in the Righteousness and Merits of Christ Jesus: Compose your self in your passage, and fix your Heart upon the Lord, till you Expire. Which words Mr. *Ireland* seemed to take kindly from me: And so we took leave of each other.

Here I cannot forbear to give some account of Mr. *Irelands* perverting of a Woman who was Burnt in *Smithfield* for Clipping his Majesties Coine. This seduction of the said Woman from the Protestant Religion, was before Mr. *Ireland* was Apprehended for the late Conspiracy. An Officer in *Newgate* did assure me, when *Ireland* was commited for the Plot, that he was able to take his Oath, that *Ireland* perverted that woman some time before; for he well knew him upon a second Reveiw, but knew him not to be a *Papist* or *Priest* at first; for he was admitted to her as a Friend. *Irelands* stratagem in turning the Woman to become a *Papist*, was thus discovered. Early on the morning on which she was Executed, I askt her, what hope she had of a future happy state? she hufft at me, telling me, *I need not trouble my self about her, for she was sure of her Salvation.* I wondered at her Confidence, but suspected not the Grounds of her Malepartness.

After I had Exhorted and Prayed with her at the place of Execution, and was taking my farewell of her; she entreated me to give her some time to pray for her self, which she did: In her Prayer, she mixed these words, *Lord grant, that the offering up of my Body to the Flames, may expiate the guilt of all my Sins, and save my soul.* I told her, when she had finisht her prayer, that the foresaid expression smelt rank of *Popery*; and therefore askt her, what Religion she came to die in? She replied, *she was a Roman Catholick.* I askt her, How long she had been such? She said, *that a good Minister had told her, that if she died in the Protestant Religion*

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gion, she was sure to be Damned. And that he proved it by this Scripture, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I Build my Church.* So that, he assur'd her, that the Religion of the *Romish Bishop*, who was St. *Peter's* Successor, was the *Rock* there meant; and so there was no Salvation to those who are Separatists from that Church, and the Profession of it. I told her, That the *Priest* had deceived her. For the *Rock* was not St. *Peter's* Person, nor his Verbal Confession of *Christ*; for if so, Where was the *Rock*, and, What became of the *Church*, when St. *Peter* so shamefully denyed his *Lord* thrice? But the only True *Rock*, on which the Church is Built, is the very Person, Offices and Merits of *Christ*, the Son of *God*, who was the Object of St. *Peter's* Confession. She was attentive to what I said, and seemed somewhat sensible of her being deceived. Saying, *She was willing to be Saved betwixt us Both.* But I told her, She must not halt 'twixt two Religions, so opposite to each other; and that it was very dangerous to dye in the *Roman* Perswasion. She told me, *She could not Renounce it, in as much as the said* Priest *had obliged her by the Blessed Sacrament, that she should never recant or depart from the* Popish Religion, *as the best and safest to Dye in.* I convinced her with Arguments to the contrary; yea, she her self was not Credulous of their absurd Affirming of the *Transubstantiation* of the Sacramental Bread and Wine, into the very Body and Blood of *Christ*: For she said, *She neither tasted any Flesh or Blood.* She also declared, *That she had no Good Works of her own, which she durst trust to, as Meritorious of Heaven; but relyed wholly and solely on Christ's Righteousness.* Whereupon I told her, She denyed the grand Points of *Popery*; and therefore, was a *Papist* to get a Pretended Absolution, or upon some Designe. But, fearing to Dye in the *Romish* Opinions, she ask't me, *If she should not be Perjured, if she renounced them, having taken the Sacrament, to persist in them?* I told her, That she must not cleave to an unlawful wicked Oath; but beg Repentance of God, that she so easily suffered her self to be seduced. I told her, That the Lord saith by the Prophet, *That an Oath must be taken in Truth, Righteousness, and Judgment.*

Now, she did not, neither could swear in Truth, because it was to a False Religion; nor in Judgment, in Wisdom and Discretion, because she swore rashly and inconsiderately: Therefore, this Oath was Void in its own Nature; and it could not bind her, the Matter of it being Unlawful and Wicked.

At last, being Convinced of her Error, she was willing to Retract it: But I told her, That what she did, she must do willingly, and from a sincere penitent Frame of Heart. She said, *She could and would freely* (out of Conviction of her Duty) *Renounce all*

Romish Opinions and Practices; which she did openly, with an Audible Voice; affirming, That she dyed a *True Protestant*. So I took her by the Hand, and Prayed again with her, that God would pardon her former Levity, and give her Perseverance in the True Faith, which she had so solemnly re-imbraced.

This was the first Discovery of Proselyting condemned Malefactors at *Newgate*: To prevent which Seduction, Captain *Richardson* (since this came to his Knowledge) is very watchful, and gives all his Officers a Charge to suffer none to come to Condemned Persons, but only such whom they know to be *Protestant-Divines*; and that alwayes, an Officer be present to hear what passes in Discourse.

V. Mr. Pickering.

I Had discourse with him before his Execution; but he would not permit me to pray with him, only desired my Prayers at Home for him; which I promised him, and he Thanked me. I was present at his Execution, because he was Hanged after three other ordinary Malefactors. When he came out of the Sledge into the Cart, He had a great Flushing in his Face; I apprehended by his Words and Gesture, that he had Elevated his Artificial Courage; or rather sunck himself into a Sullenness, by taking Cordyal-Spirits: For he was unconcerned at the Approach of his own Death, and no way affected with his monstrous Crime. With an impudent Face, a lying Tongue, and anticke Carriage, he Denyed what he was Condemned for, and Asserted his Innocency. He was reproved by the Sheriffs, for such impudent Lying; having had a fair Tryal, and found Guilty of the whole Indictment charged upon him: Yet so seared are the Consciences of these Grand Traytors, and Enemies to all Order, and well-Establish't Government, as well as the True and Pure Religion, that they will hazard the Eternal Loss of their Souls, as to a future happy State, rather than declare any Remorse for their abominable Designes and Practices. Yea, they stick not to justify themselves, as if Perjury could change the heinous Nature of Treason, and wash it into a perfect Innocency.

Sir *Richard How* told *Pickering*, That he should have a considerable Time to prepare for his instant Death, if he would improve it well, and not mispend it in extravagant, and false Pretences. He likewise call'd unto him, to put him in mind of Praying for himself; alleadging, that it was reported, that he was a *Priest*; therefore, he ought to be able to pray, in Expressions, and with

with Affections ſuitable to his preſent Diſtreſs: Yet *Pickering* neither warned the People, to take heed of an ill Life, nor Confeſs'd any Sin to God, of which himſelf was Guilty; but with a kind of rude ſmiling, denyed himſelf to be a *Prieſt*, but only a Religious Brother. Sir *Richard* ask't him, If he were aſhamed of his Religion, or, That the People ſhould hear him Pray? For ſome of his Fraternity, Executed before, only muttered a few Private *Ave-Maryes*, or other *Popiſh* Prayers, to themſelves. Then *Pickering* repeated the *Lord's-Prayer*, and the *Apoſtolical-Creed*; and ſaid no more, as to any Religious Concernments. Then the *Ordinary*, being in the Cart with him, exhorted him to Expreſs himſelf more fully and pathetically in Prayer, ſutable to the diſtreſs of a Dying Man, which he refuſed to do. Then I ask't him, that I might Pray for him, becauſe he might be uncompoſed or indiſpoſed himſelf: But he ſaid, That he did not matter it; he had rather I ſhould let it alone. So after a ſtrange unbecoming, ſtupid, and ſullen behaviour of himſelf, when he deſired no longer time, his face was vailed, and he was turned off: he hung about half an hour, and then was Cut down and Quartered.

VI. Mr. Green.

Green was one of the Murtherers of Sir *Edmundberry Godfrey*. He was born in *Ireland* of a Proteſtant Father, (as himſelf ſaid) but his mother being a Papiſt and his father dying, she committed the Son to his Uncle (her brother) for Education, in the Popish Religon. *Green* could neither read nor write, yet his Uncle had ſo trained him up in the Popish Principles, that he was a fitter ſubject (when grown up) for Popish Prieſts to work upon, and make him an Engine for their deſtructive Practiſes. This appeared by their inveigling of him into the horrid murther of the ſaid Sir *Edmund*: *Green* had ſome time before been prefer'd to be Chappel-keeper at *Sommerſet*-houſe. Hereupon the chief contrivers of that Murther, took their opportunity to draw him in, to be an Actor in that bloody Tragedy. *Green* was very ready at hand for that purpoſe, and was the eaſier induced thereunto, becauſe Sir *Edmund*, being one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace, was very active in diſcovering and committing Popiſh Prieſts to Cuſtody: his Life was laid wait for ſeveral times, not only for the reaſon aforeſaid, but chiefly becauſe he had taken ſome Examinations upon Oath, concerning the late Horrid popiſh Conſpiracy, which they thought (if Sir *Edmund* were kill'd) would be loſt, or not ſo valid in their Credibility. But in this they were infatuated, for the murther of

this Worthy Patriot, confirmed the belief of the Plot. The manner of contriving Sir *Edmund*'s Death was thus. As he paſſed by *Sommerſet*-Houſe, he was importun'd by ſome of the Complices in the murthering of him, to turn in at the Gate, under pretence that there was a fray within the Court; and that he being a Juſtice of the Peace, might (as he was bound) do a great good Office in appeaſing the Scuffle. Sir *Edmund* went in, not miſtruſting their deſign on him: But theſe cruel Enemies to the Proteſtant Religion, had no ſooner got him into the back part of *Sommerſet*-Houſe, but they joſled him into a private room, and there ſet upon him with their Fury. The Narrative is in Print, and too tedious to relate. Therefore in ſum, as to *Greens* part, who acted in that bloody Tragedy, it was proved upon Oath, that he ſtrangled Sir *Edmund*; and farther acted, in conveighing his dead body to the place where it was afterwards found. *Green* being condemned to be hanged for this Barbarous Murther, I proffer'd my ſelf (as *Ordinary*) to viſit, and fit him for his approaching Death. He accepted of it, and I went to him ſeveral days, to make him ſenſible of ſo great a Crime. He ſtifly denied it, as alſo did *Hill* and *Berry*, to the laſt. I urged *Green* with various Arguments, to adore the Soveraignty of divine Providence, which had thus wonderfully brought to light ſuch a ſecret miſtery of Iniquity, hardly to be parallell'd, in any Age. Yet *Green* was very obſtinate, in ſtanding out to deny, that he knew any thing of this Murther more or leſs, which I told him proceeded from ſome or all of theſe Reaſons following; either becauſe he had taken an Oath of Secreſy, or counted it no ſin, but rather a meritorious Act, to deſtroy ſuch a grand Heretick as Sir *Edmund* was accounted. Or had received a Popiſh Abſolution from the Guilt of that Murther, and ſo lookt upon himſelf as Innocent as the Child Unborn. Or would not confeſs that horrid Crime, to decline caſting a great reproach upon the Popiſh Party. Yet however, I did not ceaſe for many days to exhort him, to unburthen his *Conſcience* of this particular Guilt. I aggravated in many particulars, the heinouſneſs of the ſin of Murther, eſpecially of this, committed with ſuch perfidious and cruel Circumſtances. Yet no Arguments prevailed with him to acknowledg it.

I found him Ignorant in the Principles of the Chriſtian Faith; therefore I took the more pains to inform him of the danger of dying in the *Romiſh* Perſwaſion, which is groſly oppoſite, by the Mixture of many abſurd Traditions, to the ſaving Fundamentals of Chriſtianity. He ſaid, That he did not believe many Points of *Popery*; *viz.* The Power of *Prieſtly Abſolution*, nor the Merits of

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Good Works to claim Salvation by: Nor that it was Lawful to Pray to any *Saint* or *Angel*: And that no *Sin* was *Venial* in its own Nature, though it were never ſo ſmall. I much wondred, that he ſhould ſay, He believed not any of theſe *Popiſh* Points; and yet, that he ſhould wear a *Crucifix* at his Girdle. I deſired him, not to put any Religion in Looking on It, nor in Kiſſing of It. He ſaid, He put no Confidence of Salvation in It; only It was a Remembrance of his Bleſſed *Saviour*. I told him, That *Chriſt* had left no ſuch, nor any other Memorials of Himſelf, but only in the Scriptures of Sacred Truth, and in the Sacraments: That it is the Office of the *Holy Spirit*, to bring every Truth neceſſary for Salvation, to our Remembrance: And that *Chriſt*, his Offices and Merits, were only to be Believed in; and were ſufficient to put us in mind of our Duty, and to quicken holy Affections in us.

I ſaid moreover, That it was a more Refined peice of *Idolatry*, to Conceive otherwiſe of *God* in our Thoughts, than as He had Revealed himſelf by the Scriptures of Truth, in his Infinite Excellencies. And therefore, to relieve us, in preventing any groſs Miſtakes in our abſurd Imaginations of *God*, we were bound to fix our Thoughts and Conceptions in Prayer, upon *God* in *Chriſt*, as Incarnate; who is the only expreſs Image of the *Deity*, and not any Corporeal, diſhonorable Miſ-repreſentations of *God*, by the help of Pictures or Crucifixes.

I found alſo, that his *Popiſh* Education had ſtrongly prevailed on him, to adhere to the falſe and abſurd Dotages of the *Romiſh* Church: For when I told him, That it was not ſafe to Dye in that Religion; He replyed, *That he was reſolved to hold and perſevere in it, becauſe he had been Bred up in it*. I ſaid, That could not be a ſolid Argument; for then he might be as Peremptory to dye in a ſinful State, becauſe the Principles of a Corrupt Nature were rivited in his Heart, and were grown familiar to him by Cuſtom.

He was ſometimes Pettiſh; yet when the Fit was off, he harkned to my Advice, and joyned with me in Prayer. I deſired him, not to mock *God*, either by any deliberate Wandring in his Thoughts, while I ſhould pray; nor by ſaying any *Ave-Maryes*, or *Popiſh* Petitions, ſecretly to himſelf. He promiſed me, he would not. He was troubled for his ſinful Courſe of Life: Yet I told him, That was not Repentance deep enough. *David's* Heart was the Centre of his Remorſe; and that not only his heinous Crimes of Murder and Adultery, were his Burthen, but the Senſe of his vile Corrupt Nature, which was the poyſonous Spring of all ſcandalous Impieties. And that, as we are in our

Thanksgivings for Divine Mercies, to Ascend to the Free-Grace of *God*, in giving *Christ* to Redeem us, as the Spring-head of all Spiritual Benefits; So, in a penitent Confession of Sin, we must likewise Ascend to the Guilt and Defylement of Original Sin, whence all Actual Abominations flow. That this is a great Relief to us, when we cannot make a distinct Particular Enumeration of our Sins: And that no Hypocrite can be truly humbled for the sin of his Corrupt Nature, nor for Gospel-Unbelief, which is the direct damning Sin, as being against the very Remedy of our Recovery from a State of Sin and Misery.

Every day, after suitable Advices given to him, I Pray'd with him. He had not been Grammarred in that strange Distinction, which most of those *Popish* Malefactors had learn't, That a *Papist* may lawfully desire a *Protestants* Prayers at Home; yet that his Joyning in Prayer, is an owning of their reputed Heresie; whose Breath is Infectious, when poured out in the Solemnity of praying mutually in each others Presence. *Hill* had learnt this Evasion, though *Staley* and *Berry*, as well as *Green*, had not. I believe, the true reason, why all the other Criminals denyed me Liberty to Pray with them, was, Lest I should touch too distinctly upon the right Sore, (which they palliated, yea denyed) and so dreaded that Trouble and Perplexity, which might thereby be raised in their Consciences.

I can give no further Account of *Green*, but only this, That upon the Day before his Execution, he told me, That he had received much Information by my Discourses, and Benefit by my Prayers, in order to fit him for his Death: He thank't me for my Visits, but discharged me from farther Attendance upon him; so I went not with him to the Place of Execution, to observe what End he made.

VII. Mr. Hill.

THis *Hill* was one of the Murtherers of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. He was Born and Bred a *Papist*. He was not a Shoomaker, as was reported; but the Son of a Shoo-maker. He said, That he had been Servant to a *Recusant Lady*, and managed some of her Concernments; and went over Sea sometime, to give her an Account thereof. That he had lately hired an house for himself to Dwell in; But was not present at the aforesaid Murther: Yea, that he knew nothing of it, more or less, neither before nor after. This he often averred with so many self-Imprecations, that I was afraid to urge him for the present, to

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any farther Acknowledgment; leſt I might thereby, give him an Occaſion to aggravate his Sin, and ſeal up his Damnation with greater Obduration and Impenitency. I unfolded to him, the wide Difference betwixt the *Proteſtant* and *Popiſh Religion*; and that the Latter could not be a Religion Inſtituted by *Chriſt*, becauſe It was founded in Blood, and propagated by Artifices of Cruelty, Injuſtice, Violence, Equivocations, and Perjuries: Yea, even by falſe Appeals to the Omniſcient Judge of Innocency, when Crimes were Juridically proved againſt the Appellants.

I ſaid, That this was the deepeſt Policy of *Papiſts*, fetcht from the *Conclave* of *Hell*: For, ſuch daring and Atheiſtical Appellants, are not only poſſeſt with the Spirit of Lying, and ſtrongly deluded (while Living) to believe a falſe, abſurd Religion; but alſo, do as ſtrangely, out of an obſtinate, impenitent Heart, palliate Bloody Crimes with a flat Denyal of them, after Conviction thereof by due Proceſs of Law. Surely, ſuch a Violation of the Sentiments of Conſcience, muſt needs proceed from an Atheiſtical Denyal of *God*'s Omniſcient Inſpection, or a Prophane Doubting of the Future Judgment. As if falſe Appellants had not Souls capable of Damnation, or ſtudied how to ſeal it up more firmly to themſelves: But ſuch ſtudied Evaſion of their Crimes, render them blacker and more horrid, while they would make Credulous Perſons ſuſpect their Accuſers to be Perjured; which is a Sin of that deep Dye, and Malignity, that it rarely admits of any Repentance in the Sinner, or Pardon from *God*. Yet ſo hardned are ſome, that they will ſtand out in the Denyal of their Crimes (though proved againſt them) to the laſt Breath. They are not afraid to look the Almighty Judge in the Face, with a Lye in their Mouth.

But then, ſuch frontleſs ſtupid Sinners preſume, they ſhall have this Relief as a Shield, to keep off their Damnation; that their Self-Imprecation was for the promoting of a greater Good; *viz.* That the *Romiſh Religion* may not lye under the Reproach of a Blood-thirſty Diſpoſition, in its Profeſſing Party; leſt, being hindred in its Propagation, if this were credited, it ſhould gradually become ſo Abominable, as to be rooted out.

Papiſts think, that they may lawfully, ſafely, yea commendably, Perjure themſelves, to promote their falſe Religion; eſpecially, if in a Tranſport of Zeal, they Imprecate themſelves, that they may ſit higher in the Good Opinion, and Implicit Faith of their blinded Proſelytes. Such was *Hill*! Who was not more ſubtilly Moulded unto, than deeply Confirmed in all *Popiſh* Principles. Hence it was, that he would not admit of any Information, which

might beget the leaſt ſuſpicion of their Falſity: Yet this was very Commendable in him, that when I exhorted him to take a ſtrict Review of his Sins; that ſo, being deeply humbled for them, he might obtain ſome hopeful Proſpect of their Pardon: He replyed, *That he had endeavoured to ſearch out whatever might provoke the Lord to deſert him, and ſuffer him to fall under the fatal Sentence pronounced upon him.* He ſaid, *He had been Guilty of Sins enough, for which he was thus ſeverely puniſht:* Among the reſt, he inſtanced in this; *That he had wronged one in a Twelve-penny matter; but he was now ſo troubled about it, that he had made Reſtitution ſince his Condemnation; although he was in extream want of Neceſſaries for his preſent Subſiſtence.* I Commended this in him; but withal told him, That there was one Crime committed by him, for which he could never make any Satisfaction; *viz.* The Murthering of Sir *Edmund:* yet, that upon his true Repentance, *Chriſt*'s Blood-ſhed was All-ſufficient to waſh away the Stain and Reproach of this moſt Prodigious Wickedneſs.

He ſtill ſtood out in a peremptory Denyal, *That he knew any thing of it, more or leſs.* And in the uſual Canting Language, affirmed, *That he was as Innocent of it, as the Child unborn.* Which Words may admit of an Equivocation: For the *Child unborn* is *Innocent*, as not being Capable of committing or declaring the Heinouſneſs of ſuch a Crime. But though *Hill* was Capacitated for it, with all imaginable Principles of *Jeſuitical Subtilty*; yet his deepeſt Sophiſtry appeared, in pretending to be as *Innocent as the Child unborn; viz.* In this Senſe, *Innocent*, as not able to declare his Guiltyneſs of the ſaid Murther: For ſo he might be unable, in reſpect of an Oath of Secreſie, which was the Seal of his Impenitency. Or, he might think to Evade the Confeſſion of it, by this Equivocation, *viz.* I am as *Innocent* of the Fact, as there is Truth in this, That the *Child unborn* is here preſent, reſerving this Supplement of the Aſſertion unto himſelf. And then it being unriddled in plain *Engliſh*, it comes to thus much, *I am as Innocent of the Fact laid to my Charge*; that is, There is as much Truth in affirming This, as there is in the *Childs* being preſent, which is yet *Unborn*: For there is not Truth in either.

I did fear, that ſome ſuch Equivocation might ſhroud it ſelf under *Hill*'s flat Denyal of the ſaid Murther: Therefore, I told him, That is Ingenuity in Confeſſing a pecuniary Wrong, and making Reſtitution, could not demonſtrate any ſound Repentance, unleſs he took the Shame of this Murther upon himſelf, by a free Confeſſion of it. For a ſincere Penitentiary dares not conceal any ſin, though of never ſo Ignominious a Nature. He replyed,

That

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That he had taken Shame to himself, in confessing his doing Wrong; and that he had violated the Integrity, and Peace of his Conscience, for a very Trifle: Therefore, I could not think, he denyed the Murther laid to his Charge, that he might maintain his Reputation. But to Confute this Plea: I knew a Fellon, who deny'd the Robbery for which he was Condemned; yet probably to insinuate into me a good Opinion of him, he Confest that he once Robb'd a poor man going to Market, but being afterward troubled in his Conscience for so doing, he inquired out where the person wronged Lived, and sent him double Restitution; *because happily* (said he) *the poor man losing of his market, might have gain'd as much as I sent him, by selling the Provisions which he was carrying thither.* Thus some will pretend to be Ingenious in Confessing hidden Crimes, and yet will stand out in denying such which are proved against them. This is but a counterfeit remorse.

On the day before *Hills* his Execution, he discharged me of farther attendance, because he said, he would be in greater retirement, to fit himself for his Death, now so neerly approaching: whereupon I took leave of him; and he prayd God to reward me for all my Visits of him.

VIII. Mr. Berry.

Berry the Porter of *Summerset-house*, was one of the Murtherers of Sir *Edmunbury Godfrey*, and was Executed some time after *Hill* and *Green*. He willingly admitted me to Visit him for many days, somtimes twice in the same day. I found him dejected at the first, yet afterwards he was reduced to a more composed frame. I observed that he had some books in his Chamber; of all which I took an inspection, and found no popish Author among them. I told him, that I much approved of his Care in the Choice of those Books, especially of the Bible, to be his Associates and Guides in his solitary Confinement. Then I advised him, to search his Heart-state God-ward, and to consider for what special sins God had deserted him, to fall into so shamefull and notorious a Crime, as the Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*; who had Demonstrated himself to be a worthy Patriot of his Country. He replyed, that he knew nothing of it, neither before, nor after; and that he was no way Accessary to the guilt of it. I said, I could not give Credit to him in that; For the Crime was cleerly proved against him. I did not much urge him to confess it, at that time, fearing I might provoke him to be more shie of imbracing any future Visits or Advice. I bent

my Diſcourſe, to fit him for his approaching Death; and from Scripture Demonſtrated, that immediatly after the Souls expiration, every one is preſented by Angels Good or Evil, (according as their ſtate is, in which they dye) before the dreadful Tribunal of Chriſt, the moſt Impartial righteous Judge of all men. And that of what nature the ſentence which then paſt was of, it was irrepealable: Therefore he could not be too circumſpect in trying his heart-frame, which is naturally deceitful; For if his faith and repentance, (the only qualifications and evidences of a future happy State) were not ſolidly built on Chriſt, as the Rock of Salvation, after his being adjudged, there could not be any retrieval of the Sentence, though it were to the Eternal baniſhment of his Soul from the bliſs-making Viſion, and fruition of the God of Glory. This awakned him to ſome Remorſe for the ſins of his Life. I then proceeded to adviſe him, not to venture to die in the the Romiſh Perſwaſion; For this could not produce ſolid nor laſting tranquillity in any Conſcience, perplext and defiled with the guilt of the leaſt ſin. In as much as Papiſts build their hopes of future happineſs on corrupt Principles, *viz.* they mix the belief of the falſities of the Apoſtatical-Trent-Council with the Articles of the Apoſtolical Creed; which can never cement into any conſiſtency of Truth, either in matters of Faith, or Practiſe. I did undertake to diſcover the notorious abſurdity of ſome popiſh Opinions; in doing which, he was not only very attentive, but ſaid, he did not believe many things which the Doctors of the Romiſh Church Teach, as neceſſary to be embraced for Articles of the true Faith.

I told him, I hoped that he was not ſtubborn in that Hereſy, having declared himſelf better Informed. Yet He did not deny that he was a Papiſt. After much diſcourſe, I drew out a little Treatiſe of one Mr. *Bradſhaw's*, which ſtates in ſhort, but very ſolid Theſes, or Propoſitions, the true nature of Juſtification by Faith in Chriſt; and oppugnes, yea, overthrowes the Popiſh doctrine of Good-works, as Meritorious of Salvation: I Lent it Mr. *Berry*, who having read it, liked it, and ſaid, *He was much ſettled and confirmed in the beliefe of that ſound and comfortable Doctrine.* He often admitted me to Pray for, and with him; he was not afraid to be Infected with the breath of an Heretick, as Mr. *Coleman*, and others of the fraternity in Conſpiracy were. I doubt not but wholſome Counſel, and fervent prayer wrought much on Mr. *Berry*, to bring him to ſome remorſe for his Sinfulneſs; For he gave an eminent ſignal of this in declaring that God had juſtly left him to fall under the ſentence of ſo ſhameful a death, for his notorious

torious diſſimulation; which was this, *viz.* That he had for his private intereſt, and to ſupply ſome wants he was in, changed his Proteſtant profeſſion, and turned Papiſt, againſt the dictates of his Conſcience, to get into imployment by the favor of that party. This he affirmed more wounded his Conſcience, than all the ſins which he had Committed in the whole Courſe of his Life. Yet ſtill he was very ſhie and reſerved, as unto any acknowledgement of the Notorious Murther of Sir *Edmundberry Godfrey*. But take notice, that a ſincere Conſcience, doth not content it ſelf with the Confeſſion only of ſome particular ſin, but is moſt free and ready to take the ſhame of every ſin, eſpecially of ſuch a crime as wilfull Murther, clearly proved againſt him. And that none are ſuch proper Objects of Gods juſt condemnation, as ſuch, who to cover any one ſin, though never ſo ſmall, will ſtudy Evaſions, to deny, conceal, or extenuate it.

Thus to Cover ſin, is to Add ſin to ſin. The Obligation to puniſhment takes faſter hold, the Guilt remaines uncapable of being pardoned: the ſin not confeſt, rankles and feſters in the Conſcience, Haunts the ſinner as an affrighting Ghoſt, yea, the Contagious poyſon ſpreads, till it grow ſo ſtrong in the Malignity of it, that it damns Eternally.

This Alarm (or awakening Conſideration) I gave to *Berry*, that I might excite him to an Ingenious Confeſſion of the Murther of Sir *Edmundberry Godfrey*; And beſide, I told him, that there was this danger in not Confeſſing a Crime, that it hardens the heart inſenſibly, to an impudent and impenitent peremptory denyal of it. And that this was the blackeſt mark of a Reprobate. Afterward I prayed with him, that the Lord (who is the ſearcher of all hearts, and the juſt Avenger of all lying and falſe appeals) would incline him to an hearty and free acknowledgement of this very Crime; that he would grant him true and deep Repentance, and ſtrengthen his faith in the Merit of Chriſts Blood, for expiation of ſo great Guilt. *Berry* had a reprieve for ſome time to fit himſelf for death, and I hope he made Good uſe and improvement of it. For when the morning came, wherein he was to be executed, I found him in a more penitent, melting frame than before. I prayed with him at his Execution. I muſt do him this Right, as to ſay, that he was in a very Serious compoſed Temper; For I have ſeldom heard any Malefactor (at the publick place of ſuffering) expreſs himſelf in ſuch ſutable and heart-broken petitions, for Divine Pardon, and renewing grace, as *Berry* did: He needed not a prayer-Book in his hand; his Soul-Agonies taught him to pray; Nor did he let

fall any thing, which ſmelt in the leaſt of *Popiſh Leaven.* His prayer was fervent, and very compoſed, though death ſtared him in the face; yet was he not under any Conſternation or dejection. He ſaid not any thing, either in aſſerting his Innocence as to the Murther of Sir *Edmundberry Godfrey*, neither as to the Religion he dyed in. He fixt his eye upward, and lookt not upon the people, being very intentive on the great work he was about. I gave him a Large time to prepare and fit himſelf to dye: He made ſome ſecret Ejaculations of his heart Heaven-ward: Then taking a Solemn farewel, I deſired him to reſigne himſelf up to the mercies of God in the alone and All-ſufficient merits of Chriſt, and ſo I went out of the Cart; and after a little time of Conſideration with himſelf, the Sentence of Death was executed upon him.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Five Jeſuits,

Condemned to be

Drawn, Hanged, and Quartered, on *Saturday* the 14th. of *June*, 1679. viz. *Whitebread*, *Harcourt*, *Fenwick*, *Gawen*, and *Turner.*

THeſe five Jeſuits having received the aforeſaid Sentence, for Conſpiring the Death of the King, and the ſubvertion of the Proteſtant Religion, I did on the Monday following (becauſe the duty of my Office as Ordinary obliged me) offer to them my aſſiſtance to prepare them for the Execution; but they did not Admit me to their Chambers: Thereupon, I deſiſted from any farther offer to Viſit them. Yet upon the day of their Execution I waited for an opportunity to ſpeak with them before they were, Conducted to the Sledges.

I. Mr.

I. Mr. Harcourt

MR. *Harcourt* was first brought down from his Chamber, to be carried up to the Chappel, where a dore opens to conveigh them down the stone-stairs more conveniently to the Sledges.

I thus spake to Mr. *Harcourt*, Sir, you did not think fit to admit me to any Discourse in your Chamber, but now that you are upon the very Borders of Death, and must be judged to an Eternal State in Happiness or Misery, Consider well how heinous the Crime is for which you are to suffer Death. Beg of God to give you true Repentance unto Life Eternal, and do not stand out in the denying or extenuation of yonr Crime.

Mr. *Harcourt* made me this slight answer, *That I needed not to trouble my self concerning Him, for he knew his Duty*; and so past away from me.

II. Mr. Whitebread.

THen came Mr. *Whitebread* from his Chamber; I said somthing of Advise to him as a dying Man, and told him withall, that I had earnestly pray'd that God would give him Repentance, in order to pardoning Grace and Salvation. This he resented with more Calmness and Modesty of Spirit than *Harcourt* did, and put off his Hat to me at parting.

III. Mr. Fenwick.

I Had longer Discourse with *Fenwick* in a little Room alone by himself. I did Address my self to him in more Pathetick Expressions, than to the two other, because I had more opportunity for it. In sum, I wisht him to search his heart, because every mans by Nature, is as deceitful as it is Corrupt. That he would pray to God to Undeceive him, as to any false hopes of Heaven, and not build on any Sandy Foundation, by trusting to any Humiliation for Sin, or the Merits of any Saint or Angel; And that he would not stand out in denying of his Crime. That he would consider seriously of that Sacred Scripture in the Twenty eighth of the *Prov.* of *Solomon*, the Thirteenth *verse*, He who hides his sin shall not prosper in the attempting of it, but rather exposes himself to a Curse. But whosoever Confesses and forsakes his Sin, shall obtain Mercy. He said, *That he*

had Confeſt 'twixt God and himſelf, and that was Sufficient.

I told him, that in reſpect of the great Scandal he had given, and Reproach he had brought upon Religion, which Obliges to all Fidelity towards Princes, and forbids the Subvertion of a Lawful Government, he ought to expreſs great Sorrow for, and deteſtation of ſuch Principles which deſtroy Humane Society.

But he angerly replyed, *What! do you undertake to inſtruct me, or others of my Order, as if we were not Men of Reaſon and Learning.* I told him, that I was bound to aſſiſt him as a dying Man, and to put him in mind of ſeeking his Souls Salvation, in a Right way. And that, whereas he ſlighted my Advice, he ought not to look upon any *Proteſtant Divine*, to be like Their Novices, whom they Traine up in Ignorance, as if it were the Mother of *Devotion.*

I ſaid, that I ſtood Amazed, that any man of his Learning ſhould ſo far forfeit the Repute thereof, and all the Sentiments of a Good Conſcience, as to adhere to principles ſo deſtructive to all Order, Equity, and Government eſtabliſht by Light of Nature, even among Savages.

He was not pleaſed with my diſcourſe, yet I did aſſure him, I would not deſiſt praying for him, while I could Rationally think, that he was Alive, and within the reach or benefit of my prayers. And ſo we parted.

IV, V. Mr. Gawen and Mr. Turner.

I Could not ſpeak with *Gawen* or *Turner* till they were placed in the Sledge. I ſpake but little to them, Time, and the Noiſe of the people thronging me, would not permit me to ſay much. Only I told Mr. *Gawen*, that Now death ſtared him in the face, and his judgement to an Eternal State was very Near; therefore I adviſed him not to palliate or extenuate his great Crime, much leſſe to deny it; for, he would hazard his Salvation, if he went out of the world with a falſity in his mouth.

I told him I had and would continue to pray for him and his Fellow-Criminal in the Sledge with him. So wiſhing them a penitential frame of Heart, that they might obtain Eternal Life in Chriſt, upon the drawing away of the Sledg, Mr. *Gawen* ſhewed a publick Signal of Civility to me, and thankt me. He ſeemed much more cheerful than the reſt. And I hope he had better grounds for it.

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Mr. Langhorne.

AFter Sentence of Death paſt upon the ſaid Unhappy Gentleman, as being Involved in the *Jeſuitical Conſpiracy* againſt the *King* and *Nation*; I Addreſſed my ſelf in a Viſit to him, which he Accepted. When I firſt came into his Chamber, I told him, That I came not to upbraid a Dying Man, though of a contrary *Religion*: That I pittyed him, as a Condemned Criminal; yet was more troubled, that he ſhould Eſpouſe the *Popiſh Perſwaſions* ſo far, as to Suſpend, or Renounce rather, the Sentiments of Right Reaſon, in Embracing and Adhering to ſo Corrupt and Abſurd Opinions. He anſwered me, *That he thought himſelf in a ſurer Way for to attain Salvation, than any of my Opinion could ſet themſelves in. For* Proteſtants (ſaid he) *follow the Miſtakes of their private Judgments; and then cry them up, for the Genuine Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. But* We (ſaid he) *who are* Roman Catholicks, *have the Conduct of an Infallible Guide, to Interpret obſcure Ambiguities in the Scriptures: For no Scripture is of any* private *Interpretation; otherwiſe, well-meaning Perſons may propoſe, and put off their Fancies, for ſolid Concluſions, drawn from the ſacred Records of* God's *Word.* He ſaid, *That therefore, there was great need of an external, ſupreme, infallible Judge on Earth; whoſe Deciſion upon Appeals, can only ſtate and determine all Controverſies about matters of Faith and Practice.* I replyed, That the Divine Authority of *God*, as impreſt upon the Veracity of the Scriptures, was never ſeparated from the ſame Spirit, who did Dictate them, *as unto ſpecial Guydance*; ſo far, as not to Deſert ſincere *Chriſtians*, that they ſhould fall into any Damnable *Hereſie*. But I feared, that the *Romiſh Opinions* were ſuch, though they be impoſed to be Believed and Obeyed, upon the ſcore of the *Pope's Infallibility*, equally with the ſacred *Scriptures*. What Blaſphemy is this, for a ſinful Man to arrogate the Title of *Infallible*, due only to *God*, the Fountain and Architype of all Truth! That the *Father of Lights*, gave Mankind the Beſt and Safeſt Conduct of his own Holy, Infallible *Spirit*, in Matters aforeſaid. And that the Scriptures, being exemplified from his Eſſential Purity and Veracity, were not defective as Human Laws; which require, an External Judge and Interpreter, diſtinct from themſelves, in their Original Conſtitution. So that, *in all Things neceſſary to Salvation*, the Scriptures were a Perfect *Rule* and *Standard*, to dictate and determine Matters of Faith, and Chriſtian Obedience. Yet ſo arrogant is the *Pope*, as to Challenge an Authority to Himſelf, to give the Scriptures a Sanction; yea, to Over-rule them by his Corrupt

Traditions, which he declares *Infallible*. Thus he Exautorats, and Invalidates their Divine Original, and Superintendency; as if they received all the Life of their Interpretation, from his Authoritative Dilucidation, as the *Moon* doth her Light from the *Sun*. Hence it is, that when the *Pope* enters into any Council, he hath the *Bible* placed under his Feet, while singly himself Over-rules the Council; and Exalts his sole Determination, above the sacred Records of Truth. Hence it is, that under a Pretence, that the Scriptures are Obscure, and a dead Letter in themselves, that they must be Animated with his Traditions, though never so Absurd and Contradictory to their Divine Authority, Certainty, and Perfection.

Also I said, That where the Scriptures were Obscure in one Place, they explained that Ambiguity in another: So that, there was no need of any External Judge. And that *Protestant Divines*, did not give *out* their Private Sentiments, and Interpretations of the Scriptures, for Laws, to supersede the Innate Authority of the Scriptures; or to oblige *Christians* to an Implicit Faith and Obedience, as the *Pope* doth; who over-rules the very *Scriptures* Themselves: So that, no part of them is Canonical, but only those Books, which he declares to be such. Thus a sinful Man judges that sacred Law, by which himself, and all Men must be Judged; though he claim a Power to Pardon *Sin*, and Dispose of the Eternal Rewards of *Virtue*, or *Vice*; accordingly as himself pleases to determine the Nature and Circumstances of Both. Hence I said, It proceeded, that the Opinions of the *Romish Church* were so Corrupt, as moulded and adapted, to serve and promote the Carnal Interest of his Ambition, and the Licentiousness of his Followers.

Then he askt me, *Whether I did not think, that the* Popish *and* Protestant Religion, *might not be Reducible into a Coalition or Unity?* I answered, No; because they were so Contrariant, that they could never Cement, so as to yield a safe Conduct to Eternal Life. Inasmuch, as *Christ* himself averred, That in vain do all such Worship him, who Teach for Divine Doctrines, the Traditions of Men: That whosoever Adds or Diminishes from Scriptural-Fundamentals, despises, and seeks to nullify the Wisdom and Authority of *God* Himself. That *Popish Principles* undermine, and subvert the All-sufficiency of *Christ*, in the Execution of his Offices. That as *Socinians* cannot be accounted *Christians*, who deny the *Divinity* of *Christ's Person*: So *Romanists*, who Invalidate his *Offices*, are *Anti-Christian*, in their Spirits, and in their Mis-belief.

Therefore, there is no more hope, that two Religions so opposite, should ever Cement in One, according to the Analogy of *Faith*, prescribed by *Christ*; than that Light and Darkness should agree, or have Fellowship. Nor

Nor can there be any Colour of right Reaſon, for that Diſtinction; That *Popiſh Traditions* are rather *beſide* the Rule and Dictates of the *Scriptures*, than directly *contrary* to them. For, whatever is not agreeable to the Revealed, Perfect Will of *God*, either directly, or by natural Conſequence, or by right Deduction, it is a Sin. Conſider, There is as little Hope and Comfort for that Perſon, who falls into a River, by ſlipping betwixt, or beſide the Bridge; as for him, who directly caſts himſelf into It. Both may be Drowned irrecoverably. The One, out of the Inadvertency, or Miſtake of a Drunken Giddyneſs: The Other, out of the Preſumption of a ſullen Obſtinacy. There are more Ways which lead to Death, than the direct Stabbing of one's ſelf. So, Tranſgreſſion on the Right-Hand, in a Superſtitious Zeal, may ruin a Man's Soul, as certainly, as down-right *Atheiſm* and *Prophaneneſs*.

After theſe Diſcourſes, I askt Mr. *Langhorne*, That I might Pray with him? He anſwered me, *No*; *Yet, I deſire your Prayers at Home*. He ſaid, *That Prayer in Preſence, was an Act of Communion; but it was unfit, to joyn with One, who was not a Member of the* Roman Church. I replyed, That I thought, there was little or no Difference in ſuch diſtinct Praying; however, it could not be any unlawful Act. He would not Admit me to Pray *with* him: Therefore, to root out ſuch a Scruple, I ſhall ſtate now, more at large, what I then ſpake more ſuccinctly. Is not Prayer an Univerſal Duty, and a Teſtification of Chriſtian Charity? Therefore, to limit It only to ſuch, who are Adopted into any Faction, is to look on all others, as Excommunicated from *Chriſt*, and the Hope of Salvation by him, as the only Head; who Influences the Univerſal Church, with the Spirit of Faith, Unity, and Concord.

Can any *Papiſt* think to receive Benefit by Prayer, himſelf being abſent; who hath not ſo much Charity, as to bear *Proteſtants* Preſence, in Praying together? What proud Singularity is this? What Inconveniency can happen, from a *Proteſtants* joyning with a *Papiſt* in Prayer, if they do not mix their Private Opinions (which are fitter for a Diſputation) in the time of Praying together? Such Imprudence would turn Prayer, which is the Badge of *Chriſtian Communion*, into an occaſion of Reproach; and imbitter each others Spirits, to remain at a farther diſtance. To prevent ſuch a Miſchief, let them conſent, that they will keep cloſe to Scripture-Matter, and Phraſes in Prayer; becauſe in theſe, they are agreed. So ſhall they not grieve each other, by an uncharitable Exagitating and venting of their private Opinions. Yet I deny not, but that they ought to deſire of *God*, that he would clear up to them

his Truth and Ways more fully; and that, in whatever they diſſent, by way of Miſtake about Opinions Forreign, to the Eſſential Parts, and Fundamentals of *Chriſtian Religion*, they may come to a right Underſtanding of each other; and may recede from any falſe Mixtures, ſuper-added to *Chriſt*'s pure Religion. Therefore, to deny any *Proteſtant Divine*, to Pray with *Popiſh Perſons* Condemned, when they cannot have the Relief thereof, from any of their own Perſwaſion; leſt they ſhould Confirm them in their corrupt Principles, or joyn wicked Counſels, to diffuſe their Treaſonable Deſigns, by Meſſages, to put Plots in Execution, is a Warrant to deny them the Aſſiſtance of their own Party. Yet they ſtick not, to grow ſullen and inſolent, in rejecting the Prayers of *Proteſtant Divines*.

How careleſs of, and cruel to their own Souls, are ſuch, who will not by all Lawful Helps, ſecure and promote their Souls everlaſting Bleſſedneſs! Is not this ſuch a Breach of Charity, as to make voyd their own Prayers for Themſelves? and to limit *Chriſtian Religion*, only to the *Roman Church*, which is but a Corner of the *Chriſtian World*; and cannot be properly *Catholick*, unleſs It embrace an *Univerſal Charity* for *All Chriſtians*, who Profeſs the ſame *Chriſt*, and the ſame Fundamentals of *Chriſtianity*? But *Proteſtants*, have not ſo departed from the *Church of Rome*, as to hate all Perſons of her *Society*; but only, their Corruptions in Doctrine and Practice. We deny not to them, the *Duties* of *Common Charity*; or ſuch *Requiſite Aſſiſtances* at the time of *Extreme Sickneſs*, or *Death*, which may ſafely conſiſt with their not being Confirmed in *Popiſh Principles*, too deeply rooted in them already; and the *Conſiſtency* of the *Eſtabliſht Government*, in the *Engliſh Church*, and *State*. After theſe Conferences with Mr. *Langhorne*, I askt him, Whether he were the very Perſon Accuſed before the *Committee* of *Parliament*, in 1666; for being Conſcious, at leaſt, of the *Conflagration* of *London*, by *Treachery*: Becauſe Mr. *Richard Langhorne*, Counſellor at the *Temple*, is ſaid in a Depoſition upon Oath, to have caſt out Threatning Words about the ſaid *Conſpiracy*? —— He anſwered me, *That he was the Perſon then Accuſed; but knew no more of the Firing of* London, *than he did of this* Plot. But what he knew of This, is ſufficiently Demonſtrated, by his being Condemned, and Executed for a Well-wiſher to It, and Agent in It. I offer'd a ſecond Viſit to him, on the *Thurſday* before his *Execution*; but he ſent me Thanks, and deſired to be wholly Retired to himſelf. So being in the *Country* when he was Executed, I cannot give any further there Account concerning him.

THE

THE
False Appealing *Jesuits*, Silenced and Confuted:
OR,
A Discovery of their False Courage and Chearfulness at Execution; how differenced from the hidden Manna *of Real* Martyrs.

I Do more than probably believe, that the *Jesuits* appeals relating to their Innocency, were meer Equivocations; and that I may not be censured to wrong them by a suspicion only, I shall Endeavour to prove, that they made false Apologies and Appeals. This I shall do three ways.

First, I will present you, with many Assertions of the Doctors of their own Church and Society, who maintain Equivocation, yea down right Perjury, Lawful in those Circumstances, which occurred to these *Jesuits*.

Secondly, I shall demonstrate, how Sutably they drew the Copy of their Defence, after the Original Pattern set them by the Precedent Fathers of the same Society.

Thirdly, I shall Demonstrate, how deep-dyed a Sin it is, how great mischief it doth, and what exemplary remarkable punishment, God usually inflicts on such false Appellants.

First, IT is very likely, these *Jesuits* were Induced to make Equivocating Appeals when dying, because so many Doctors of their Church assert these to be Venial, nay Lawful in many Cases. *Soto*, who was a Principal Divine in the Council of *Trent*, He acknowledges Perjury to be a greater Sin than Murther: Notwithstanding he maintains the Violation of *Promissory and Assertory Oaths*, to be only *Venial, not Mortal Sins, how habitual and customary soever they be:* So that, thereby, the dint of the Magistrates just Sentence, may be *avoided*, or the *Catholick Cause* promoted.

Now, if *rash* Appeals be (in the *right* Construction of them) a great Contempt of God, *False Ones* must needs be an high degree of *Blasphemy and Atheism*. These, joyned with self-Imprecations, are a *Mocking* of the Divine Majesty, and the sending up of a *Challenge* to the God of Truth, to damn the Appellant, if he speaks what is False, or any way Conceals the Truth. Yet in the *Jesuits* account, not only Officious Lyes, but *down-right Perjuries are Lawful*; when they may serve the *Interest* of their Church, *maintain* their false Doctrine, or *Conceal* their Hellish Designes. It is a great piece of *Piety*, to make Lies for the promoting of their Religion; So *Ludovicus Vives*, and *Espencæus Comment in Tim.* lib. 1. cap. 11. pag. 156.

Here it is to be Observ'd, that the third *Lateran Council* decreed it Lawful, to Depose and Kill any Prince Infected with Heresy (*that is to say*) being a Profest Protestant. Hereupon, these *Jesuits* thought, *They needed not the help of an Equivocation*, in asserting of their Innocency; because by the *Maxims* of their Bloody and Hellish Divinity, they affirm that it is *better*, to suffer a King to be Slain, than *to reveal* the Confession, of such a design intended. So *Eudæmon in Apolog. Garneti.* ch. 13. And *Suarez Tractatu de Pœnitentia*, That the Lord gave to St. *Peter*, and Consequently to the *Pope*, Power to make *that which is sin, to be no Sin*. So *Bellarm. in Barklaium.* ch. 31. That to Kill a King who is deposed, is not to Kill *a King*, but only a *private* Person. So *Tolet, lib.* 4. *De Instructione Sacerdotali.* ch. 58.

That, he is not a Murtherer, who Kills an Excommunicated Perſon, (being *poſſeſt with Zeal towards our Mother, the Catholick Church.* —— So, *Pope Urban,* in the 23*d. Cauſe,* and 5*th. Queſtion:* That the Sentences, Decrees, and Judgments of Judges, who are Excommunicated, (*as all* Proteſtants *are by them*) are *Voyd, and of no Authority.* So *Tolet, lib. primo, De Inſtitutione Sacerdotali.* cap. 13. That the *Pope* is Lord of all the *Temporal Poſſeſſions* of Kingdoms. —— So *Bellarm.* in *Barklaium.* cap. 21.

Cardinal *Du Perron,* in his *Oration* made to the States in *Paris,* (upon the 15*th.* of *January,* 1615.) doth not think it fit, that a *King* ſhould be Killed, but only Depoſed; *which is all one, as to Condemn him to Dye:* Becauſe (*as they ſay*) from the time of his Depoſing, he is no more a *Lawful King*; but an *Uſurper.* Now, every *Uſurper* of a Kingdom, may Lawfully be Killed. The ſaid Cardinal, *Equivocates* in his Advice. For, he ſpeaks to this *Effect:* Let us not Kill an *Heretical King,* but Depoſe him. *That is*; *Let us however, Diſarme him of his Authority, that he may be Killed.* Let us take his *Title* from him, which is a *Means to preſerve* his Life. Let us *not* Kill him, *while* he is a *King*; but let us Depoſe him: And *then,* who ever Kills him, ſhall not Kill a *King.* Theſe Sayings, are full of *Contradiction, and very Weakly, yea Wickedly, ſet together.*

By ſuch *Popiſh Principles,* the very *Foundations* of the *Engliſh Government,* are quite blown up; as if they had been *at the Mercy of* Faux. They hold, That the Nation being *Heretical,* (becauſe It will not ſtoop to the Yoke of *Anti-Chriſtian Tyranny*) hath no Government properly Its Own; No *King,* no Subjects, no Parliament, no Laws, Liberties, or Propriety in any thing. They think, they may deal with Us, as *Monſters* of Mankind, who have Forfeited all into their Hands; and nothing ſhall hinder them from taking Poſſeſſion, any longer, than till they can Maſter the Power of our Sovereign Lord, the *King,* and his Laws.

They deny, we can have any *Legal Parliament*; becauſe the *Peers,* (they alleadge) are *Infamous as Hereticks.* And Free-holders, to Chooſe and be Choſen for Commonners, *have no Propriety.* None have Power (*they ſay*) by Conſequence, to Make *Laws,* to Require or Grant *Subſidies:* For no Order of Men, among Hereticks, *have any thing of their Own, to Give or Grant.* All is Forfeited from them, for their *Hereſie.* They hold, That our Laws are of no more Force, than the *Agreement of a Company of Robbers:* Becauſe, being Excommunicated, we are, *Ipſo Facto,* Diveſted of all Civil Right, and Propriety in our Laws, Eſtates, Liberties, and Municipal Priviledges. So that, theſe *Jeſuits* pleaded Innocency, becauſe they Acted *By and Under the* Pope's *Commiſſion*; which is Preſumptively-Conſtructive, for Deprædation of our Goods, and the Deſtruction of our Lives, upon his Iſſuing out the Sentence of *Excommunication*; *though no Declaration ſhould expreſly injoyn the Execution of* Rapine *and* Murther.

To be ſure, He who will Regulate himſelf by *Their Maxims,* may Act any Wickedneſs in the World, without any fear of *Deadly Guilt.* Yet, *That Church* pretends to a *Monopoly of All the Holineſs upon Earth.*

They may *perſiſt till Death,* in all Perfidiouſneſs to *God* and Man, in Breach of Promiſes and Compacts, in all Lying and Perjuries, in Slandering or Detraction; yea, in all Unmercifulneſs and Cruelty to *Proteſtants:* and yet, *Not fall ſhort of Salvation,* if theſe *Impoſtors* may be truſted upon their *Own Maxims.* Theſe abominable Practices, *are but Specks or Motes*; not *Againſt* the Law of *God,* (the End of which, is *Charity*) but only *Beſide* It. So *Durandus, Vega, Rada, Herrera, Eſtius, Becanus.* All theſe aforc-mentioned Crimes, are but *Peccadilloes* in Their account, when Committed againſt *Proteſtants.* For, they owe *Theſe, No Charity*; and therefore, may juſtly Contrive their Deſtruction, as *Hereticks.* If an *Atheiſt* had a mind, to render the Chriſtian Name *Odious,* and the Goſpel a *Licentious Doctrine,* tending to *Debauch* Mankind; He could need no greater Argument, but only *This, viz.* To perſwade Men, that the *Maxims* of the *Roman Divines,* are *Conformed to the Rules of* Chriſt, *and* Chriſtianity. For, Do not *Popiſh* Doctors *Reverence* Hypocriſie, as an *Holy Art?* A Lye, though very *Groſs,* is only *Venial* in *Their* account, unleſs it do *Much* Miſchief; *not ſo,* when it is only againſt *Truth it ſelf.* Thus, it may be *as Innocent,* to tell Lies, *as Truth*; *and as Criminal to ſpeak Truth, as Lies.* There will be no Difference in their *Own Nature,* unleſs by accident, they do Hurt *Alike.* Thus *Soto, ibid. Lib* 5. *Queſt.* 7. *Artic.* 4. Pag. 168. Yea, *Antonius Corduba* determins, that a Perſon Interrogated by a Judge, whether ſuch a Crime were Committed by him, may *ſtifly Deny It,* (although he *Did It*) with this *Reſerve, I am not bound to Diſcover It*; though

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he be upon his Oath, to declare the whole Truth. He may Equivocate in usual Form; sayes *Lopez. cap.* 51. *pag.* 264. *Angel Sum. V. Confess. N.* 1.

Yea, *Popish Doctors* have Devices to *Legitimate* the worst Wickedness. *Bellarmine* sayes, If the *Pope* should forbid Vertue, and command Vice, the *Church* must *practice Vice*, or *sin against Her Conscience*. If the *Pope* can dispense with Vows, which are *Solemn Promises made to God*, why not with the Guilt of *False Appeals?* So *Canus*, *pars Sexta, Relict de Panitentia.*

Some affirm, That the *Pope* can *Legitimate* Incest: If so, by the same Reason he may pardon False Appeals. For, What are such, but a Spiritual Incest, committed 'twixt the Heart and Tongue; which ought to agree in speaking Truth, for this is the Souls-Chastity? They count it better than Innocent, to abuse the VVorld with Lies, even in point of Religion. Surely, if the Injury be not Great there, wherein can it be Small? Yea, they allow of Lies, in their very Devotion. *Peter Abbot* of *Cluny*, declares That in one *Church-Hymne*, in the Praise of St. *Bennet*, he found Twenty-four Lyes, at least. They affirm, That they may safely Lye, in Confessing, that they abhor the Sin confest: Yet themselves look upon the *Confessors Chair*, as the *Divine Tribunal*. So *Angelus*, *Sylvester*, *Navar.* Cap. 21. Num. 37. *Covarruvius*, *Soto*, *Bannes*. Now, if they may lawfully Lye, in doing Penance, when or wherein will they speak Truth? If such a Sacred Part of their Religion be thus Prophaned, we may well conclude, that wheresoever they find any Liberty for speech, they must have License to Lye, and that *ex Officio*.

Nor can we rationally expect from *Jesuits*, that they will Swear the Truth at *Death*. You will say, Then *Conscience* is more awakned, made quick and serious in the Directive and Corrective Part of its Office. So that, the most profligate sort of Sinners, when Dying, will not dare but to declare the Truth. I reply: Yet *Jesuits* are Errant Designers upon *Mens Consciences*, to seat themselves as Over-awing *Demi-Gods* therein, while they dictate Cheats and Dotages unto them.

Yea, How do these *Seducers* Instruct their Novices, to believe such strange Absurdities, which Themselves deny at *Death?* Then they detest all *Lying Doctrines* and *Miracles*; as also, all *Dispensations* for *Equivocating*. This they pretend to do, when they have a Prospect of *Damnation* at *Death*; and to make the World believe, that *Protestants* Charge them with False Imputations. Yet I cannot suppose them to be *Serious*, in Renouncing their False Tenets at Death. For, if they did heartily do it, How could they averr, that they Dyed in the Profession of the *Romish Church?* What Contradictions are these *Asseverations?* If they spake the Truth, *when Dying*, then were they *Apostats* from that *Religion*, which themselves style *Catholick* and *Apostolick*. These *Jesuitical Impostors* dread not Damnation it self, while they turn themselves into all Forms; and for their Interest, affirm and deny the same thing in a Breath; whereas Truth is the same Eternally, and Alters not. Yet, these Men live by a false Religion, for Earthly Interest and Grandeur: But, after all their Dissimulation and Intrigues, seem to Dye in the right Religion, Instituted by *Christ*.

Hence it was, That they *Disclaimed* the Merit of *Good Works*; and at their Execution, did not so much as *Touch upon any Thing grosly different*, from the Purity of the *Protestant Religion*. Hence it was, that they Pray'd not *Audibly* to any Saint or Angel: For, had they *Grosly Contradicted* the *Scriptures* at their Death, their Appeals (they thought) would not so *Cleverly* have been Believed by Credulous, Vulgar Minds. *It may be*, in their Appeal to *God*, they Equivocated, and *meant*, that they Appealed to the *Pope*; whom they style, *Their Lord God*, as seated High in the Veneration of their Hearts. For they give little less, than *Divine Honour* to Him, in presuming, that his *Unholyness-Absolution*, is an *Immediate Ticket*, to Challenge *Heaven* by, and to wash them clean from the *Guilt* and *Reproach* of the Greatest Villanies.

Doubtless, these Appealers were so well *known to*, and Approved by his Holiness, as it was a Wonder, that he did not *work a Miracle* for their Impunity. However, It is likely, that he *so far* honored these Eldest Sons in the Mystery of Iniquity, that they escapt *Purgatory* by some rare Contrivance, and were Dignifyed Saints immediately after Death, *for being Knights of the Post*. Doubtless they were *hardned in* this presumption, that the *Pope* hath power to *Dispence with* the Sentiments of right reason, yea can make void the *positive Duties of the Divine Law*. Hence it is the *common Doctrine of their Church*, That it is not Lawful *to keep Faith* with *Hereticks*, in promissory Oaths, or *Assertory Justifications* of their Integrity. *Romish* Doctors affirm, that if the *Pope* constitute and declare Virtue to be *Vice*, and the most abominable

Crimes to be *Innocency*, they are bound under the Penalty of Damnation to believe him.

Now this is to Arrogate a Power *above God himself*, who cannot alter the Eternal Nature of Moral Principles, which are such *Fixed Truths*, that what is Right and Just, or Wicked and Unjust in the Nature of the *thing it self*, was such, *before any* declaration of the Will of God concerning it was superadded. Therefore to *change the Measures of Good and Evil*, which are Originally founded in the Essential Intrinsecal Goodness and Badness of *Principles*, is to give a *Dispensation* to Sin. It is to *Exantorate or Invalidate* the Eternal Principles of Virtue, although these be Establisht on the very *Dictates of right Reason*. This is to *Supersede* and make *void* the Authority of God himself, who hath Implanted those *common sentiments* of what is right or wrong, in the Hearts of all Men. They, who draw all Appeals to the *Pope* for the Decision of what we are to believe or practise, though contrary to *Divine* Revelation (which is to make God himself a Lyar) how can such Miscreants be credited in the most solemn Asseverations of their Integrity? Had these Impostors turned their Eye, with an *Holy, Awful Reverence upon God*, the *Prototype of Truth*; had they had any regard of his *Omniscient Inquisition*, after false Appellants, they durst not have *Challenged* his Justice, to detect and punish their Impudent Assertions. Surely, they *dreamt* of being weighed in Saint *Michaels* Ballance, which is a *Popish* invention to deceive dying persons; as if their *Meritorious* Treasons for promoting the *Catholick* Religion, should *Out-weigh* their Lying Appeals; that so, they might *not bind a Curse* upon their Souls, but directly go to Heaven Thus, they did not weigh themselves in the *Even* Ballance of Gods Sacred Law, but flattered themselves in the Contrivances of a deceitful Heart; because any one grain of Sin, makes all real Good works of *no value at all in Gods account*, when he makes a Righteous disquisition of the Nature *of our Actions. All the Wayes of a Man, are Clean in his own Eyes; but the Lord weighs the Spirit*, Prov. 16. 2. The Heart of a Sinner, often mistakes the Nature of its own Actions; and yet, a False *Appeal concerning them, doth not Appale him.* I desire all False Appellants, to consider well, how they *Seal up their Damnation to themselves.* I remember, how the *Wife* suspected of Adultery, was *Tryed* by *God's* own Order and Appointment, in the 5*th.* Chapter of *Numb.* The Oblation to Try and Discover, was called *An Offering of Memorial, to bring Iniquity to Remembrance*, vers. the 15*th.* The Lord's Jealousie, will wax *Hot*, and his Fury *Flame forth* against Hypocritical Appellants. *God* Himself, will become a *more Zealous Witness*, and as *Severe a Judge*, to Entayl their Self-Imprecations upon themselves, and their Posterity. The *Sacrament* of *Christ's* bitter Death and Passion, shall not *Purge away* their Guilt, nor *Comfort them* in asserting of their Innocency: It shall rather *Revive* and *ingraven their Iniquity, in the horrid Reflexions of their Conscience.* Their Appeal, shall not prove their *Compurgation*; but shall more *suddenly and strangely Reveal* their Iniquity, to their shame: while Upright Souls are made more Fruitful in a Conception of *Holy Thoughts*, and are impregnated with all the Graces of *Christ's Spirit.* An Hypocrites Belly shall swell with *Pain*, while he prepares *Deceit*; and when he falls in Travel with Iniquity, *Satan*, (*that Lying Spirit*) shall take the *Deeper Possession* of him. His *Sin shall be brought more sadly to* Remembrance, *Haunt him in the Guilt, and Hunt him to swift Destruction.*

Thus a False Appeal, like the *Jealousie-Water*, shall hasten a Consumption upon the *Credit* of every *Impostor.* The Curse shall enter as *Oyl into his Bones*; yea, soak *deeper* into his very Soul. Thus *Perjury* binds *firm*, every Self-Imprecation upon the *Hypocritical Appellant.* Such *Prostituting* of Sinners Consciences to Perjury, in making false *Apologies* to be Credited, is as *Great a Sin*, as the *Heathens* Sacrificing of their *Children*, to the *Idol-Moloch.* For such False Appeals, may ruin thousands of *Deluded Souls*; causing them to Justifie the Wicked, and Condemn Righteous Judges: Both which, are equally an *Abomination to the Lord.* It is very observable, in the 5*th.* of *Numbers*, the 15*th.* That in the *Oblation* made for Tryal of the suspected Wife, there was *No Oyl, nor Frankincense*, mixt with the Offering of Jealousie. *This signifyed*, that while any Sinner gives the *Lord* cause, to suspect the *Chastity, and Loyalty of his Soul*, in any False Appeal; such an *Impudent Pretender* unto Truth, (*which ought to tye the Heart and Tongue, in the sacred Bond of Chastity and Agreement*) shall not go Unpunisht. He cannot have any Hope of being *Anoynted with the Spirit of Holiness, and of Peace.* His best Services, shall not be Received with any *Merciful Interpertation*; nor can the Prayers of such, *yeild any Delightful Savor to*

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the Lord; becauſe they cannot be mixt with the *Fragrant Incenſe* of *Chriſt*'s Meritorious Interceſſion. This Advocate, ſhall rather turn the *Edge of his juſt Indignation againſt them*: Yea, by degrees, ſuch Sinners will *Commence* from *Lying Equivocations*, to down-right *Perjurious Atheiſm*, and the ſcoffing at all *Religious Fear of Damnation*, to all Eternity. Apologies *artificially* contrived, neither cover the *Scandal* of the Sin, nor *Cure* or *Recover* the Sinner. They are rather Libelling Accuſations againſt *God*'s *Juſtice*, who hath *found out* the Hypocrite, in his *Atheiſtial Preſumption* of *Impunity*. Such Self-Defences, rather *aggravate* Guilt, than *waſh* away the *Stain of Sin*, *or Reproach*.

Ingenuouſly to Confeſs the Crime laid to our Charge, and proved upon us, is the *only Honorable Apology*, and not any *Sordid Yielding up of the Cauſe*. *Judah*'s Name, which ſignifyed to give Praiſe to *God* by Confeſſion of Sin, was made good by his Practice, in the Caſe of *Thamar*. A *True Penitentiaries* Heart, is *Grieved for* his Offence, and not *Imbittered againſt* any Adverſary, for Charging It *Home* upon him. Thus, by Ingenuity, *we prevent* the Judgment, and ſeverer Condemnation of the *Lord*. He will never *Reject ſuch*, who will put themſelves to *Shame*; but will then be moſt *pacifyed*, when they leaſt *ſpare Themſelves*. At *Chriſt*'s Tribunal, to Juſtify ones Self, is to *Loſe the Cauſe*, and more *incenſe* the Judge of all the World. *There*, impudent Appealers ſhall neither be able to *Conceal*, nor to *Deny* their Crimes. *Then*, they ſhall not *Defend* themſelves, much leſs, *Glory* in their Shame. A free Penitential Confeſſion, Reconciles *God* to the Sinner; and the Sinner to *Himſelf*, in the Recovery of his Loſt *Peace* and *Reputation*. Yea, it is attended with the Wonderful *Efficacy of Faith*; not only in applying the Merit and Vertue of *Chriſt*'s *Blood*, ſhed for the *Expiation of Guilt*; but it alſo obtains *Singular Remarks of Divine Favor*. I ſhall inſtance *This*, in a Miniſter; who once joyned with others of his Brethren, in Ejecting *Satan* out of one Poſſeſt. *Satan* being *loath* to be diſturbed or ejected, deſigned to *diſcourage* this Miniſter, by ſuggeſting to the poſſeſt Perſon, that he was formerly of a *Scandalous Converſation*; whereof the *Damoniack* Accuſed him *before* All who were preſent. The Faithful Servant of the moſt *High God*, *acknowledged* all thoſe Crimes laid to his Charge, and took the *Shame of them* to Himſelf; thereby giving *Glory* to the Lord. Hereupon, he grew *more Confident*, that the *Lord* would ſignally Honor him, as an Inſtrument to Eject *Satan* out of the Poſſeſt Perſon. Hereupon, he ſet himſelf more humbly and fervently to Pray; and in the very time of the Duty, the *Devil* flew out of his Long-loved Tennement; ſo that, the *Damoniack* was not longer Tormented by him. If theſe *Jeſuits* had been as *Ingenuous Confitens*, as they had been *Buſie Confeſſors*, in *racking* other Mens Conſciences; This *it ſelf*, had been a *Miracle*. But they *Dye* in the ſame Impoſtures, which they promote while they *Live*. Their Religion, (*as they have moulded it to Secular Intereſt*) is nothing but a Cheat, *Varniſht over* with Specious Shews of *Piety*: It is only a *Fardle of Lyes* ſubtilly packt together, and the *Dead-Sea* of all abominable *Impieties*. Therefore, no wonder, if ſuch who avowedly profeſs the *Trade* of *Seduction*, are as Dextrous at the *Art of Equivocation*. Hence it is, that they Obſtinately and Impudently *ſport Themſelves*, in maintaining that *Myſtery of Iniquity*, againſt all Right Reaſon, and Self-Conviction. While they draw all Appeals to the *Pope*, *as Infallible*, they preſume, that He can *ſuperſede* the Righteous Judgment of the ſupreme *Majeſty* of Heaven, in delivering of them from the *Curſe* of their Falſe Appeals.

All the fore-going Conſiderations being well weighed, the Self-Imprecating Appeals of theſe *Jeſuits*, *If they were not as Innocent as the Child Unborn*, needed not ſtagger any Perſon, concerning the Juſtice of their Condemnation and Execution. For, *that Form* of their Canting Plea, which very probably, was *preſcribed* to them, or *fore-agreed to* among themſelves, without any Alteration, may be *thus* Unriddled; *viz.* I can no more *Proteſt* my Innocency, than the *Child Unborn can*. I cannot *Really* do it; though in Artificial Words I may *Endeavour* it. Or *Thus*: The Child Unborn is *Really Innocent*, but cannot *Proteſt* it. I *may* and *do* proteſt it; yet have it *not Really* to proteſt: Nor is the Child Unborn *really* Innocent. *True*, It cannot be Charged with any Injurious *Fact*; yet, *is It not Innocent*, becauſe *the Rectitude of Human Nature*, *or that Original Righteouſneſs*, *which ought to be in It*, *by the Law of its Primitive Creation in* Adam, *the Root and Common Truſtee of Perfect Righteouſneſs*, *for his Poſterity*, *is by his Apoſtacy*, *juſtly wanting in every Child*. There is in the Nature of the Child Unborn, a *Seminal* Averſneſs to *God*, and a *Propenſneſs* to all Evil. Therefore, to affirm, That they were as Innocent as the Child Unborn, *was as much as to ſay*, That

They were Guilty before God; for, *So is the Child Unborn.*

Yet, the *Council of Trent* hath Determined, (as an *Article* of *Faith*) That in *Baptiſm*, all the true and proper Nature of Original Sin, is quite aboliſht. Upon *That account* (*They* ſay) *God himſelf, cannot bind any One to Repent of it any more, than of an Innocent, Harmleſs Thing.* Council Trident. Seſſ. 5. *cap.* 4. *Soto ibid.* So, theſe Malefactors, being now about to Receive (as they preſumed) the *Baptiſm and Crown of Martyrdom*, thought this would immediately *waſh away* the Guilt and Stayn of their Bloody Crimes; yea, *Repair* the Integrity and Peace of their Conſcience, after a *Falſe* avowing of their Innocency. Poſſibly, they reputed themſelves Innocent, becauſe they were Arraigned before a *Proteſtant-Court* of *Judicature*; which *they* counted *Incompetent*, to take Cognizance of their Crimes; and ſo were Innocent, in *That* Reſpect. Or, themſelves eſteemed It, a *Meritorious Act*, to *Murther Hereticks.* This *De Graffiis* proves, out of their *Own Church-Laws.* Graff. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 11. *Numb.* 12. *Barronius* alſo, *Commends* the Murthering of *Proteſtants*, as having Forfeited their Lives by the Sentence of *Excommunication*, pronounced againſt them Yearly.

Suarez, an Eminent Author, in the Fourth Chapter of his Sixth Book, againſt the King of *Great-Brittain*, ſaith, That if the *Pope* Depoſes a *King*, *without giving Expreſs Commiſſion to Kill him:* In *That* Caſe (he Curſedly ſaith) It belongs only to his *Lawful Succeſſor*, if he be a *Catholick*; or, if *He will not do it*, then, it *belongs to the Common People to do it.* Yea generally, *Bellarmine*, *Becanus*, *Francis de Verona*, *Ribadinera*, *Gretzer*, *Eudæmon-Johannes*, and *Emanuel Sa*, (all which, amount to more than only *Mariana*, as Mr. *Gawen* untruly Alledged) Theſe maintain, *That the* Pope *hath Power to Chaſtiſe* (*yea*, *Kill*) *Heretical Princes.* From the Depoſition of *Henry* the 3*d.* by *Sixtus* the 5*th.* enſued the *Parricide* Committed by *Jaques-Clement:* For the which, the ſaid *Pope* gave *Thanks* to *God*, in open *Conſiſtory.* This *Oration* was Printed at *Paris*, by *Nicholas Nivelle*, and *Rollin Thierri*; with *Approbation* of three Doctors, *viz. Boucher*, *De Creil*, and *Ancelin.* Or (it may be) they pleaded their Integrity, becauſe they *Acted by, and under the* Pope's *Commiſſion*; who (as they believe) can *Legitimate* the worſt of Crimes, ſo as to make them become *Real Virtues.* This Aſſertion I believe no more, than I do *that Rapper* of the *Popiſh Miracle*, pretended to be wrought upon *this* Occaſion: A *Polonian* Gentleman, ſpeaking ſlightly of the *Pope* at Dinner among his Friends, the *White-Bread* next to him, became preſently as *Black as Ink*; But upon his Penitential Recanting, it turned *Whiter than it was before.* Thus their *Appeals* are of as much Credit, as their *Fabulous Miracles.*

Or, it may be, they Pleaded their Integrity, as their Holy Father, the *Pope*, *aſſumes High Names of Sanctity*; being himſelf of a *clean Contrary* Diſpoſition. Thus a *Cruel Pope*, takes the Title of *Clement*; and *Malefacius*, will needs pretend to be *Boniface.* This is to be Innocent, *per Antiphraſin*, by the Rule of Contraries.

But, that it may not ſeem *ſtrange*, that Dying-Criminals will falſly avow their *Innocency*, my ſelf, in my late *Experience*, (as *Ordinary* of *Newgate*) have known ſome Malefactors Condemned for *Murther* and *Burglaries*, to have gone out of the World, with a *Notorious* Aſſerting of their Integrity; although they had twice or thrice Confeſt to me, (with ſome ſeeming Remorſe) that they were juſtly Condemned for the ſaid Crimes.

I do believe, that the *Jeſuits* have been their *Tutors*, *Patterns*, and *Patrons*, in ſuch Abominable Untruths. I ſhall more *cloſely* Convince all Unbyaſſed Perſons, that theſe *Five Jeſuits* could not be Innocent. Their Witneſſes from St. *Omers*, were Votaries *Trayn'd up* in their Religion, and ſworn at their Entrance into the *Colledge*, to obey their Superiours Inſtructions. Therefore, ſome of them being askt by the *Honorable Court* of *Judicature*, What they could averr (as to their *own Knowledge*) about a very Material Queſtion? replyed, *That they were not Inſtructed to Anſwer that Point:* Which demonſtrates, *that* they were *Lore-taught*, as *Parrots*, what to alledge in *other* Reſpects, to have invalidated Doctor *Oates* his Teſtimony: Yet were they Heard with *Wonderful Patience and Candour.* Nay, the *Jeſuits* themſelves, when they made their *Own Defence*, did offer nothing of any conſiderable weight, *but meer Sophiſtical Evaſions*, why the *Court* ſhould not proceed to paſs Judgment upon them. At their Execution, *What Self-Imprecations* did they uſe, as if they would by Theſe, *as a Magical Conjuration*, *Charm the Publick Spectators*, to give Credit to their Lying and *Atheiſtical Appeals.*

Yet,

Yet, these Disturbers and Underminers of Human Society, before they were turned out of the World, thought it Necessary, to *Charm the Secret-biting-Accusations of their Consciences*, with Father *Whitebread*'s Absolution, which they *Received* (in all probability) when they *Whispered* together. This they Reserved *till Now*, as a *Presumptive Purgation of all their Crimes*, and as a *Safe Ticket*, or *Transport unto Heaven*. They counted *Atheistical Lyes*, to be St. *Peter*'s *Keys*, to Open *Paradise* unto them; Or a most Dextrous *Artificial Pick-lock*, to screw themselves into a Good Opinion with the Credulous, Vulgar People. But, as *that Witty* Pope *said*, (when he Sprinkled *Holy-Water* on *Romish Novices*, and they Expected *Miraculous* Effects) *He who* will be *Deceived, let his Superstitious Conceit be* Rewarded with a Cheat: *So say I*; Let *Papists* be deluded with false Protestations, who believe a *Religion, stufft with Lyes and Blasphemies*. But, let not any *Protestant* be so *Infected*, as to Resigne their *Reason*, and Resolve their *Faith*, into the Conduct of *their bare* Assertions; who Promote their Church, by all *Deceivableness of Unrighteousness*. How are *Popish Novices* in a *blind Zeal*, hurryed on by such Sophisters, to perpetrate the most Notorious Assassinations of Princes; *and not to Boggle at This*; as if it were a Vertue highly Meritorious. Thus do such Bigots *gratify* the Blood-thirsty Humor of the *Scarlet Whore*, and *Execute* the Fury of the *Romish Beast*. And yet, when *Jesuits* are Justly put to Death for *Villainous Treasons*, they dare protest, that they Dye *Martyrs* for the Cause of their Blessed *Jesus*; whom they Crucify afresh, not only by the Hands of an *Idolatrous Mass-Priest*, but in the Persecution of the Professors of his *pure Religion*.

I will give some *proof* of this. *Baron Hene*, one of his Majestie's Justiciaries in *Ireland*, assured a Person of Honor, that one *John Curphy*, a *Papist*, Condemned for a *Burglary*, in the Year 1671. at the time of his Execution, did *peremptorily Deny* the Fact, and made solemn Appeals to *God* of his Innocency. Yet, the *Contrary was thus Discovered:* After he had Hung some little time, the *Rope by Chance brake*; so he fell down a little Stunned: Yet some *Seed of Life* remaining in him, he was brought to his perfect Speech. Hereupon, Terror was so deeply impress upon his Conscience, *for Lying*, (though counted a *Venial* Sin before) that he was forced to Confess the Fact; and after some time given him for Repentance, he was Executed as he deserved.

Thus you see, that *Impudent, Impenitent Malefactors*, at different *Seasons*, have different *Sentiments* of *God*'s Omniscient Justice, for *Forging* Lies deliberately, to make the World believe, that they are Innocent. God *is concerned*, in the Honor of his Justice, to Vindicate his Omniscicncy, in some *strange* Discovery of such Matchless *Impostors*; who can *hardly Repent in the time of Dying*. Indeed, it is not probable, they should; who *Entayl* upon themselves, a Voluntary Curse, by their *pertinacious* Dissimulation, and their *Lying Artifices*. These Men, are of late, *Commenced* such profound Doctors in all Treason, Rebellion, Cruelty, *and what not*, which may destroy a *Protestant* Government, that they *out-strip* all former Monsters of *Impiety*. Had this Unparellel'd Villainy been *Effected*, it would have been Celebrated for a Meritorious Act, in Contriving a *Speedier and more Effectual Method*, for the Propagation of the *Romish* Perswasion.

This, is not the *Truly*, *Antient*, *Apostolical Faith*; but a *Mushrom* of Fancy, started up, out of an Affectation of *Superstitious Novelty*; and cherisht or spred by the *Boundless Ambition* of Earthly Pomp and Grandeur. How can any Man, who hath not quite Extinguisht *all Sparks of Reason and Ingenuity*, Embrace *such a* Religion; which any *Idiot* may be *Ashamed to Live in*, and *Afraid to Dye in?* For, it is a Miscellany of *Blasphemies*, and all *Absurd* Opinions; yea, of all *Impieties*.

Hereby, it comes to pass, *that at last*, they are not able to put any Difference 'twixt Light and Darkness, Truth and Falshood; nor to distinguish Righteousness, from Violence and Injustice; nor Piety it self, from the Extremity of Prophaneness.

I have done with the Discovery of the Falseness of their Appeals: Let us now see, whether their *Faith and Charity* in Dying, were of any *Better Stamp*.

The Jeſuits *Falſe-Faith in Dying, Detected to be Fancy and Preſumption.*

HOw many Falſe *Martyrs* hath the world afforded, who while they *Courted* Death, Sacrificed only a *Sturdy* Body to a *Stubborn* Mind, to keep up ſome *Hereſy* in Repute? *Jeſuits* count *this*, a brave Reſolution; yet, it flows from the Inconſiderateneſs of a *Sleepy ſecure Conſcience*. They *weigh not the after-claps* of Death, nor *Dread* the future Aſſizes of the Univerſal Judgment. Hypocrits, will as confidently, *commit and commend* their Spirits into the Hand and Boſom of Chriſt, as if they had been *waſht* in his Blood, and *changed* into his Image. *Jeſuits*, who are a *Faithleſs* Generation, cannot *really* make uſe of the Sheild of Faith, to *Blunt* the Sting of Death; or to *Quench* the Fiery Dartings of *Deſpair* into their Hearts. For, *that* Faith which they pretend to, is rather *Carnal fancy and preſumption*, than any well regulated *Reſignation* of their Souls to the Conduct of the Scriptures, as imbraced by a *firm* Belief, Such Reſignation flowing from a *Right-bred* Faith, is *Divinely* grounded on the Sacred Authority of God *Alone*, who is the Architype of Truth. But *Jeſuits*, do not believe the Scriptures to be a *perfect* Rule of Faith, and of the practicals of Chriſtian Self-denyal. If they eſteemed the Sacred Records, able to make the *Man of God* Compleatly wiſe unto Salvation, then Conſequently, they muſt needs be the *ſtrongeſt and only Sheild*, to overcome the *Inordinate Love of* Natural Life, and the *Slaviſh fear* of a Violent Ignominious Death. Such a frame can *never* be attained, unleſs the Purity of the Scriptures, which are *Divine in* their Original and Authority, be *Aſſented to, and Imbraced with* a Faith *Divinely* ſubjected to them. I muſt *receive and defend* Divine Truth to the very Death; not becauſe I believe it with an *Humane* Faith, as giving *more credit to* the Churches Tradition (which *Conſignes* the Scriptures to be Canonical) than to the Authority of *Divine* Revelation: If ſo, I ground my Faith for Eternal Life, upon an *Uncertain* Opinion, or *at beſt*, upon the Raſh and *bold* Aſſertion of ſome *Pope* or Council, who *ſay* and *unſay*, Decree and Aboliſh the *ſame* Conſtitution in a Breath.

Thus, the *Jeſuits-Faith*, which is meerly *or chiefly Humane*, in the very eſſence and formality of it, (becauſe the Church or *Pope determines So, or So,*) can never reach to the Spiritual *pitch and excellency* of that Divine Faith; which being grounded on the *Sole Authority* of Divine Revelation, can only *Juſtify and Save* a mans Soul, and Conſequently, can only afford *true courage and comfort* in Dying. But *Jeſuits*, never had their Hearts *purified* by believing, and obeying the Truths of Chriſt, *as ſuch*; for *then*, they would have their Affections *more in Heaven:* But ſpending their Converſation chiefly *among Machivilians of their own Tribe and Order*, to promote a Secular Intereſt, rather than to Subject themſelves to the *Rules of the Bleſſed Jeſus*, (whoſe name their Society *Blaſphemouſly* pretends to) they cannot have any Experimental Taſt of the *powerful joys* of the World to come. Their confidence therefore in Dying, cannot be *Hearty and Ingenuous*. It flows cheifly, from the *Effort and vigor of natural courage*, not from a *Super-elevated* Principle of Unfeigned Faith, which takes a *proſpect* of Eternal Life, not only beyond the *pleaſing Accomodations and Advantages* of this preſent World, but alſo, beyond the *Torments* of Death; that ſo God himſelf may be Glorified *All in All*, and not only a *Saint-like* Cannonization be Ambitiouſly aſpired unto, *which*, without *real* Holineſs, is but the *Dream* of a Fools-Paradiſe. Are not ſuch men under the deluſion *of a ſtrange Phrency*, and Spiritually *bewicht*, who put *on an Artificial* courage and zeal, in ſealing a *falſe* Religion with their Blood, only, out of a *fond* Ambition, to avoid Purgatory on the left hand, and that the *Pope* may immediately Canonize them *for Heroical Champions*, in defending the pride of his Tripple Crown. *Jeſuits* account this, to be *juſtifying* Faith to Eternal Life, firmly to *Aſſent to* all the *Popes* determinations as *Infallible*, *when* oftentimes, *Popes* have been perſons *neither of common Truth nor Honeſty*, but *Atheiſts*, *Hereticks*, *Conjurers*, *Sodomites*, yea *Incarnate Devils*. *Platina* in the Life of *John* the 13*th*. *Conſtan. Concil. Seſſ.* 11. *Art.* 5. *Benedict.* 9. *vide Baronium anno*, 1034. *N.* 3. Yet the unwritten Traditions, or *Fancies rather*, of theſe wicked Monſters, muſt be Imbraced as Objects of *juſtifying* Faith, by all ſuch, who expect *not to be ſent* to Purgatory,

gatory, when they Dye. But, Can *Jesuitical Martyrs*, for the *Pope's Religion*, retain a firm Belief, that they shall be *Canonized for Saints*? Yes. For *Graffius*, *Bellarmine*, and other Divines, have found out a *compendious* way to Salvation: For, by Forming the Signe of the Cross *with Three Fingers*, to signify the Mystery of the Sacred *Trinity*: by drawing the Cross *from the Fore-head to the Navel*, to signify, that the Son of *God* Descended from Heaven into the Bowels of his *Mother*; and then drawing the Cross-line from the Left-Arm to the Right; Hereby the *Cause* of the *Incarnation* is Expresst; *viz. Christ* came from Heaven to Earth, that we who had deserved to be placed amongst the *Goats* at his Left-hand, might be removed to his Right-hand, amongst the *Sheep*. Behold! What Mysteries of Faith, *Mother-Church* hath taught Her Eldest Sons, yea, all her Novices; that by these *Exact Moods* of Forming a Cross, *without the Knowledge of any thing besides*, even this *alone*, may be sufficient for Salvation. This is *All* the Faith, necessary for a *Roman Catholick*; and when by such Admirable Conduct of the Cross, he hath *but Once* believed, he need *never more trouble Himself* with Faith, while he Lives. So *Bonacina Tom.* 2. *in* 1. *Precept. Disp.* 3. *Q.* 2. *N.* 16. *Graff. Decis. Part* 1. *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 24. *N.* 3.

You have seen the Admirable Efficacy of a *Jesuits Faith*, in Signing himself, *when Dying*, with the Sign of the *Cross*: Now view the Effects of their *Hopes*.

Jesuitical Hopes of Divine Mercy and Salvation, at Death, Detected to be False, and Vain.

ALL *Rational* Hope of Salvation, is *Divine* in its Original and Foundation; this will not make *them Ashamed*, who are Possest of it. *Rom.* 5. 5. It is not like the *Spiders-Web*, because it hath *God in Christ*, *for its Foundation*. 1 Col. 27. *Christ in You*, *the Hope of Glory*. But now, *Popish* Doctrine is *opposite* to *Christ* in all his *Offices*, as making him to be an *Insufficient Saviour*. Thus they joyn *Pennances*, as necessary Additions to *Christ*'s Infinite Satisfaction for Sin, as if he had Merited, to take away only the *Fault or Offence*; and had left the Sinner *himself*, to compleat the Redemption of his Soul, by satisfying for the *punishment of Sin*, in *Self-invented* and *Self-imposed* Severities, upon the Body. How doth this *derogate* from *Christ*'s Infinite Redeeming Love, in making a *full* and *perfect* Satisfaction for All Sin, and the Appurtenances thereof, in respect of Persons truly Justifyed. *Besides*, *Romish* Doctrine over-throws another part of the Foundation of *true Christian Hope*, which is, the *Alone All-sufficiency* of *Christ*'s *Meritorious Intercession*: Thus they joyn with *Him*, *Suffragans* and *Coadjutors*, in *this* part of his Priestly Office; as if Himself were not a *pityful and faithful High-priest*, *as God-man*, *solely and sufficiently prevalent with his Father*, to Obtain whatever we can *Ask*, according to *His Will*. But Papists *pray amiss to Saints and Angels*; who know not their *particular* Distresses, nor the Thoughts of the *Heart*, which Ascend to *God* directly in Prayer: He only, can Hear the Supplications of *Millions*, at the *same* time; and Supply the Wants of *All Creatures*. Therefore, they are *Guilty* of *Idolatry* and *Blasphemy* in their Orisons: And, Can such *Sacriledgious Derogation* from *God*'s Honor, ground any *real* Hope of being Heard, or Supplyed with the Necessary Means of Salvation? So far are *such Prayers*, from giving the least Hope of Eternal Life.

2. True *Hope*, hath the *Promises of Free-Grace in Christ*, for its Support: which Promises are only *Yea*, *and Amen*, *in Him*, to Christians that are sincere in their Obedience. But, *Popish* Doctors assert, that the *Highest or most Necessary* Duties of Christianity, are only *Counsels*, which they are at Liberty to imbrace, or not; so as to make them *practical*. Thus they *dispense* with the Necessary Duties of Religion; in which, the very *Essence*, *Life*, and *Power* of it consists: As they *fancy* Divine Precepts to be but *Arbitrary Duties*; so, *to such*, Christ's Promises of Eternal Life, become as *meer Cyphers*, because they do *dispense* with his Laws, *when*, and *as* themselves please to be *partial* in their Obedience. *That only* is a Lively Hope of Salvation, which makes the Possessors of it, to purify their Hearts, as *God* is Pure; which is *fruitful* in Obedience, and *active* in the wayes of Holiness; which *Girds up the Loyns of the Mind*, by *avoyding* all Impediments, and *making use of all Expedients* in the Christian-Race; thus the

Hope of *seeing and enjoying God*, doth ſtrenuouſly work *up* the Heart, to a *Conformity* in Holyneſs. Such an Hope *only*, can *be a firm Anchor in all Extremities*. But *Papiſh* Hopes (as the *Spiders-Web*) are ſoon ſwept away like *Vanity*: Yea, there is no Hope of Remedy, to *Recover ſuch* to a Salvable State, who *ſtudy* to be Ignorant, and fear to know the *Latitude* of *God's* Will, leſt they ſhould be *Obliged* to follow it. How *dangerous* is an Implicite Faith! *viz.* to believe *Only* as the Church dictates, though ſhe teach Points *contrary* to the Purity of the Chriſtian-Inſtitution? How can *that* Faith, which is grounded on the Authority of the *Pope*, and conſequently, which is *meerly Humane*, as *moulded to his Determination*, produce any *ſolid* Hope of Eternal Life? *Hope* is the Daughter, or Twin-Siſter of *Faith*: Therefore, *As the Nature of The is*, ſo *Hope* is True or Falſe. Such *blind Bigots*, who *hold* their Souls in this Miſerable Captivity, cannot *rationally* think them Redeemed by the Blood of *Chriſt*, while they *reject* that Saving Light which is offered to them. *What then* ſhall we think of *Jeſuits*, who ſin *againſt* Conviction, that they may *uphold* a Carnal Intereſt? If any *perſiſt* in This, they Sin *damnably*, and cannot have any *real* Hope of Salvation. The like we may affirm of *ſuch*, who, to Preſerve their *Trading and Worldly Accommodations* in *Popiſh* Countries, quench the Sparks of True Convictions in themſelves: Theſe Perſons are *Aſhamed or Afraid* to Confeſs *Chriſt's in ure Truth*, in the *Purity thereof* againſt all *Romiſh forged Innovations*, although *Theſe* betray Men's Souls inſenſibly to Perdition *Such perſons*, who for *State-Intereſt*, *viz.* to gain *Favour or Wealth*, ſuppreſs the Sentiments of *Chriſt's* pure Religion, and receive the Mark of the *Beaſt*; though not in the *Fore-head* openly, yet cloſely in their *Hand*; This *Anathema* from *God*, may juſtly take hold of them, that they ſhall be blinded and hardned to believe *Romiſh* Lies, according to that Juſt Sentence, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. 11. That *They all may be Damned, who Believe not the Truth once profeſt*, but Reject it: Or refuſe to be *informed* of the Danger of *Heretical Tenets*, when *Means of Conviction* are offered; becauſe, they Demonſtrate hereby, *That they have Pleaſure in Unrighteouſneſs*. Now, Popiſh Religion is the *Greateſt Seminary* of Viciouſneſs, and all Impiety: For, Doth not the *Council of Trent* Eſtabliſh this, That Attrition *only*, which is but a *ſlight* Grief for Sin, from meer *ſlaviſh Fear of Hell*, or *Shame*, without any *Love to God*, is a *ſufficient* Demonſtration of Repentance to Eternal Life; ſo *that the Sacrament of Penance be joyned with it?* Yet this Sacrament of Penance, on *which* they ſay, the ſtreſs of Sinners Salvation depends, is a meer *Human Invention*: *God* hath *promiſed* nothing to it, upon *Popiſh* Terms; neither can a Man build any *rational* Hope upon it, that it will ſecure him from Damnation. They affirm, That the Sacrament of Penance infuſes *All ſaving Graces*, when Men are *Dying*: This is a *Rare Device*, *by which* Debaucht Perſons may eſcape *Hell* at laſt, without True Repentance. There was never any *Hereſie* more *monſtrous and pernitious*, than this of the *Trent-Council*, which makes all Sins *Safe*, and all Duties *Needleſs*, by a Knack of very *Eaſy* Uſe, and *New* Invention, *viz.* *Abſolution*, upon the meer Profeſſion of any *ſlight* Grief for Sin, though the Motive be but *Natural*, and the Grief it ſelf, in the next Degree to *Nothing*.

The Premiſes conſidered, I cannot ſee how Papiſts can rightly Ground their Hopes for Salvation, which is to be attained by Faith in *Chriſt* alone, as it purifyes the Heart to an Obediential Hope of Glory.

Jeſuitical Charity Counterfeit in Life and Death.

I Do ſuſpect, the *Jeſuits Charity* in Dying, could be no *Better* than their *Faith*: For, according to the *Truth* and *Strength* of This, (which is the *firſt* Radical Grace Implanted) is *proportionably*, the Genuine Nature and Extenſion of Chriſtian Love. Now, if the *Jeſuits* Faith be *Unſound* (as I have Demonſtrated) I cannot ſee any reaſon, why their *Charity* ſhould be of the *right Scriptural-ſtamp*: How could theſe Jeſuits *ſincerely* Forgive their Enemies? Is Self-denyal, this *Grand Maſter-piece of Chriſtianity*, ſo *eaſily* practiſed by Anti-Chriſtian Spirits? Yet, they would make us believe, that they *heartily* Forgave their Enemies, as *themſelves expected* Forgiveneſs from *God*. But ſuch *Sophiſters* uſe to Forgive their Juſt Accuſers in a *Complement*, as they believe themſelves to be Forgiven of God *in a Dream*. I ſuſpect, that their Reconciliation to their Adverſaries, was as *Myſtical*, as their Faith is *Dubious*. For, if they require

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require an *Implicite Faith only*, to believe whatever the Church *Virtual*, *viz.* the *Pope* dictates; why ſhould their Charity be more *expreſſive and diſtinct*, *viz.* in Comprehending ſuch Perſons, who *deſignedly* (as themſelves aſſerted) ſought to take away their Lives.

Is *This* the Charity of the *Roman* Church, to Condemn all *Proteſtants* to *Hell*; while in a *fond-miſtaken* Compaſſion, all Her *Own Faction*, (though never ſo *prodigiouſly* Wicked) are Canonized for Saints? Yea, Why doth the *Pope*, that *Merciful High prieſt*, permit ſo many Souls to lye *broyling* in *Purgatorian* Flames, when he ought with a more *fervent* Charity, and at a more *eaſie price*, to Redeem them *thence*.

How could theſe *Jeſuits* ſincerely Forgive their Enemies, who fancy a ſtrange *Mock-Forgiveneſs* of a Sinner, by the *God* of *Truth*. This they do, to *colour and palliate* their own Hypocritical Reconciliation. Their Blaſphemy is *this*: That *God* in Pardoning Sinners, forgives the *Offence*, but not the *Puniſhment*. *This* muſt be ſatisfyed *For*, *In*, and *By* Themſelves. This makes way for *fraudulent* Reconciliations: For, the Malicious Perſon may alledge the *Example of God Himſelf*; who, while he pretends to *Remit* an Injury, yet *Reſerves* in his Heart, *Seeds* of Wrath for a Crop of Future Revenge. For, he will ſay, *Would you have me more Merciful than God*! *Herein*, I have followed *His Example*. We are too much inclined to *Revenge*; we need not *ſeek Devices*, to prove, that God *Invites us* there-unto. Theſe Men pretend *Meekneſs of Spirit*; but it is *Malice* Raked up in *Embers*, till they find a *fit* Opportunity to be Revenged *in Earneſt*, and with a *fuller Intereſt*. I cannot ſee thorow the *Miſts* of their *Impoſtures*; nor can I Reconcile their *Hearts* and *Words* together, when almoſt in the *ſame* Breath, they Revile and Condemn their Judges of Injuſtice.

Virtually, they Supplicated for the *Avenging* of their Blood, as wrongfully ſpilt; while in thoſe *very Appeals* which they made to God, they aſſerted themſelves to be as White and Innocent, as Innocency it ſelf. I have Read of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, that when he Pray'd, he had his Sword lying *drawn* before him, as *ready* to take Vengeance on his Enemies; though this were the *only* Expedient, to cut off Mercy from himſelf. Do not *Popiſh* Doctors maintain, That it is Lawful to *Kill* any one who only *Reviles us*? *This*, they count not Revenge, but a *Regular Self-Love*, yea, a very *Juſt Care*, which the Injured Perſon *Owes* unto Himſelf. At the Leaſt, he may Repair his Honor, by the Swords-point of Recrimination. Doubtleſs, they who hold, That we owe *No Expreſs Act* of *Love* to God Himſelf, all our Life-long; and that the Intention, and *Deſire only* of Loving Him (when we are *Dying*) *fulfils* our Duty in this Reſpect, could have but Little or *No* Charity, for their Enemies. This is really the Mercitul Temper of *Romaniſts*, to wiſh, That *by One Blow* in the Deſtruction of His Majeſty, they had *readily* diſpatcht Three Nations, becauſe they will not ſtoop to the Yoke of *Anti-Chriſtian* Hereſie and Tyranny.

How *Diabolically* did theſe Malefactors preſume to Clear themſelves, by clapping One Lye *gravely* upon Another. Firſt, They aſſerted their *Innocency*, though *Convicted* and Righteouſly Condemned. Then, to teſtify their Innocence by their Meekneſs, they pretended to Forgive their Enemies; while by a Jeſuitical Back-Blow, they endeavoured to ſtab their *Reputation*, and Invalidate their Teſtimony by *falſe* Recriminations. Now, it is *alike Abſurd*, for a Malefactor *convicted* by Law, to preſume to Clear himſelf, by Calumniating of another; as for one *really* Innocent, to bear a *Falſe* Teſtimony againſt himſelf. This is *Unnatural*, and againſt Regular *Self-Love*; but the Other is *Natural* to a Corrupt Heart, though it be *Diabolical*.

I will prove the *Abſurdity* of the Firſt-mentioned Artifice, by inſtancing in a True Example of the Latter; *viz.* An Innocent Woman bore falſe Witneſs againſt Her ſelf, that ſhe was the *proper* Murtherer of a Child, which was deſtroyed by its *own* Mother. The *Devil* ſuggeſted to this *feign'd* Criminal, that it was impoſſible, ſhe could have a *broken* Heart for Sin, unleſs ſhe were publickly Hanged, and *ſo ſhamed* into a Penitential Frame. The Woman *cloſed* with this Self-cruel Deſign, Indicted her ſelf, and Pleaded *Guilty* of the Murther: But the Judge obſerving her *modeſt* and *penitential* Behaviour, could not think, that ſhe was the *Real* Murtherer. Therefore, he urged her, not *wilfully* to caſt away her own Life, by *palliating and perſonating* of anothers Crime. She frequently *affirmed*, that ſhe Killed the Child. Yet at laſt, *God* was pleaſed to diſcover *Satan's Stratagem*. So the Mother, who was the *proper*-Criminal, was ſought for, and Apprehended; but the *Other* was ſet at Liberty, with ſome *Rebuke* and *Pity* of her Folly This *ſtrange* Occurrence, a Perſon worthy of Credit, Related to my ſelf, upon his *own* Knowledge, as he *attended* the Judge in his Circuit.

Now, Why is it not probable, that the *Devil* might as *designedly*, Animate these *Jesuits*, to assert their *own* Innocency, by *darting* Calumniations against their upright Witnesses, to Confirm them in their Impenitency. The Charity of these Jesuits, towards their Enemies, is the more to be *suspected*, because their *Casuistical Divines* declare, that a Criminal may *lawfully* Perjurate himself, in pleading of his Innocency; yea, may without Sin, falsly Recriminate, and Murder such Witnesses, who are *likely to prove* the Crime against Him.

This is their *common* Doctrine, *Bannes* 22 *Q.* 70 *Art.* 3 *pag.* Thus *Bulfec*, and *Cocleius*, did cast out *False* Aspersions, to defame *Luther* and *Calvin*, that Credit might not be given to their Writings against the *Roman*-Church. *Ledesma*, a *Dominican*, assures us, that to Defame *falsly* any Adversary, is no Sin: For, it is the Common Doctrine of *Aquinas* his Disciples. *Caramuel* sayes, *Twenty* Doctors assert it Lawful. If *Popish* Confitents will be Prodigal of their *own* Reputation, and (out of a *Superstitious Fear* of losing the Benefit of Absolution, if they Enumerate not *punctually* all their Sins) will Charge themselves with such Wickedness, which they never Committed: How *little* Conscience will Jesuited Persons make, of Murthering not only the *Good Name*, but the *Person* also, of an upright Witness; that so they may *prevent* a True Testimony against them, or *weaken* the Validity of it.

By this Maxime, which Legitimats false Defamations, the grand Sophisters in that *Hellish Art*, have set themselves upon a Pillory of Infamy, with this *Inscription*, That they are *never* to be Credited, though they Imprecate themselves, if they speak not Truth. Yet, these are the Persons, who would be *Admired* for their *Self-Denyal*, in *Forgiving* of their Enemies. This is of *kind* to the *Blind preposterous Charity* of their *Popes*, who often Canonize for Saints and Martyrs, such who are Executed for Treason and Rebellion. Yet *Cotton* sayes, in the 26*th.* Chap. of 1*st.* Book of the *Institution*, That to *doubt* of the Blessedness of *such* Canonized Saints, is to make a *Challenge against* the Book of *Predestination*; which the *Pope* (as *Christ*'s Vicar) hath the *Keeping and Opening of*, though it be sealed up from the Knowledge of all *Heretick*s. What a *blasphemous* Charity is this, to Arrogate the Disposal of the *Book of Eternal Life?* For, Who can think, that *Popes* have a Right to inrole whom they will amongst the *Saints*, when our *Adversaries* affirm, that many of *Their Holynesses* are Damn'd *themselves?*

Let us now see, whether the *Jesuits Courage, and Chearfulness*, in Dying for their *Religious Treasons*, be of any better Stamp, than their *Dissembled Charity*.

Jesuitical Courage and *Chearfulness* in Dying for *Heresie* and *Treason*, how Differenced from the Comforts of *Real MARTYRS.*

Object. BUt *is it likely, that such* Holy Men *should put on a* Dissembled Courage *and* Chearfulness, *in Dying for Heresie or Treason?*

Answ. I Answer; Although this is the *Worst sort* of Lying, because it Counterfeits the *Anoynting of God*'s *Holy Spirit*, and *stains* the Glory of their *Reputed* Martyrdom; yet, I shall demonstrate, that Dissimulation in *this* kind, is not only *possible*, but frequently Exercised.

Erroneous Principles may have such a Prevalency upon the Conscience and Affections of *Heretick*s, and *Traytors*, as to raise a Passionate *False* Joy, in Suffering a *Violent and Ignominious Death*. But, How doth this *strange Witch-Craft*, differ from the *Real* Joy of *Christ*'s *Martyrs?*

1. True Chearfulness in Suffering, differs in the *Spring-head*, or *Root:* There is a *Gracious*, and a *Moral* Kind of Sincerity. Now, from this *Moral* Inducement *only*, meer Opinionists will Do and Suffer *much*, that they may preserve the Peace of an *Erroneous Conscience* in being *Honest* to their False Light. Yet, do they not enjoy the Comfort of a Renewed Conscience: This *prefers* the Glory of *God*, and the Propagation of the *Truth*, before the Preservation of its *own* Peace.

2. *Jesuitical Courage*, is *Artificial and Forced*, meerly out of *designe*, to keep up the

credit

credit, of a Falſe Opinion; rather than any Hearty Demonſtration of Real *Self-Denyal*. It ſpends it ſelf in Vain-Glory, and is not attended with any *Humble Diſtruſt* of Perſevering. *Impoſtors*, in their pretended Comfort, are either *Beſotted* with Senſuality, or *Tickled* with Phantaſtick Joy. It is no wonder, if they ſuffer *out of a Brain-ſick Fancy*, for the *Brats* of *Popiſh* Superſtition. But *Fancies* in the Head, beget only *Flaſhes* of falſe Zeal and Comfort, by the Concitation of *Brisk Animal* Spirits. Thus, *Phrentick* Perſons (the Brain being *over-heat*) *Cant*, in ratling of their Chains, as if they were *Princes* in their own Imagination. *Impoſtors* ſuffer, either from the Strength of *Deluſion*, or from *Stiffneſs* and *Rigidneſs* of *Spirit*, becauſe they hold it a Diſcredit, to be *Changlings* in Opinion. But one *Divinely* Couragious for the Truth, chuſes rather to be Its *Captive*, than the *Champion* of Error.

3. *Impoſtors* cover a *ſad peeviſh* Heart, with a *jocund* Countenance: But *real* Martyrs, having the *ſecret* Conſolations of *God*'s Spirit, are not Tranſported with *Aiery* Joys, neither are they *Theatrical* in their Carriage. Joy in the Holy-Ghoſt (not in *Fancy*, or the *Face* only) reſts upon them. *Res eſt Severa, Verum Gaudium.*

4. *Diſſembled Courage*, cannot be *Uniform* in a *conſtant* Undauntedneſs; *viz. Such*, which *becalms* the Paſſions, and *confirms* the Sufferer in his Uprightneſs. But ſome *Jeſuits* have uſed *Opiate Potions*, that they might bring a *Stupefaction* on the Animal Spirits, ſo as to have Little or *No Senſation* of their Death. But *real* Martyrs, refuſe to uſe any *Artificial, Sinful Means*, to *force* Joy, rather than to *wait for it* from Heaven, by the Acting of a Regular *Faith*. A *Pſeudo-Martyrs* Courage, is deſigned to Hector *Proteſtants* into a *Belief* of their Cheats; and their *Patience* is as Counterfeit, as their *Penitence*.

5. True *Courage* in *Chriſt*'s Martyrs, *Convinces, Shames*, and *Converts* ſome of their *Adverſaries*, becauſe the Lord ſets an *edge* on that Comfort which flows from *His Spirit*, rather than the Gallantry of a *Roman* Reſolution. True Comfort in Suffering, is *demonſtrated* to carry a *Divine-Stamp*, by begetting a *ſecret* Veneration in the very Hearts of ſuch, who *Oppoſe* the Truth.

But *Jeſuits* in their Juſt Execution, never (I think) did *win over* any *Proteſtant*, to become a *Patron* for their Lies. The Reaſons are *theſe:*

1. Their Deluſive Joy ariſes, *partly* from *fortifying* and *confirming* themſelves with the Signe of the *Croſs*, as a *Charm* againſt the Fear of Death.

2. From a *Popiſh Abſolution* given *before* their Death: The *Form of which*, (as *Emanuel Sa* reports) runs *thus:*

The Paſſion *of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and the* Merits *of the moſt Bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *and of All the Saints, and of all thoſe* Good Acts *done by Thee*, (we may interpret them for *Exploits of Treaſon*) *and of all the* Evil, *which thou ſhalt patiently endure*, (*though* juſtly *for thy Crimes*) ſerve, *or be of Benefit unto thee, for the* Remiſſion *of all thy Sins, for* Increaſe *of Grace, and for the* Reward *of Eternal Life.*

3. Their *Falſe-forced* Courage, flows from an Ambitious, *Superſtitious Opinion*, that their Super-abundant Sufferings, ſhall conſtitute a *Stock or Treaſury of Merit*, for granting Indulgence to *looſer* Papiſts. For the *like* purpoſe, ſome *Relicks* of *Pſeudo-Martyrs* have been Buryed under an *Altar*, either to cry for *Vengeance* againſt their Unjuſt Judges, (*Reputed ſuch by themſelves*) or that every Maſs *ſaid over ſuch an Altar*, might Redeem a Soul out of *Purgatory*. So *Ambitious* are they, to *ſhare* and *compeer* with the Office of *Chriſt* himſelf, in making an *All-ſufficient*, and *Meritorious Satisfaction* for Sin: Yet, *George Caſſander* (in his Conſultation how to Reconcile *Rome* and *Us*, in a *Middle-Way*) atteſts, That *Saint Martin* going to a Place in his *Dioceſs*, Famous for the *Sepulchre* of one who Dyed a *Reputed Martyr*, found out, that the People Reverenced and Adored the Relicks of a *Wicked Thief*. So dextrous are they, to put a *Cheat* upon the World, in boaſting of the Multitude of *their Saints:* Alſo, they ſet the Crown of Martyrdom on the Heads of *Traytors*, to whom the Merits of *Chriſt*'s Paſſion muſt be *applyed* for Abſolution, from all thoſe *Impoſtures*, which are ſo Deſtructive to *All Right* Sentiments of *Chriſtianity*.

Here it may be *Objected*, that Proteſtants, do not profeſs the *True* Religion, becauſe they look *Dejected in* their dying for it. To this I anſwer, that the *Countenance, is not alway the true Herald* of the *Mind*. Impreſſions of Divine Joy, uſually at *firſt*, fill the Soul with *Fear*, leſt there ſhould be a *Deluſion* in its peace. Therefore *Real* Martyrs, may not always Expreſs the Tranſport of Joy in ſuffering. Exceſſive Rapture of Divines Joy, may ſo *powerfully affect* the Mind, that the Body may be Careleſs (in a manner) of Compoſing its *Outward Aſpect*, *which* Jeſuits

more mind, in their *Artificial* Courage, than Sincerity to bear Teſtimony to the Truth. Yea, the Soul of a Real Martyr, may abate an *Extrinſical* Cheerfulneſs, by reaſon of the *Indiſpoſition* of the Body, which is incapable to bear *Long* the Exuberant Raptures of Divine Joy. Yea the Soul *It ſelf* is ſomtimes hindred in a *more diſtinct and deep* Conſideration of thoſe divine Comforts which it poſſeſſes; becauſe it drinks In the Impreſſion of *meanner* Objects from the Senſes. Theſe *flat and dead*, the briskneſs of the *pureſt Divineſt* Conſolations, ſo that the ſtrength of its Joys may be *Remitted* upon this Account.

Beſides the [illegible]*ſituous* Operation of them is deaded, by a dull *Imperfect Deſcription* of them unto *other Perſons*, who cannot Conjecture, *what* they Are, by any Report made of them at the *ſecond* Hand. Thus, the Reflection of the Sun-beams, are *Weaker*, than the *direct* Influences: An Eccho is *fainter* in the Rebound, than the *Immediate Articulation*, or *firſt Forming of the Voice*.

Therefore, Proteſtants ought not to *Faint* under Tribulation, becauſe Comfort doth not Spring up to them in an *Extraordinary* degree, as ſoon as they *firſt* ingage to give their Teſtimony to Chriſts pure Religion. It is not *the part, or duty* of a Chriſtian under ſuffering, to *Anticipate* Divine Manifeſtations by Impatiency; nor to Carve the hidden *Manna laviſhly*, and *Unſeaſonably* to himſelf. It is Treaſured up, to be Revealed in the *deepeſt* extremities of ſuffering. The Spirit of Chriſt will not *fail to Succour his Martyrs*, in the *Fitteſt* Seaſon. For, He is not only a *Prudent*, but a *Faithful* diſpenſer of his own Favours and Comforts.

Let not therefore any Proteſtant *Degenerate* from an Holy courage and cheerfulneſs under his ſharpeſt Tryals Let Him not *Degrade* himſelf below his Spiritual Dignity, by any puſillanimous warping in his Teſtimony to the Truths of Chriſt. We are to Count *this*, rather matter of great Joy. that we are *Eſteemed* by God, to be His Faithful Witneſſes, *intruſted* with the Defence of His pure Religion. If we *Perſevere* under His Banner, to overcome the Corruptions of Antichriſt, we ſhall at *Laſt* Receive *Robes* of Glory, and *Palms* of Victory, as ſignal *Trophies* of our Eminent ſelf-denyal.

Now, *to wind up* this whole Diſcourſe: If Jeſuits may expreſs an *Artificial* Magnanimity in ſuffering Exquiſite Torments for the Reputation of their *falſe* Religion; Then, let it be a ſeaſonable *Caution*, not to *juſtify* Impoſters, becauſe in their death, they may ſeem to *parallel the* real Zeal and Conſtancy of Proteſtants. *Every Like is not the ſame*.

Again, though ſome *ſincere* Martyrs, have ſeemed to *ſet in a Cloud* as not expreſſing any *Extraordinary* Joys; yet, *Suſpend* your Cenſure of their Perſons, neither *ſuſpect* Chriſts pure Religion which they defended: Their *Grave* Reſerved Seriouſneſs, was no diſhonourable *Deſpondency*. For, in the *loweſt Ebb* of Comfort, they were *never deprived* of a Lively Hope of Glory, which kept them *Adhering* to God in Chriſt.

On the other ſide, a *Preſumptuous* Sinner, a *Cloſe* Hypocrite, an *Inſolent Self-deſigning* Jeſuitical Impoſtor, may Counterfeit a *Commendable* Patience, *Exceſſive* Joy, and an *Earneſt* Deſire to be Diſſolved. He may ſeem to Conflict with Death *undauntedly*, and *challenge* an Executioner of Juſtice, *to do his Worſt*: And yet, all theſe *Rays* of Cheerfulneſs, and *Raptures* of Tranſporting Joy, may prove *only* the Preſumption of a *deluded* Conſcience.

Therefore, ſet not the Crown of *Martyrdom* on the Heads of ſuch *Unworthy Wretches*. Give not *ſuch* the due *Encomiums* and Praiſes of *Real* Saints, who are only their *Apes* and *Counterfeits* in Life and Death. This would be to *Juſtify* the Wicked, which is an *Abomination* to the Lord. It will *Harden* Prophane Perſons, *Incourage* Hypocrites, and *Sacrilegiouſly Reb the Saints* of their due Honor and Veneration. Give not Prodigally a *falſe* Teſtimony to *ſuch* in their Death, who *deſpiſed* and *oppoſed* the Truths of *Jeſus*, (as *Jeſuits* do under the Title of His Society) or, who *Renounced* the Ways of Holyneſs in their Lives.

Be not Deceived, *God will not be* Mockt: *For, what any Man* Sows, *the very* ſame *ſhall he* Reap. If to the Fleſh, *Corruption* and *Deſtruction* ſhall be the Fruit of his *daring* Impiety

Every Man's End is *Virtually* in his Way, or Courſe of Life. Reckon upon *This*, as an Eternal Truth, that *Falſe and Licentious* Principles, can never produce *Solid*, nor *Laſting* Comfort.

FINIS.

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A TRUE NARRATIVE AND MANIFEST,

Set forth by

Sir Robert Walsh

KNIGHT and Ba^TT.

Which he is ready all manner of ways to justify, as relating unto Plots, Designs, Troubles and Insurrections, which were intended to have been set a Foot, towards the Subversion of His Most Excellent Majesties Laws and Government, not by a private Information, or other, but before any Court of Justice, Discipline; Either in the Civil, Common, or Marshal Law, and to reply, or disanul the Printed Paper, in part of *Edmund Everard* an *Irish* man, who was so long Prisoner in the Tower.

AND

To make out why he was so detained, nothing relating to the Plot, but was for his intent, to have Poysoned the Duke of *Monmouth*, as shall more Amply be made out in this Manifest.

Printed for the Author, 1679.

( )

AS truth is truth, thoſe who perſiſt therein are the Sons of God, and ſuch as to the contrary go, doubtleſly time will show, the effects, what is due to God, let us pay, and in what is our Anointed Kings, let us obey. I am his Subject and renounce his Grace, if diſloyalty can be laid to my face; Religion leads me unto this tenent, ſo should it Man-kind, the great Turk hath his Law, to keep his Subjects in due awe. Give *Cæſar* his due that is the thing, from which Loyalty doth ſpring, our Sacred King is juſt, and above all, may give the Law to riſe or fall, in the protection of his true Subjects, a true Proteſtant he is out of all doubt, any thinks other is but a Lout. Her Gracious good Majeſty is our Queen, our duty to her should be ſeen, and own'd ſo as no malignant tongue, may not lead us along, but into what is juſt, in Religions many opinions there be, His Majeſty ſtrives to let us ſee, that the Proteſtant Religion he will uphold, if we in duty do not grow cold, we owing Allegiance unto our King, ſo let us pay him and his, as in true Religion we are bound unto, let criminals their fate endure, and Innocents receive their cure. As ſo what is it we Subjects can groan under, let us but conſider and look of our Neighboring Subjects, their Poverty Slavery and Miſery, then look upon the now Subjects of His Sacred Majeſties, King *Charles* the ſecond, and upon the happineſs of his Reign, have we wanted either in trade or ſplendid ſubſiſtance, when moſt of the world, have been in war and full of miſery, and our Alarums in breading confuſions. O the diſatisfaction of man

when not contented, never compriſing when he is well, this I intend not to prevent or avoid precautions; our Sacred King is moſt certainly our Head, and where can lodge his intereſt, ſurety or ſafety, but in the uphold protection and preſervation of his Loyal and good ſubjects, for as he is the Head, the Body cannot ſubſiſt but in him, and by him, would not the ſon and true heir of a Subject, think it a hard uſage and dealing, that he ſhould taſt the effects of a crime, and hazard a conviction therein, ere he where ſummond to appear or anſwer, if this may be allowed, how much more doth it regard the true intereſt of a Prince, (is undeniable) why did *Pilate* condemn *Chriſt*, but becauſe he ſtayed not to hear the truth, O what can be ſaid of the times, but ſtrange his Royal Highneſs being brought on the Stage, whoſe Name, Fame, Glory, Vallor, and Gallantry, hath eſclatted through *Europe*. He from his Minority did never refrain from the hazard of his moſt Royal Perſon fairly to win all applauſe, nay his ſubſiſtance in Foreign Countries, what hath not he done, for the ſafety, honor and Glorious preſervation both by Sea and Land, of his Nation and His Sacred Majeſties good Subjects. If there be any who knoweth not this, ſure he is a ſleep, (but they are not,) who are Villains, and Impudent Raſcals, that moſt libellouſly ſet forth in Pamphlets, to eccliſe his due and rights, ſuch who take that liberty what would they not be at, to emote troubles and diſturbances in His Majeſties Kingdoms and Dominions. Were I ſummond to appear before the face of Juſtice, or Perſons

ſons in Power, I could atteſt & prove, that in the year 72. and 73. how ſome of His Moſt Excellent Majeſties Subjects, have been trampling, indeavoring and abetting, to raiſe inſurrections, tumults and diſturbances, in His Moſt Excellent Majeſties Kingdoms and Dominions, to the intent of ſubverting His Majeſties Fundamental Laws and Government, and I am ready to prove that his Royal Highneſs, was ſo much a ſtranger and unknowing in the ſaid intermedlings, as nothing could be more, ſome malignant ſpirits, will ſenſure what I hear ſay to be a Paradox, to the contrary I am ready to make appear, nay more, that if the ſaid inſurrections had proceeded or gone on, I will make out or forfeit my head, If that his Royal Highneſs would not be the firſt, that would hazard his Life and perſon to oppoſe and ſuppreſs the ſaid intendments, had I been interrogated when I was in the Moneth of *May* laſt 79. ſummond to appear, as I have at the Bar of the Honorable Houſe of Commons, as I was before ſummond, nay carried Priſoner to the Black Rod, and appeared before their Moſt Honorable Committee of the *H*ouſe of Lords, I would not have ſtuck to have made mention, of what came within my knowledge, as I am ready to do, and maintain what is here adjoyning ſet forth in my manifeſt, may *I* but be allowed the true liberty of a Subject; I come not in as an Informer but to pay my Loyalty, without pretence of Benefice or Promotion, *H*onor enough I have, the mark of which I carry at my Breaſt, for which I have *H*is Majeſties of Bleſſed Memory's Commiſſion to carry, & wear in any colour;

colour Blue, Green or Black, in the later *I* do not, having never been guilty of any action of the colour, for the ſins of my Youth *I* have, for which *I* ask God only pardon. As unto the honor of my Knight-hood, ſome when they want diſcourſe and to derogate from me, vvill ſay that it vvas Sir *John Smith* vvho vvas Knighted the day of Battle at *Edge-hill*, and ſo he was, vvho vvell deſerved it; that Royal Prince of the Blood, his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, *I* am confident vvill pleaſe to remember, as unto this vvhat *I* ſay in my manifeſt, his Highneſs being the Perſon, that introduced me unto his Majeſty upon the top of *Edge-hill*, vvhere his Majeſty did then honor me vvith the title of Knight-hood.

Thouſands of Prints are cryed up and down, but they will not as I do ſubſcribe their names to their Prints, to juſtifie in Juſtification of their malignity, as I do of my Loyalty.

In this my Manifeſt may be read, part of Sir *Robert Walſh* his life, carriage, actions and ſufferances. Enemies enviouſly and ungroundedly he hath had, who now are disbanded into the other world, yet if any particular man carry any animoſities againſt him, he knowing not of any ground or Subject he hath given, he is ready to ſatisfie any that may pretend to the contrary, leaving thoſe who read this, to judge the hardneſs of the meaſure he hath met with, wiſhing he may be the ſole, or only in this Age, who may find the Effects of the like Injuſtice as he hath.

TO THE

READER.

THis manifeſt of Sir Robert Walſh, doth declare that he came out of France into England in the Year 1675. not without order; as he can make it appear (where his Loyalty and Duty did obliege him) and alſo to declare, what malignant deſignes and inſurrections, were Ingendring in France, where he lived moſt of his time theſe Thirty and odd years, towards the ſubverſion of His Moſt Excellent Majeſties Government, and Fundamental Laws, and he hath here continued theſe Four Years and above, to make out what his manifeſt doth thereunto relating, ſet forth; Remonſtrating nothing but what came within his knowledge, and what he is ready to juſtifie, not only by Oath, but by the Laws of any Courts of Juſtice, as either in the Civil, Common or Marſhal Law, to the face of any Subject, any French, Dutch, or Forreigner. And is ready to declare if ſummond thereunto; how that in 72. 73. and 74, ſome of his Majeſties Subjects have been intermedling therein, preſuming that they may be countenanced and upheld, by a greater perſon then yet hath been quoted, or named, to have fomented in the ſaid Troubles. Sir Robert Walſh having taken his diſmiſs and paſs from the French Kings ſervice, being in no truſt of his, Sir Robert by His Moſt Excellent Majeſties permiſſion, and orders of ſome of his chief Miniſters of State, did keep Intelligence out of France, with Mr. Edward Progers one of his Majeſties grooms of the Bed-chamber; as ſhall be made amply out, in this manifeſt. As alſo how this Everard and for what he was made Priſoner in the Tower, which he chargeth the Lady Anne Gordon, Collonel Richard Talbot, and his Brother, to have been the Contrivers of his Impriſonment, ſome particulars in his depoſitions ſhall be proved moſt falſe, and he hath no way to Juſtifie himſelf. Unleſs, that as he doth profeſs himſelf to be very dextrous in his Weapon; that by that he may ſecond his Oath. In all Kingdoms, ſome Subjects are good, and ſome not.

2. What Subject in this Age, hath proved more true, then the Duke of Ormond, give him his due: ſome are bad, and yet I hope there may be made a true difference, in ſome particulars it may be demonſtrated, the marks of their Loyalty conferred upon ſome Iriſh, as thus. There is the Lord Coorſy, who by His Majeſties Authority, is ordered and permitted, to wear his Hat in His Majeſties Preſence; certainly it was for his Loyalty, that that honor was conferred on him, of which this day the young Lord Coorſy may be covered before His Majeſty, which is for the acceptable ſervice he hath rendred the King and Crown. Nor hath Sir Robert Walſh the priviledge of wearing His Majeſties of Bleſſed Memory His Effigies, and that of his deareſt Son Prince Charles, of the

one ſide of his Golden Medal; and the form of His Majeſties Royal Bannor of the Reverſe, but for the Acceptable Service he hath rendered at the Battle of Edge-Hill, in the year 43. as his Commiſſion for wearing the ſame from His Majeſty of Bleſſed Memory now Exſtant, can witneſs, he having received the Dignity and Honor of Knight-hood, upon the Top of Edge-Hill. Sir Robert being Born in Ireland, I hope may not paſs for a Crime, though ſome of the Follies of his Youth may be thrown in his Diſh, as the ſin of the Fleſh, and Gaming, yet never was any crime of Dis-Loyalty. The firſt of his Name that went from England into Ireland, for His Majeſties Service in King Edwards Time, was Sir Patrick Walſh, who to Attack the City of Lymberick, cauſed a Hundred Horſe and Men, to ſwim over the River of Shannon, and ſo Surprized and Took Limberick; as the Chronicle of England and Ireland more largely Expatiates upon. But Sir Patrick a Horſe-Back, ſwimming over the River, Bows and Arrows then being in Uſe, he ſhot a Swan Flying, through the Breaſt, ſo as ever ſince the flying Swan hath been his Creſt, with the Arrow through the Swans Creſt, and his Armes three Arrows Heads; which hath ſo continued to his line and Name; as now they do in me; which I give with an addition of the flowers De-luce, which I give by the right of having Married an Heireſs, and I being in France then in command, having a Regiment in His Chriſtian Majeſties Service, and His Moſt Excellent Majeſty then being in Paris and in the Louure; ſome Theſes being dedicated at the Colledge of Cerbone, unto the Nobleſt and beſt of His Moſt Excellent Majeſties Subjects. There was one Dedicated to me, by one of the Doctors in Theology of the ſaid Colledge, and my Arms being ſet forth and diſplayed, carrying the Flowers De-luce, and my name being Valois, and ſo was when in the Conqueſt the name came out of France into England, which here is turned to Walſh; by time, the Duke De Anguleme being De Valois, which name have been Kings of France, ſome being curious, ſent to the Louure, to know, if I was not de La Maiſon de Valois, as ſome Noble-men now here may pleaſe to remember, then heard the queſtion propounded, ſo as ſome who grumbled that I ſhould be named Valois, may here be ſatisfied upon what ground I went by the ſaid name, and not as un nom de guere, ſome who may read this, will underſtand why I thus Expatiate. Another thing Summons me to this Manifeſt, ſome whom I cannot call better than Lyars, Cowards, and Villains, who if any of them be living and read this, they will ſwallow my Expreſſion: Thoſe I mean, who have villainouſly, and moſt falſly invented, that I was hired by Cromwel, and the Lord of Brohill, now Earl of Orery, to Kill my Sacred and Anointed King, as I at large ſet out in my Manifeſt. I having been Murderouſly detained Priſoner in Bruxels Thirty Three Months upon that falſe pretention, I renouncing the leaſt Grace or Favor from His Sacred Majeſty, then as now I do, if any Dis-Loyalty could or can be laid to my Charge.

3. If I herein be prolix, pray Noble Reader pardon it, and conſider, if that my unjuſt and non-pareil ſufferances in thoſe days, may not plead

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my excuſe, and withal that in this my following Manifeſt, or Remonſtrance, doth not carry in it a word of untruth, nor other then what I am ready to juſtifie with my life and fortune. Unto my new, or late repreſentments, I may add ſome old, which may not be unremarkable, as one at the Battle of Edge-Hill, in the Year 43. It lay fully in my power to have ended then that unhappy War of England, *and for the ſupream advantage of my King; you will ſay why I did not do it, [illegible] I ſay when you read what followeth, you will own me not condemnable. As thus, at the ſaid Battle, as thoſe who were there do know, as the moſt Honorable Valiant Lord* Gerart, *and Collonel Edward* Villers, *Sir* Edward Brett, *Sir* Thomas Daniel, *and others, and the Lord* Warton *can alſo witneſs, that our left wing of Horſe then Commanded, by the moſt Loyal and Royal Earl of* Brandford, Henry *the Lord Wilmot, and Commiſſary General of the Horſe, did clearly beat, and put to flight the right wing of the Enemies, purſuing them through the Village of* Kinton, *which lay in the rear of the Enemies Army, being a long Village conſiſting of thatched Houſes; between which, then lay the Enemies Ammunition, ſome Cannon, and their Waggons; we purſuing the Enemy further our foot in body, and the Enemies then hotly ingaged, order came to our Horſe, not to purſue the Enemy further, but to return to our Army. Our reſerve of Horſe unpremeditatedly coming with us in the purſuit: In our return through* Kington *Village, it came into my head, that the burning of that Village and their Ammunition, would have rendered us that days victory: Whereupon I ordered my Horſe-men a foot, and to fire the Village and their Ammunition, and juſt as they begun to ſet fire, the Honorable and Worthy Brave Lord Carnarvan, and that Worthy Commander Sir* Charles Lucas, *being my Superior Officers, commanded me from putting my reſolution in Execution, Saying, that the day was ours, as alſo that Ammunition and Village. Unto which I made anſwer, that the Armies being then in fight,* fortuna de la guere *may be Subject to change the face and State of Affairs, and that the Burning of their Ammunition, could not but aſſuredly render his Majeſty Supream Victory; yet notwithſtanding I was forced to give obedience, ſo as by the ſaid Ammunition, and Cannon, we were forced to retreat and quit the Field. However I then brought from* Kington *Two Pieces of their Cannon into the Kings Army; and the Waggon of my Lord of* Eſſex, *which was ſo compleat and made Coffin way; that in our next two days march, our Army called it* Eſſex *his Coffin, but I would it had been the next Waggon which was to it, covered with Spits and Frying-pans, for there lay all the Armies money and pay; as one* Pudcy *who was Chamber-man unto* Eſſex, *who writ to me for his Lords neceſſaries, ſome days after did aſſure me.*

4. *Though many more deſervedly then I, might in the day of Battle have attained to the Dignity of the Mark of Honor, I carry at my Breaſt; I am confident that there is not many, who can ſhow as ample a Commiſſion of his Majeſties of Bleſſed Memory for the like, as I have now Extant; which in this particular it hath profited me in: Where all No-*

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blemen and Knights are liable to pay pole mony, I having ſent my badge, Title, and Commiſſion unto thoſe worthy Commiſſioners, who were intruſted in the aſſeſſment of the Pole-money; they then ſitting at Hicks's Hall *in* May 1678. *They were civily pleaſed to diſcharge me from the payment for my Dignity; and that I ſhould pay only a Shilling for my Pole, ſigned by two of the Commiſſioners, and ſealed, whom I yet ne- to my knowledge did ſee.*

Ed. Abney, and *William Beverſham*, Commiſſioners the 29. *May* 1678. So in paying a Shilling I was quit.

READER,



EADER, pray be ſo juſtly favorable, I being forced in Honor and Loyalty to make this publication, who am no Orator to judge, but with an indifferent eye, according to the proofs I offer, which I will maintain, ſtand unto, and will juſtifie, by Common, Civil, or Marſhal Law; unto all Perſons and in all reſpects, and in particular againſt this *Everard*; as in any thing, wherein he doth bring in my name, he is a perſon that I have known of a long time; as alſo his condition, not by the qualification he aſſumes to himſelf in the title Eſquire; in his prints, as ſo he hath ſubſcribed his name, which I cannot imagine on what account; and I muſt conclude, that he hath as much right ſo to name himſelf, as unto the contrary he hath to have brought my name in queſtion, as to ſuppreſs the diſcovery of the Plots, in ſuch as he hath mentioned me in. If he will but take example in following my Rule, as now I find it not unneceſſary to explain my quality, and Title; and that he may truly ſo demonſtrate his, whereby the world may cenſure, or give applauſe, which as unto their judgments may ſeem fit. This *Everard* doth ſet forth in his ſaid depoſitions, that in the Year 1673. being in *Paris*, that he did diſcover unto me ſome deſigns, and diſturbances, which were intended towards the prejudice of his Moſt Excellent Majeſtie's Kingdom, which as he ſaith, he came to the knowledge of from the Lady *Anne Gourdon*; a Lady that to my remembrance I never ſpoke unto, but heard of her as of a Lady of great Judgment, Birth, and quality; whoſe Family hath always been adorned with the endowments and Characters of Loyalty, of which ſome of late have given dmonſtration and Teſtimony of, as that Noble Perſon my Lord *Donbarton* and his Brother; ſo as if this Lady ſhould ſo fall off, as to intermeddle in the like unſeemly intermedlings; certainly ſhe hath degenerated and rendered her ſelf to be much cenſurable, and to have done it unto ſuch a Perſon as this *Everard*; it could render her no leſs than ridiculous. But malice and invention hath ſo powerful an influence in this Age. *Quod nihil plus*. I ſpeak not as to take this Ladies part, nor to excuſe her weakneſs as I believe not, ſhould ſhe be guilty. But when I conſider that man reduced to poverty, Extremity, want, and miſery, as ſometimes this *Everard*, ſubject to ſearch after all manner of reſorſe for his relief, I will not take on me to Judge of the ſequel. Now as unto what he hints, as having in the Year 1673. diſcovered unto one Sir *Robert Walſh*, I knowing no other, may preſume he darts at me. Though he mentions not my ſtile or quality; pardon Noble Reader, If for reaſons I think it not incongruous; but rather inducing to conſequence, that it might be allowed, my precations grounded upon Honor, may not be involved in other then in duty, and Loyalty, unto my Anointed King; in whoſe ſervice, I have had the Honor to have born very conſiderable charges, and imployments,

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ſince the Year 1639. in the firſt Northern ſervice, under the Command of the now Lord *Stafford*, having ever ſince ſerved my Kings Honorably, and Faithfully (which no body can deny) and particularly in the Battle of Edge-Hill, in the Year 1643. Where fate was no leſs favorable unto me, then fortunate in inabling me to render my King acceptable ſervice; ſo as that he was then graciouſly pleaſed in the Field, to honor me with the dignity of Knight-hood; then giving his Royal Commands, that when he ſhould arrive in *Oxford*, that a Medal of Gold ſhould be made for me, with his own Effigies, and that of His Deareſt Son Prince *Charles* of the one ſide: and to inſcribe thereon, *Carolus Rex, Magnæ Britanniæ, & Carolus Princeps*, And of the other ſide to inſculp the form of his Royal Bannor, uſed at the ſaid Battle, and to inſcribe about it, *par regale mandatum Caroli Regis hoc aſſignatur* Roberto Walſh; which his Royal Majeſtie of Bleſſed Memory gave me accordingly, out of his own hand and his Royal Commiſſion for me to wear the ſame, expreſſing in it, that it was for the moſt acceptable ſervice that I rendred at the Battle of Edge Hill, which accordingly I have ever ſince worn; this was not gain'd by love or favor, *ſed ex officio gladii*, which no Herald can deny, but may carry the title of right Honor, and now to be upbraided by *Everard* or any ſuch, Noble Reader, do but Judge, if it may well by me, be digeſted, were I guilty of the leaſt diſloyalty, I would condemn my ſelf, more then any accuſer could make me.

II. Now as to this *Everard*, he did about the Year 1673. in *Paris*, come often unto my lodging, I then uſually making uſe of him, to tranſlate for me *Engliſh* into *French*, as I have divers of his tranſlations in writing now by me, and extant, and then ſometimes gave him half a Crown; he coming from one end of *Paris*, the *Reu de* St. *Antoine* to the *Saubourge* of St. *Jermins* often unto me, the Half-Crown did invite him, not as it ſeem'd his love to me; and one night he did ſay, and at random, that great deſigns were intended to breed great diſturbances, in His Moſt Excellent Majeſties Kingdoms, without ſpecifying upon what particular grounds, or making mention in the leaſt degree that he had any intention to diſcover them, but much to the contrary, vowing that he was reſolved to live and die, as he ever was bred in the Roman Religion; I then did repreſent unto him, that as he was a Subject of His Moſt Excellent Majeſties, and a Vaſſal born in the County *Palatine* of *Tipperary*, under his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, that he would do but his duty, if he knew any ſuch immotions intended, to give me notice whereby to advertiſe his Grace; which he then promiſed he would, but never after did he ever come at me or near me. Some time before, I had from a very conſiderable hand, that there were then ingendring in *Paris*, to breed diſturbances in his Majeſties Kingdoms, towards the ſubverſion of His Moſt Excellent *Majeſties* Laws and Government, in which ſome of his Subjects were very officiouſly intermedling. I then did immediately addreſs my ſelf unto the *marquis de Molac*, who was my friend, and

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one of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Orleans* his Chief Gentleman, who did introduce me unto his Royal Highneſs, unto whom I did then repreſent that ſome Ingins were ſet a foot, to beget Tumults and Diſturbances in His Mageſties of great Britain his Kingdoms 1672. and that I did hope his Royal Highneſs, would ſpeak unto his Chriſtian Majeſty not to give ear, or countenance unto ſuch His Majeſties Subjects, as may therein be made abettors, or incendiaries: Though I was perſwaded, that they were therein countenanced, as I could make Oath, his Royal Highneſs did promiſe me, he would ſpeak unto his Brother, and that he would cary a diligent and careful eye thereunto, which with Juſtice I may ſay, that his Royal Highneſs would not this day diſown. Now in as much as that this *Everard* doth ſet forth in his depoſitions, that I moſt unfaithfully did betray him unto the Talbots, a thing I had no ground for, he not communicating unto me, that he had any ſuch intention, but much to the contrary; he and, they being much together, and upon the word of a man of Honor and the Faith of a Chriſtian I never did, nor was I but once all the time the Talbots were in *Paris* converſant with them, nor have I had any intimacy with Collonel *Talbot* or his Brother, but rather to the contrary, as ſome of my Kings beſt Subjects, I preſume may confirm. Now in as much as that *Everard* in his depoſitions maketh Oath, that he was made Priſoner in the Tower by the means of the Talbots, and the Lady *Anne-Gordon*. In that Alegation he contradicts himſelf, for after his enlargement from the Tower, he meets me in St. *James's* Park; comes to me and cries, Sir *Robert Walſh* you are the man who put me into the Tower, and that made me a great ſufferer there, I then told him I was, and were it to do again I would; and that I did wonder how ſuch a Villain, that had ſo malignant intentions towards the Duke of *Monmouth* could obtain his liberty; I did not then know that he had charged the Lady *Anne*, or the Talbots to have been the cauſers of his Impriſonment, and ſo we parted. Now to come to the true grounds of his being made Priſoner in the Tower, which ſhall be juſtified and made out: There was in the Year 1673. a Gentleman in *Paris* one Mr. *Dalonſon*, a perſon born unto a good eſtate, and now in the poſſeſſion of it, he being in *Paris*, very much reduced unto neceſſity, he came to me declaring who he was, naming ſome friends of his that I well knew, and for whom I had eſteem, he demonſtrating the ſad condition he was in, I did take him to an Ordinary or eating-houſe, where I had credit a *La reu de Colombie*, and did give him credit for his Diet, and lodging in the ſaid oberge, where he reſted two or three Months, and truly I did diſcharge him, as I am ſure he will own.

III. About the ſame time, *Everard* and this *Dalonſon*, coming both at a time to my lodging, they became acquainted, and ſo great an intimacy in a little time they grew into, as that they joyned to lodge in a houſe, and in one Bed; and they two became as hand and glove. Some time before this *Everard* having the *French* Tongue, was intro-

duced to his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*; and in a little time, his Grace took him into his Service, to be his Sollicitor or under Secretary; he having before been an under Clark to the Lievtenant *Crimenel*, or Lievtenant *Civel* of *Paris* I well know not which, how he did demean or misdemean himself under his Grace, I know not, but cast or cashiered from the Dukes Service he was, and Mr. *Sarchevel* taken in his place. *Everard* hereupon grew enraged against his Grace, and took a most Hellish resolution, which was to Poyson the Duke of *Monmouth*, in resolution so to do, as in apparances he came into *England*. Mr. *Dalonson* being *Everards* intimate, he communicates unto Mr. *Dalonson* his resolution, to Poyson, and did carry Mr. *Dalonson* with him to buy the Poyson for the said purpose, and so did buy it. After that *Dalonson* had fully penetrated into *Everards* malignity; Mr. *Dalonson* giving me a visit, he tells me, that he was so happy as to meet an opportunity and occasion, which may demonstrate unto me, that I had not oblieged an ungrateful Person, as unto the kind civility I did conferr upon him, and that he then came of purpose unto me; to discover unto me a very great concern, by which I may obliege a very great Person. Truly I am not of their humor who would not hear; It resting in me after having heard, to give or take, so I asked Mr. *Dalonson* what he would say, who tells me of *Everards* resolution towards the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that he was with him when he bought the Poyson, and that *Everard* was immediately resolved to go for *England* to put his malignant Resolution in Execution, telling me that *Everard* intended that an other Duke should pass the same path, which I do not now here name; at which I was not a little startled, and considering upon the matter, I thanked Mr. *Dalonson* for his good will, but told him that the discovery of that concern, was much fitter to have been communicated unto my Lord *Locker*, who was the Kings Embassador, and then in *Paris* Mr. *Dalonson* replies that he had a desire to own his gratitude to me, besides paying of his duty towards the Duke of *Monmouths* safety; and adds, that if so I did not give ear to him, and that any mischief should afterwards insue, that I may repent. Upon this I asked Mr. *Dalonson*, if he would go before good witness, attest the putting of this information into my hands, he said he would and more then that; I presently hereupon sent for witness, and amongst others for young Mr. *Lane* my Lord *Lansborow* his Son, a fine civil understanding Gentleman, who is now here in Town, and since married unto my Lord of *Northamptons* Neece. Indeed Mr. *Lane* was very loth to meddle in the business, I telling him in Mr. *Dalonsons* presence, what it was and how it was, which Mr. *Lane* at this day I dare say will say was thus, Mr. *Dalonson* then said that he would not only give it under his hand, and seal, but would as well go in person into *England* to maintain what he said, and to confront *Everard*. Mr. *Dalonson* did sign and seal before witness, and so I sent it for *England* to those it did concern, and in particular the Duke of *Monmouth*, and *Dalonson* also told where *Everard* would or was to lodge in *London*, and doubted not that if he were

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taken as he would deſcribe where, but that the ſaid Poyſon would be found with him; ſo *Everard* was ſeized upon and put into the Tower: *Dalanſon* did come into *England*, and confronted *Everard* before ſome Lords of the Council, *Dalonſon* was not ill looked upon for his information, but had his paſs and a *Viaticum* to boot. So as viſibly its more probable that this put *Everard* into the Tower, rather then what he ſaith in his depoſitions, after *Everards* being confronted by *Dalonſon*, *Everard* was returned to the Tower, and *Dalonſon* left at his liberty. After *Everards* being in ſome cloſe reſtriction, then he fain would intimate unto Sir *John Robinſon*, ſome informations as tending to Plots as Priſoners in ſuch ſtraights ſeldom fail to foment; hoping thereby to procure themſelves ſome eaſe, yet would *Everard* have daſhed upon Sir *John* for not repreſenting or giving his ear; but out of doubt Sir *John* hath done the duty of his place; *Everard* in his depoſitions gives out that this *Dalonſon* was his man, a moſt palpable untruth; I have known *Everard* a long time, but never in a condition to keep a man, but he ſtill was to be kept.

IV. My name being by *Everards* means introduc'd and traduc'd, it gives me ſcope to follow with a larger declaration in my ſufferance, my credit being thus trampled upon, by Fobbs, Raſcals, and Villains, that never dar'ſt appear to lay any thing to my charge, face to face or before Juſtice, but ſtill like a Parator falſly informing behind my back, I am not the only thus ſerved, O what a pitty it is, that the noble Law which was allowed of to the Lord *Rea*, and *David Ramſy* ſhould not again be permitted; which was to fight *Leſpee a la main* on a publick ſtage, to maintain the Truth, which would give an Allaye unto impoſtory and falſe accuſations. Is it not ſtrange as thus, that this *Everard* ſhould be ſo impudent as to have me ſummoned to the Houſe of Commons Bar, to make me appear, as I did there in *May* laſt 1679. and to referr unto what I ſhould witneſs, and ſuch as he names which can witneſs as now I do?

V. Maſter ſpeaker did ask me, if that in *Paris* 1673. that this *Everard* did not tell me that Troubles, Plots, Deſigns, and Diſturbances, were ingendring towards the prejudice of *England*, I anſwered in part he did, but that as unto particulars he did not, nor have I preſſed to know, I having notice from other manner of hands then his, that great engines were at work to prejudice His Moſt Excellent Majeſtie towards the ſubverſion of his Laws and Government, and fomented to be upheld by greater perſons, then yet where named or ſpoken off. The ſpeaker asked me why I had not declared them, I replied it ſeemed he knew not whether I had or not: I adding that if I had not done, what my duty and Loyalty oblieged me unto; that I would diſclaim in the leaſt Grace or Favor from the King, his moſt Honorable Parliaments or Laws of the Land, ſo as I was ordered to withdraw, not doubting but that I ſhould be ſummond to declare what I knew in thoſe concerns, yet I was not, but in a day or two after, was ſummon'd to appear be-

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fore the Committee of Secrecy, I did, and they looked on me, and I upon them, they said they had no orders concerning me, so we parted. But had I been interrogated, sure fear nor shame should not keep me, from declaring the names of the intermedlers.

VI. Itis in part wonderful that this *Everard* being ever bred a Papist, and begotly one as to my knowledge, he never would as much as read any Books of controversy, often vowing that any Books that gave contradiction to the Roman Tenets, were Heretically, and so not to be read, and that this man without the concourse with any Protestant Divine should turn convert, must appear as a great blessing of God, or that it must be upon some worldly interest; and whereas he speaks of his reconciliation to *chalonton* I doubt, it is that were he put to it, that hecould not make out.

VII. I having not named the fomentors of these disturbances,being not summoned thereunto, may not be of the same resolution in my following descriptions. Sir *Robert Walsh* declares to the World, that he ever did and doth renounce the left of Grace, or Favor from His Sacred Majesty, His most Honorable Houses of Parliamen or Laws, if any disloyalty is or can be laid to his charge, yet is he and hath been Murthered alive, through false suggestions and informations, which none ever did or would appear to justifie against him, one was that in the Year 1655. or 1656. that he was imployed, by the then Usurper *Oliver Cromwel*, and by then the Lord *Brohill*, now living Earl of *Orery* into *Flanders* to Kill His Most Sacred and Anointed King, and this fomented by Villains, Rascals, and false Informers, who never did or durst appear to lay any thing of that nature, or of any other crime unto his charge before Justice, though they were thereunto summoned, yet was Sir *Robert* made Prisoner, and his only Son in *Bruvels* for 33. Months, starving with cold and hunger; If such as so aspersed Sir *Robert* had appeared, he had costs damage and interest against them, which they did not? Though summon'd thereunto, by *Don John D' Austrea* and the *Marquis* of *Caraffenas* then Governors of *Flanders*, Sir *Roberts* damage would be more, then they could pay, though not as much as *Dunkirk* or *Clarendon* House was sold for.

VIII. My Most Sacred King,being ever just in himself,was not willing that Sir *Robert* should so suffer for want of Justice; so his Most Excellent Majesty upon the sollicitations, of many Nobles, strangers and Subjects of His Majesty, was pleased to refer the concern unto the Judge Millitary of *Flanders* to determine, who certified unto His Most Excellent Majesty, and His Catholick Majesty, the injustice of Sir *Roberts* imprisonment, whereupon His Catholick Majesty sent his orders in these words, which is still extant unto the Governors of *Flanders*, being loth to find, that a Gentleman and a Person of Honor, should so be Martyred under his Laws.

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The words of the Order were; to our Governors and Treaſurers in *Flanders*, ſet Sir *Robert Walſh* at liberty, and pay the coſts and charges of his Impriſonment out of our Treaſury. He being made Priſoner at the inſtigation of ſome of His Majeſty of Great Britains Miniſters, (*ſine culpa*) this Order coming, Sir *Robert* would not accept of his liberty, but by Order of his own King, ſo he did obtain, from that Moſt Honorable Perſon the Earl of *Caſtlehaven* who is now here, to carry the ſaid Order, unto His moſt Excellent Majeſty with an humble deſire, that if any thing was or could be laid unto Sir *Roberts* charge, that it ſhould be put in againſt him. Sir *Robert* humbly praying His Majeſty then being in *Bruxels*, that any of His Majeſties Subjects *Engliſh*, *Iriſh*, or *Scotch*, may be made his Judges, he moſt willingly owning that His Moſt Excellent Majeſties Power and Laws, may be of as full force and value againſt him there; unto which he was as ready and willing to ſubmit himſelf, as now he is unto His Moſt Sovereign Pleaſure.

X. Sir *Robert* at the inſtigation of *Everard*, being ſummon'd to the Bar of the Honorable Houſe of Commons, and having made his endeavors to have diſcharged his duty as aforeſaid, yet did he petition the houſe, and put his petition into the hands of an Honorable member of the ſaid Houſe, to be preſented unto Mr. Speaker, which was ſo done by Sir *John Coriton*; who tells Sir *Robert* that the Speaker read every word thereof, as is hereunto Annexed, the Copy of the ſaid petition, I Sir *Robert* would not be afraid nor aſhamed, to have named the Ingenders, and Fomentors of the Troubles and diſturbances, to have been ſet on Foot towards His Majeſties Dominions, had he been ſummon'd thereunto; and is not backward to ſay that the Honorable Houſe of Commons, would not have been diſpleaſed to ſee, and order that ſome of the intermedlers may be detected and executed, no leſs would any good Subject of *England*. Pardon Noble Reader, if that I preſume to inmind that Criminals indiſloyalty ought to receive Juſtice, ſuch as to them may be due; and I to be the firſt were I criminal therein, ſo I wiſh the ſame towards all or any Subjects upon proofs, before their competent Adjudgers or Judges, that thereby criminals may receive indign and publick Puniſhment, and that Innocency may be protected and upheld. This tends unto Sir *Robert Walſh* ſufferances, who forgot as unto one of *Everards* depoſition to make anſwer, as this, in particular he makes mention of one Mrs *Wingfield*, *aliás Hampton*, and forſooth, that his man *Daliſon*, he meaning *Dalonſon*, who never was his man or ſervant; and that he and Sir *Robert Walſh* did well know the ſaid Woman. Upon my Word and Honor, I never did know the ſaid Woman, never ſaw her directly, nor never heard of ſuch a Woman, nor of her name until his now naming of her in his depoſitions: Pray Noble Readers, let no man think that I villifie this *Everards* evidence, as for the King if he pretends to give evidence; no I do not, nor would I intermeddle therein, or with any thing therein concerned, but what may daſh upon my own

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particular, which nature and the law of man cannot but allow to be juſtifiable, ſo as this gap opened unto me by *Everard*, putts me into a way of Juſtifying my ſelf to the world, being forced to declare my ſufferances. Under which I have ſo long groned, procured me by Liars, ſo as it may be ſaid, that Liars are the ſons of the Devil, and truth-tellers the Creatures of God.

The Copy of Sir Robert Walſh *his Petition unto the Honorable Houſe of Commons.*

Sheweth,

That your Petitioner having lived moſt of his time, for theſe Thirty Years paſt in the *French* Kings Territories, and ſince the Year 1669. particularly in *Paris*, until the Year 1675. Mr. *Progers* of his Majeſties Bed-Chamber, and heretofore a Member of this Honorable Houſe, was by His Majeſty's permiſſion ordered to keep a correſpondence with your Petitioner, as unto what may relate unto his Majeſties Service, and the intereſts of his good Subjects, as may evidently be made to appear, unto any this Honorable Houſe may pleaſe to appoint, to hear the tranſactions and paſſages of the ſaid correſpondence; who as accordingly may make report unto this Honorable Houſe, of the validity thereof. Your Petitioner alſo having given an account, in his Repreſentments unto ſome of His Majeſties Miniſters of State, which had they timely given ear unto, undoubtly muſt have conduced unto His Majeſties intereſt, and that of his good Subjects, but the averſneſs of ſome towards the giving of a juſt hearing, unto your Petitioners Repreſentments, hath Ecclipſed your Petitioner as alſo his Repreſentments; by your Petitioners care and endeavors, he did ſo prevail with a perſon, who hath been above Twenty years under *S*ecretary in *France*, to the *S*ecretary of *S*tate, in the Tranſactions of the *French* concerns, yet he became diſcontented and was unſatisfied, and though he was well in Money, yet much would ambition more, ſo as your Petitioner prevailed with him to come hither in 1675. and the rather that in the ſurintendent *Monſiere de Fouketts* being great, this perſon was known unto His Moſt Excellent Majeſty, and came reſolved hither to give His Majeſty great Lights and intelligence, as regarding the Tranſactions of *France*. Here your Petitioner doth give a Brief which when proviſed, as alſo Mr. *Progers* Letters probably this Honorable Houſe may Judge, that this man's Repreſentments and Intelligence, would have proved of uſe, but ſome ill adviſers, who perhaps were here concerned, or that carried an animoſity againſt your Petitioner, did ſo deturn that his Repreſentments could not gain Credit, elſe undoubtedly he would ſo have furniſhed againſt the *French* King, which would put water into his Wine, and have clipt his Wings, here annexed you read what your Petitioner could draw or gather out of him, which he Repreſented, where his Allegiance and duty did bind him to have done, and withal one of Mr. *Progers* his

Letters,

Letters, your Petitioner in order thereunto comes into *England* being of the firſt, if not the firſt, who gave Lights and Intelligence of ill deſigns, and of a ſubverſion intended, towards the Government and Laws of this Kingdom, ſo as your Petitioner could have no ſiniſter intention.

Though this *Edmund Everard* did moſt pernitiouſly and falſly ſay, before this Honorable Houſe, that your Petitioner in *Paris*, did precaution the Talbots from truſting this *Everard*, ſo as the malice of this *Everard* might have ſcandalouſly abuſed your Petitioner, who is ready and willing to anſwer before this Honorable Houſe, diſclaiming in any grace or favor, if any diſloyalty could or can be laid to his charge, your Petitioner could look for no other but revenge from this *Everard:* for your Petitioner being the Perſon that procured *Everards* Impriſonment in the Tower, an action this Honorable Houſe would have allowed of, did they but know upon what occaſion and grounds, and how I was and am ready to maintain my acting therein, the Anixels ſome Years paſt were ſhewed unto ſome of the members of the Honorable Houſe, to the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *John Coryton*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, and Sir *John Earnly*, many others, your Petitioner humbly prayeth that any of the members of this Honorable Houſe, may be ordered to ſee what your Petitioner can ſhow, as to hear what he hath to ſay for the good and intereſts of His Majeſty, and that of his good Subjects, and that in as much as that your Petitioner came into *England* of purpoſe, for the ſervice and intereſt as afore-ſaid, that according to the Report made by thoſe Commiſſions, your Petitioner may find the effects of your Juſtice, and he ſhall Pray *&c.*

I. My Repreſentments were given the Miniſters of State in the Year 1675. 1676. Theſe are what Repreſentments attended my Petition, that Sir *John Coriton* put into the hands of Maſter Speaker, Sir *Robert* in the Year 1675. brought with him out of *France*, the perſon mentioned in his Petition, firſt he would have made Evident, that there was then of His Majeſties Subjects a Caball in *France*, who were very active and buſie, being thereunto much incouraged by a great Perſon, to ingender great tumults and diſturbances in His Moſt Excellent Majeſties Kingdoms, who would have put into His Majeſties Hands, ſome Letters from their Correſpondence, writ from hence unto the ſaid Cabal in *Paris*, and ſome of theirs from *Paris* into their aſſociates here, and would have declared how they were introduced unto the *French* King, and his reception of them.

II. He would have diſcovered, that ſome perſons in *England* were gained by the *French* King, and his Miniſters to be of Intelligence with them, ſo as that thereby the *French* might have given the better conduct, unto their tranſactions with the *Engliſh*, and that he would nominate ſome of thoſe of His Majeſties Subjects, who were ſo gained by the *French* King and Miniſters.

III. He

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III. He would have made it apparent, that the great Preparations that the *French* King made for War, did bend to bring the States of *Holland* to His Majesties Bent, which if he did not by force of Arms compass, he was sure to do when he pleased to afford them plausible Terms, which depended on His Majesty to do when ever he pleased, and that once getting in the states of *Holland*, the Confederates would soon come to tearms, and that once coming so, the *French* King taking Breath would soon imploy His Army Elsewhere, as this man would more particularly and probably into His Majesties Kingdoms, declare here, had our Ministers of state given him a hearing, but he being not heard went very unsatisfied for *Holland*, where certainly he was listened unto, and gave great lights to the states as unto the conduct of their Treaty, and accommodation with *France*. This man was not wanting in money, I may say he was very well to the contrary, but disatisfied in *France*, and being very knowing in the *French* concerns, he would thereby increase his Fortune.

IV. I could examplifie much upon what this man could have done, but as the times go it's more convenient not, when I could not be countenanced in gaining credit for this mans representments, I made them no Jewels, I communicating them unto many, and so were they by others to the *French* King, and his Ministers from hence, so as if I went now for *France*, my reception would be but cold, I having I may with Justice say, that I was the first, that first gave notice of these intended revolutions and disturbances, though I never hitherto did name the persons who were first set on work to contribute unto the raising these Tumults, however I am not unsatisfied, to have contributed by my endeavors towards the payment of my duty, unto my Loyalty, and though the returns I meet with, are leading to deturn in the future, such as may not resolve to continue in the Principals of Loyalty which I do and ever shall, which time may give an undeniable demonstration of. Two things I may aver; the first is, that I have no fear; second, that I am not by any means discouraged, in persisting to do my Kings service, as willingly as ever.

V. I have been an eye-witness, and active in the War of 1639. until 1646. Therefore I may give now I am in, some accounts in the said War, when the said War began, as my Fate hath rendered me subject unto Imprisonments, I was then so, and for the sins and debts of my youth Prisoner in the King Bench. His Glorious Majesty of Blessed Memory, and her Majesty then quitted *London*, which I wish they never had, I was then Her Majesties Sworn Servant, and but in extraordinary, I petitioned to the House of Lords, that I might be set at liberty, as a priviledge that did belong unto Her Majesties Servants; unto which the Lords consented, and an Order was made for my Liberty, which still stands upon record in the House of Lords, and I then set at Liberty. It was no mean thought or concern, that invited

Edward

Edward Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord Chamberlain to Her Majeſty, who was a Lord in deed, to uphold the priviledges belonging to Her Majeſty, he was my Advocate, nay Solliciter in my behalf and ſtuck to me; not by ſaying, I will do you all the Service that lyes in my power, but in the performance to act what he ſaid or promiſed: I was by the Order of the Houſe of Lords diſcharged from Priſon, yet in the year 61 returning into *England* was again taken for the old Debt, and made Priſoner; but my Lord was dead, that Noble *Dorſet*, elſe aſſuredly there had been payed as much duty unto her Majeſties Priviledges as before, ſhe then being here preſent as was in her abſence, as in my concern, but the times are changed, and we too much a La mode, ſome promiſes much, and in effect perform little, this is no romance and leſs is, what will follow: The wars beginning then; truly I was offerd by the Houſes of Parliament a conſiderable Imployment, my Tenent not leading me that way, I quietly got away, and went for *York* where my King was; and I in no ill equipage, and after kiſſing his hand, applyed my ſelf unto the Lord *Henry Wilmot* late Earl of *Rocheſter* deceaſed, who left this Young Lord, I hope to inherit the Fathers Worth and Gallantry. The Lord *Wilmot* was then raiſing a Regiment of Horſe for His Majeſty, and aſſoon as I came to him, he did embrace me, bidding me welcome; not Alamode but in effect, telling me I ſhould command his own Troop, then a raiſing, ſo I did, and in it a Hundred Valiant brave men, moſt Gentlemen of Eſtate and Quality, who not long after did ſo approve themſelves; who could not chooſe but ſo to do, having ſuch a General in the head of them as was his Lordſhip, what hath not he done to leave his Name Renowned.

VI. I being made Priſoner laſt Parliament 1678. all my Papers and Writings ſeized upon, and I carried Priſoner to the Black Rod by Sir *Edward Cartred*, who was very civil towards me, and carried before the Moſt Honorable Committee of Lords, and yet the Noble Lord that moved againſt me in Parliament, appeared no more to have made party againſt me, believing not as I preſume what was told him.

VII. Now give me leave Noble Readers, to give a relation of the firſt War betwixt King and Parliament, which truly is uncontradictable, for it ſhall carry nothing in it but a real Character of truth. At the Battle of Edge-hill, His Highneſs Prince *Rupert* that ever Renowned Perſon, Commanded the right Wing of our Horſe, who put the Enemies into an abſolute rout, and the Earl of *Brandford* the left, unto whoſe ſhare it came to charge the Enemies right Wing, His Highneſs putting into a derout their left Wing, the Battle begun upon a Sunday Morning, and the Lord *Digby* commanded our reſerve of Horſe, who gave more Teſtimony of his Courage then of conduct, but that never to be buried in oblivion the deceaſed Earl of *Rocheſter*, this Lord being then Commiſſary General of the Horſe, and in the head of our left Wing of Horſe, and in the head of his one Troop, Commanded by Sir *Robert Walſh*, and his Lordſhips Troop conſiſting of at leaſt a Hundred Brave and Noble Gentlemen, as Sir *John Dongan*, Sir *Brien* O *Neale*,

Sir *Henry Talbot*, Sir *Walter Dongan*, *ſon* to Sir *John*, brave *Iriſh* Gentlemen, whoſe moſt Valiant deportment gave great Teſtimony of their Loyalty, as I may ſay did the whole Troop and his Regiment, as may witneſs that firſt ſervice they were in, his Royal Majeſty of Bleſſed Memory, and His now Sacred Majeſty, and his Royal Highneſs. were not only there as witneſs of their Loyal Subjects, but alſo hazardly and dangerouſly ingaged in the ſaid Battle, to their great and ever Renowned Everlaſting Glory. The Lord *Wilmot* having charged the right Wing of the Enemy, did beat them and put them ſo in diſorder, as that they run confuſedly into *Kington*, which was in the Rear of their Army, the reſerve of our Horſe unpremeditatedly follow the purſuit of the Enemy, which gave the advantage unto the reſerve of the Enemies Horſe, as alſo unto their main Body, that they fell upon that Renowned Moſt Honorable Earl of *Linzy* our General, and ſo furiouſly, as that His Majeſties own Regiment was diſordered, and divers of their ſtandards taken at the ſame time, where the Noble Lord *Gerard* Commanding Three Regiments of Foot made a moſt manly ſtand, our Horſe being for the moſt part mingled in the Enemies, and his Highneſs Prince *Ruperts* Horſe purſuing, fortune proved ſo favorable unto Sir *Robert Walſh*, as to keep the Lord *Wilmots* Troop in a Body unſcattered, ſo as he encountred ſome of the Horſe that charged the Earl of *Linzy* in their return, this being in the rear of the Enemies Army towards the Town of *Kington*. Sir *Robert* with his Troop charged them and recovered the ſtandards, which they took from the Kings Regiment, and alſo took ſome of the Enemies, and Sir *Robert* being then in the rear of the Enemies Army in the Town of *Kington*, did ſieze upon Two Pieces of Cannon and a Waggon, brought them into the rear of His Majeſties Army. His Glorious Majeſty having lain that night upon the top of Edge-Hill, his Army not then drawn from the Enemies, Sir *Robert* towards Morning brought the Two Pieces of Cannon and Waggon to the bottom of Edge-hill, and brought the ſtandard of His Majeſties, and ſome of the Enemies unto His Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, who immediately did preſent them, and Sir *Robert* unto His Majeſty, who was graciouſly pleaſed, there to Knight Sir *Robert* for the acceptable ſervice he then did render.

VIII. Some time after, his then Royal Highneſs the Prince, going to command in the Weſt of *England*; Sir *Robert* was by His Majeſty Ordered into the Weſt, to ſerve under his Royal Highneſs Bannor, which he did, as Lieutenant Collonel of Sir *George Vaughans* Regiment of Horſe; who was a brave Worthy Noble Gentleman, and then Sheriff of *Wiltſhire*; leaving all to Sir *Roberts* Conduct: But he ſtill came when any fight was. The Deviſes being then ſurrounded by Sir *William Waller*, and all our Army in the Deviſes, which were ſo ſhort of Ammunition and Match, that they were forced to make uſe of all the Bed-cords which were in the Town for Match. His Royal Highneſs Prince *Maurice*, that Renowned Prince, the Famous and Honourable the Lord Marqueſs of *Harford*, and the Honourable

Lord

Lord *Hopton* were in the Deviſes, and Sir *William Waller* ſurrounded them with his Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, having ſummoned the Trained-Bands of thoſe parts to come and joyn with him, which they then did; the Prince and Lords called then in the Deviſes a Councel of War, and concluded that their beſt expedient was to diſpatch an Officer, that would hazard to get to *Oxford*, to give His Majeſty advice how it ſtood with them in the Deviſes, whereupon did depend very highly His Majeſties intereſt: They pitched upon Sir *Robert Walſh* to go, and ſent for him, he being with his Regiment upon the Out-guards, and asked him if that he would adventure; he made anſwer that he would moſt willingly and readily; that he regarded no hazard, or danger, ſo as that he could but compaſs their Relief: upon which he was immediately ordered to go, which he did, being not ill Horſed, and went all alone, carrying not a ſervant or man with him. He was in his way cloſely purſued by the Enemies Scouts, and part of their Out-guards; but it pleaſed God he got ſafe, and the next morning got to His Majeſty, who then was in *Oxford*. His Majeſty did then immediately Order that Relief ſhould preſently be ſent, and calling upon the Lord *Wilmot*, did order, without delay, that he ſhould get ready the Horſe, and march unto the Relief of the Deviſes, which was as ſoon as poſſibly obſerved; ſo as the Lord *Wilmot*, the Lord *Biron*, Colonel *Thomas Weſton* now Earl of *Newport*, and divers of the beſt Commanders did march, and hardly drew Bit in their march to the Deviſes, which was no eaſie or ſhort march: And when arrived at the Deviſes, the Horſe were weary, and I may ſay by the ſame; and ſtragling, that we miſſed Five hundered Horſe of our Number coming from *Oxford*. My Lord *Wilmot* from *Malborough* did diſpatch Sir *Robert Walſh*, all alone towards the devices with Order to return aſſoon as poſſible, to bring him notice how matters went, Sir *Robert* did go and return quickly to my Lord, whoſe conduct and Carriage was ſo evidently made apparant to the world, as nothing could be more: my Lords; (as thus) His Highneſs Prince *Maurice*, and the Lord *Hopton* did march with the Horſe out of the devices, intending to have joyned to the Lord *Wilmot*, and in part did, his Highneſs Horſe were not many, and when he came to joyn, they adviſed in Council, what was to be done, *Waller* and his Army, Horſe, cannon and Foot and Train-Bands very numerous, and our Horſe were wearied being not above Fifteen Hundred or Two Thouſand, at the Council the Lord *Wilmot* gave his opinion as thus; that his Horſe were all wearied, and by conſequence an impoſſibility that they could make any retreat, from the Enemy without being utterly cut off. The Enemies Army being not half a Mile from them, and therefore if the Prince and the Lord *Hopton* pleaſed to conſent, that he would advance with a Thouſand Horſe, to the top of a Hill which lay betwixt them and the Enemy, preſuming that the Enemy would ſo undervalue them, as that they would march up the Hill to devour them. My Lord *Wilmot* adding, that if they ſo would come as they did, perhaps it might ruin them, which did, the Prince and Lord *Hopton* did conclude with

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the Lord *Wilmots* ſenſe, whereupon of the Horſe which were in the devices, my Lord *Wilmot* of the Weſtern Horſe only takes Sir *John Digby*, a moſt Noble and brave Officer, and Sir *Robert Walſh*, with their Troops to joyn with him, my Lord ſends Lievtenant Collonel *Paul Smith*, who was unto his Lordſhips Regiment with a Hundred Horſe as a forlorn hope, and marches himſelf in the right Wing of a party of his Horſe, and adjoyns Sir *John Digby*, and Sir *Robert Walſh* with their Troops, to be at the head of his ſecond Diviſion of his left Wing, and his Highneſs Prince *Maurice* marched with the Body of the Horſe, it fell out ſo as my Lord *Wilmot* did Prognoſticate. Sir *William Waller* Orders Sir *Arthur Haſelrick*, to march up ſuch a Hill to devour the Enemy, which he undertook in the Head of a Thouſand Horſe firſt, which were Armed *Cap a pe*, and afterwards named *Lobſters*. *Haſelrick* ſending his forlorn hope, which was encountred by ours, he marched in the head of two diviſions, and the reſt of his Horſe marching in Regiments up the Hill after one another, which were between Four and Five Thouſand Horſe. The Lord *Wilmot* firſt received their charge, then charges them, beats *Haſelrick*, and *Haſelrick* diſorders the reſt of his Horſe, the Prince and Lord *Hopton* advance, ſo as the Enemies Horſe was clean forced to run away. Then the Prince and Lord *Wilmot* conſults to charge their Foot and Cannon, which they put in Execution and did Rout them, took all their Cannon, Foot and Colors, e're that our Foot in the devices could get out to joyn with us, this was ſo clear and fair a Victory, as that it gained his Majeſty the whole Weſt of *England*, which then was of the laſt conſequence; The Lord *wilmot* then calls Sir *Robert Walſh*, and ſays that as he went to His Majeſty to bring this relief, he ſhould immediatly poſt to His Majeſty and give him the account, which Sir *Robert* did, His Majeſty being not at *Oxford*, but gone to meet Her Majeſty then come out of *Holland*, which he met at Edge-Hill where Sir *Robert* addreſt, and *His* Majeſty and *Her* Majeſty in the Coach, Sir *Robert* gave *His* Majeſty the account, which was moſt mightily acceptable, and his *H*ighneſs Prince *Rupert* and my Lord of St. *Albans* then by when Sir *Robert* gave the account, ſome time after the Lord *Hopton* retiring, his Brigade of *H*orſe was given Sir *Robert Walſh*, who was alſo made Commiſſary General in the Weſt of *H*orſe and Foot, a charge of great truſt and *H*onor, as alſo of the Counties of *Southampton*, *Suſſex*, *Surry* and *Kent*, which then were aſſociated Counties, his Commiſſions are now extant, which were ſo ample and ſpatiouſly large, as that the General the Lord *Goring* was not over pleaſed, yet ſigned the Commiſſions. *H*is Majeſty of Bleſſed Memory, gives Sir *Robert Walſh* Commiſſion, to go for *Ireland* in the Year 1644. to raiſe *H*orſe and Foot, and in *H*is Majeſties one hand, writes to my Lord of *Ormond* then Lord Lievtenant of Ireland, to give Sir *Robert* all aſſiſtance and countenance, which that moſt ever Loyal untainted and unchangeable Subject, did moſt willingly countenance Sir *Robert* in, giving all furtherance, ſo as Sir *Robert* did bring upon his own coſt and charge, without having a Peny from *H*is Majeſty bring then out of

Ireland

Ireland a Hundred Horſe, which he recruted his Regiment with, and His Glorious Majeſty being then in *Cornewal* to oppoſe *Eſſex*, who then was General. *Liſtedel* Caſtle was ſurrounded by *Eſſex* his forces, *Eſſex* Lying of *Liſtedell* ſide, and His Majeſties Army of the other ſide of a ſmall River. Sir *James Smith* that Worthy Noble brave Gentleman, being ſent with his Regiment of Horſe For the Guard of the ſaid Caſtle, did there moſt Worthy ſervice and received cruel Wounds: Sir *Robert Walſh* and his Brigade of Horſe were then commanded unto Sir *James* his relief, whoſe fate was ſo proſperous, in the beating of *Eſſex* his Foot from the Hedges about the ſaid Caſtle, and in view of His Majeſty and Army, that His Majeſty after Sir *Roberts* coming off, ſent for him, and took him by the hand, his Royal Highneſs then next His Majeſty, ſaying, he hoped to live to gratifie Sir *Robert*, not only for the ſervice he then ſaw him render, but as well for his Loyalty and former ſervices.

IX. Some time after the Lord *Wilmots* Impriſonment and confinement into *Exeter*, by the falſe reports of ſome, Sir *Robert* having been a Creature of the Lord *Wilmots* and his Officer, who moſt perfectly well knew his Loyalty, faithfulneſs and Gallantry, and particularly in His Majeſties ſervice, ſeeing the Lord *Wilmots* unjuſt diſgrace, being ſiezed upon in the head of the Army by Mr. *Thomas Elliot*; upon which Sir *Robert* was ſurrendring and giving up his Imployment and charge; His Majeſty taking notice of which, the Army then marching, His Majeſty ſtopt, and ſo did the Army, and called upon Sir *Robert*, ſaying, he heard that he was upon quitting his ſervice, Sir *Robert* humbly replied, that he hoped that His Majeſty would permit him ſo to do, ſeeing that the Lord *Wilmot*, whoſe Loyalty and ſervice he ever was a witneſs of, was ſo uſed, and truly Sir *Robert* did plainly ſo declare his unwillingneſs to ſerve any longer; His Majeſty was pleaſed to give Sir *Robert* great encouragement to continue, and in an extraordinary manner, and told him that he ſhould not quit, and that he commanded him not to quit, unto which there reſted no anſwer, (but obedience) the world ignores not with what ungrounded falſehood the Lord *Wilmot* was then made Priſoner, and how he came off with honor. Then His Majeſty came into *Wiltſhiere*, and came to *Andover* where Sir *William Wallers* Army lay near, *Waller* ſent a conſiderable party of Horſe to obſerve His Majeſties Army, whereupon the Lord *George Goring*, that Worthy Commander then General of his Royal Highneſs's Army, immediatly did order to draw out a conſiderable party of Horſe, and did Order Sir *Robert Walſh* to command the ſaid Party, with order to purſue Sir *William Waller*, which readily was put in Execution, where many Voluntiers readily went along, and particularly then Mr. *Henry Bennet* now Earl of *Arlington*, with ſo much of good will and reſolution as none could demonſtrate more. Sir *Robert* then deſiring him not to go, he being a perſon who was then in the Pen charge and Imployment, and ſo readily kind and careful to ſerve and obliege us Officers, ſo as that if any thing ſhould hap-

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pen him, it would infinitely redown to our loſs and ſufferance, but he would not be deturned, of bearing a ſhare in that occaſion, which was ſo viſibly near of being put in Execution; in the purſuance of which, he then from the Enemy did receive that Noble ſcar of honor, which to this day he beareth the mark of in his Face, which aſſoon as Sir *Robert* ſaw, he immediately did Order Collonel *Garret Moor*, now here in Town to conduct him off; and to have him to the Chyrurgion to be dreſſed, which accordingly was done.

X. Some time after the Army was given up in *Corn-wall*, and Moſt Officers to ſhift for themſelves, of which number Sir *Robert* being one, he betook himſelf for *Ireland*, and there treated with the *French* Kings Envoy, by name *Monſieur de la Monnerie*, for Sir *Robert* to carry a Regiment of Foot into the *French* Kings ſervice, who capitulated with Sir *Robert* in the Name of His Chriſtian Majeſty: that Sir *Robert* upon his Landing in *France* ſhould receive Thirty Crowns, for each man, and ſhould have a penſion of Two Thouſand Crowns yearly, beſides other great and large promiſes in words, which never were performed. Sir *Robert* upon his one coſts and charge, hired Two great *Holland* Ships, into which he Shipped Nine Hundred and Fifty men, from the County of *Galway*, and the City of *Galway*, and ſailing for *France* was met by ſome Parliament Ships, who took one of Sir *Roberts* Ships, loden with men, which they ſent into the Iſlands, but fortune favoring the Ship that Sir *Robert* was in, did eſcape, and he got into *Haver de Grace* with Six Hundred men, he ſerved the *French* King as Collonel of the ſaid men, which Agent *la Monnerie* did not perform his capitulation in a Tittle; ſo as Sir *Robert* grew unſatisfied in His Majeſties Service, and looſing his Sons who were Captains in Sir *Roberts* ſaid Regiment: then the Prince of *Conde* taking Arms againſt his King, Sir *Robert* took his diſmiſs and paſſe from the King, and gave himſelf into the ſervice of the Prince of *Conde*. After ſome time Sir *Robert* was taken Priſoner and put into the *Baſtill*, where he was forced to lye for Three Years, notwithſtanding that, the Prince of *Conde* did uſe all indeavors to have Sir *Robert* exchanged, and did offer one *Monſieur Bouzy*, for to Exchange Sir *Robert*; who was Lievtenant General in his Chriſtian Majeſties Army, which was denied, it being given out, that Sir *Robert* did intend to kill Cardinal *Mazarine*, the ordinary common pretext, that when envy or malice contrives againſt man; then uſually its babbled and given out, that he was to kill the Prince or Miniſter of State.

XI. If gratitude were in practice, ſure Cardinal *Mazarine* would not have forgot his parts as hereunto; for when the Cardinal er'e he made his eſcape from *Paris*, was in very great apprehenſion and fear of his life by the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Conde Monſieur de Beauford* & their party. Sir *Robert* having not then quit the Kings Service nor the court party, the Cardinal being in great apprehenſion of looſing his life, though he lodged in the Pallas Royal, though Sir *Robert* was then ve-

ry unſatisfied; he did remaſs and gather a Hundred Gentlemen, every one with his Sword and Piſtol, and had them into the Inns and Cabaretts in the *Reu de lones enfents* and near the Pallas Royal, and the Cardinal then being in hourly fear of being attacked in the Pallas. Sir *Robert* writ unto his Eminence, that he lay with a hundred Cavaliers, in Caſe that any attempt were made upon his Eminence: That Sir *Robert* was ready to be in the head of the ſaid Gentlemen to hazard his Life and theirs in the defence of his Eminence; who then ſent *Monſieur de Navaile*, now Duke *de Navaile*, to ſee if what Sir *Robert* writ was ſo; *Monſieur de Navaile* did to the Cardinal return, and certified him, that what Sir *Robert* writ to him was ſo. Upon which the Cardinal, the Alarum being paſt, Two or Three days after, Sir *Robert* being in the Pallas Royal, the Cardinal took him in his Arms, ſaying he was a true Perſon of Honor; and that if ever it came in his way, that he never would forget Sir *Roberts* generoſity and kindneſs. But the Cardinal made it his profeſſion, not to be a ſlave to his word; yet did Sir *Robert* when he lay in the Baſtile, put him in mind of his promiſe, which proved one *a la mode de France*: But at long run, Mr. *Walter Montegue* a Perſon of Credit and Renown with the *French* Court, and Cardinal, was ſo honourable as to imploy himſelf for Sir *Roberts* liberty, which in fine he obtained; but upon ſuch Terms as have rarely been impoſed upon any Officer or Soldier of Fortune, which was thus; that Sir *Robert Walſh* ſhould put in Two Collonels of the Kings Army, and Two good Burgeſſes of *Paris*, who ſhould become bound in Fifty thouſand Crowns. That Sir *Robert Walſh* ſhould not ſerve nor carry Arms againſt His Chriſtian Majeſty in Five years following, which was given by Sir *Robert* and performed. The Lord of *Muskery*, and Sir *James Dillon* were the Two Collonels who became bound, *Monſieur de Couteure*, and *Monſieur de la Coſte* the Burgeſſes, and ſo Sir *Robert* was ſet at liberty. Could it be thought that ſo great a King would ſo far conſider a ſingle Officer, or Soldier of Fortune: I cannot but ſpeak well of the Prince of *Conde*; for when he firſt received me into his Protection, ſeeing my Diſmiſs and Paſs from His Chriſtian Majeſty, he did afford me his Favour and Countenance; and when firſt I came to him, the Armies then lying about *Villneufe* St. *George* a little above *Shallonton*, the Kings Army lying of one ſide the River, Commanded by Mounſieur *de Turene*, and the Princes Army of *Chalonton* ſide. The Prince bid me take Five hundred Horſe and beat about *Paris*, to find ſome Booty which may put me into an Equipage; and that he would but moderately hear any Complaint that ſhould come againſt me. I did take the ſaid Horſe which were all *Germans*; and truly I did more ſtudy to render the Prince ſervice than to plunder, if it came not in my way; and ſo I marched all Night, and paſt by the Rear of the Kings Army, and took ſome Officers and Priſoners; my intent being to go to *Pontoiſe* to beat up ſome of the Kings Army who lay there; and in my return the next Morning I drew up to refreſh betwixt St. *Germans* and St. *Clow* a top of a Hill: While I was there, I ſaw a Coach with ſix Horſes going for

Paris

Paris, I ſent a Party of my *Germains* to bring me that Coach, thinking to make a prize thereof; but who ſhould be in it but the beſt of men; ſo the *Germains* were greedy, and would underſtand no *French* or *Engliſh*; but one of his Lords, that noble Lord *Garret* as I take it, comes up to the party, and found me in the head of them, he asked me who commanded the party; I anſwered, he was not far off, then he tells me who was in the Coach, and made Priſoner. Upon which I immediately drew my Party towards the Coach, and waited on it to *Paris*. I am glad it was no other than his Subject that commanded the Party. The Prince of *Conde* then being not very affectionate; the Duke of *Lorrain* being ſlacken'd and I well ſatisfied in all occaſions, which may demonſtrate the paying of my duty and Loyalty; yet I was not a little ſatisfied, it was I that Commanded that Party, which prevented further trouble to the ſaid Coach. The Prince of *Conde* not being ignorant how the Duke of *Lorrain* was gained, to have proved ſlew in the Prince of *Conde*'s then pretenſions, without which the *French* King might have run the hazard *&c.*

XII. Fortune was to me ſo favorable, that at the Battle of *St. Antoine*, I gained ſo much the heart of the Citizens of *Paris*, as that ever after, they hardly would ſtir out of the Gates of *Paris*, without having me in the head of them, as I was at St. *Dennis*, when *Monſieur de Semegrine* Commanding the Queens Guards, charged the *Pariſiens* and was repulſed, theſe troubles of *Paris* being appeaſed by the Prince of *Condes* quitting *Paris*, wherein he quit his chiefeſt hold: I betook my ſelf for *Flanders*, and made my addreſs unto his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, who moſt kindly not degenerating from his ever wonted greatneſs and goodneſs, did afford me his Countenance; ſo as I by His Majeſties Order and Conſent, did venture for *England*, in hopes to prove uſeful for His Majeſties Rights and Intereſts. Upon which his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* writ unto me all in his own hand; that I ſhould come for *England*; and to advance my Intereſt and endeavours as in all I could for His Majeſties ſervice; aſſuring me, that if I could attain to be permitted by the Uſurper to be in *London*; if ſo I ſhould ſometimes tranſgreſs in my expreſſions, towards His Majeſty, that it ſhould not in the future prejudice my Loyalty. Upon this I came for *London*, and did uſe all my endeavours to come in *Thurloes* favour, then Secretary to the Uſurper; I did ſo obtain from *Thurloe*, that he gave me his word, I ſhould have the liberty of the Town. I giving him my word that I would not act any thing againſt the State, during my being under their Government. So for a Months time I had acceſs unto *Thurloe*; but ſoon after, though I had *Thurloe*'s word for my liberty, that word was not performed, but I was, ſurprized, I lodging at one *Elkings* Houſe, who was a Packer and an *Anabaptiſt*, then dwelling in *Mark-lane*, and I preſume lives their ſtill. I was by Four Files of Musketeers ſurprized in my Bed, Captain *William Bower* then lying with me, and hurried away into the Tower, where I lay Four Months cloſe Priſoner;

ner, none being admitted to me but my Keeper; ſoon after was that moſt Noble and ever Renowned Earl of *Orery*, the Earl of *Tennet*, the Earl of *Norwich* the Earl of *Clanricarde*, and many Perſons of quality brought in Priſoners, and as I take it the only then made cloſe Priſoners, was that Famous never to be buried in Oblivion, the Duke of *Albemarle* and I cloſe Priſoner, ſome who then attended His Sacred Majeſty did aſſuredly give the Uſurper notice, that I was in *England* as imployed by my King, ſome time after, the liberty of the Tower being granted me, upon the interceſſion of *Baxters* Wife to her Husband. The Lord *Brohil* now Earl of *Orery*, who is a Perſon of that Honor, as will own what I here ſay, through the Interceſſion of his Honorable Siſter, then in *London* the Counteſs of *Barimore*, his Lordſhip did interpoſe for my liberty: Whereupon his Lordſhip came to the Tower, and gave me a viſit, his words as near as I can remember were theſe: Sir *Robert* had you ſerved the State, and his Highneſs the Protector as you did the King, what poſt or poſture do you imagine you might now be in, I ſeemingly did aver what his Lordſhip ſaid, why then ſaid my Lord can you now reſolve to ſerve his Highneſs, if you can I will tell you how, and you ſhall have your Liberty and Money to boot, unto which I did ſeem to liſten, then ſaid my Lord, you ſee what a deal of Noble-men and Gentlemen lye here Priſoners, and I will tell you upon what account. It is upon an intelligence we have received, that his Highneſs Perſon is to be attempted, and we fain would ſink into a diſcovery therein, and here be Two Perſons of Quality now Priſoners, who make offer of their attempt, as unto what I intend to propoſe unto you, each of them now offering, that they will find out to make the diſcovery, but as I am inclined to get you your liberty, I have propounded to his Highneſs that you may be the Perſon imployed, and he hath conſented thereunto: If ſo you can make it appear that you may be received at *Bridges*, and that upon your word and honor unto me, that you will really imploy your endeavors to make the diſcovery, how his Highneſs Perſon was deſigned to be attempted, and you ſhall have your liberty, and ſome Money for your Voyage. I replied that I firſt would addreſs unto the Duke of *Ormond*, to ſee if I could make my peace, and be admitted to Court, which my Lord *Brohill* gave me ſome time to do. And then I writ to the ſame tenure unto his Grace of *Ormond*, and an other Letter in private, unto his Grace of what paſt and was to paſs, and upon what termes I was to obtain my liberty, I ſhowing the return to the Lord *Brohil*, he procured me my liberty, & Fifty or Sixty pound upon my word I know not which; upon the Faith of a Chriſtian this was all, that paſt betwixt my Lord of *Orery* and me, or from any other of the Uſurpers Creatures; I never having ſpoke to the Uſurper, only once he Landing at White-Hall-ſtaires, out of a Pair of Oares coming from *Lambert*, and I entring into a Pair of Oars, he asked who I was and called me to him, asked me whether the Iſland near *Waterford* was not mine, I ſaid of right it was, but that his Highneſs did take it from me and gave it Collonel *Vernon*, who had been his quarter Ma-

ſter General, ſo parted, and I never ſaw him ſince. As unto my Lord of *Orery*, I would take the Sacrament that he never ſpoke one word or ſyllable unto me of my King in the whole courſe of our tranſaction, but as heretofore I have mentioned, ſoon after I Landed in *Flanders* and went to *Gant*, there was caſually his Grace of *Ormond*, unto whom I preſently made my addreſs, but he being buſie with the Lord *Culpepper*, that time was not convenient; the next day I waited on his Grace, to give him the account of my Tranſactions in *England*, repreſenting all I could gather, only that I would make it out, how ſome near His Majeſty did betray his Secrets, unto the Uſurper and his Creatures, I offering upon pain of the loſs of my Head to give evident proofs of the ſaid intelligence. My Lord ſaid, he would give his Majeſty who was then in *Bruges* an account of what I ſaid; ſome Two days after the Earl of *Clancarthy*, came to *Gant* from his Grace of *Ormond*, and brought me this meſſage, that it was His Majeſties pleaſure, that I ſhould appear before His Majeſty and Council to anſwer what was to be laid to my charge, unto which I replied, that I was ready to appear, and the next day I being going into the Boat from *Gant* to *Bruges*, in obedience as I conceived to His Majeſties Pleaſure, I received an other meſſage from his Grace, that I ſhould immediatly leave the low Countries, by His Majeſties poſitive Order ſo expreſſed; or that I ſhould run the hazard of what ſhould follow. I anſwered I would in all things obey my Kings Command, though I well know that this Order was procured, by thoſe who knew themſelves guilty, how I would have accuſed them of their keeping intelligence with the Uſurper. Next day from *Gant* I took my journey towards *Germany*, to get unto his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, and took the City of *Bruxels* in my way, which was not much out of it, the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Edward Hyde* were then hand and glove, the world hath ſeen what they have been afterwards. Truly I was at a defiance with either, ſo as the true liberty of the Subject had been allowed me, for I neither would creep, or cringe to either: the Lord *Digby* was then immediatly by Sir *Edward Hyde* diſpatched, and imployed after me to *Bruxels*, it being well known that I had entrance ſo with the Prince of *Conde*, who was then in *Bruxels*, ſo as to bring me to his Catholick Majeſties State Miniſters, and Governors there; where I would have declared of the Treacheries, done to my King; but the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Edward Hydes* joyning their heads, ſo contrived, that the Governors *Don John d' Auſtrea* and *Marquis de Caraſſenas*, were informed and poſſeſſed, that I was then imployed by the Uſurper, and Earl of *Orery* to Kill my King, ſo the next Morning after my arrival in *Bruxels*, my Son and Servant and I ready to take Horſe, the grand *Prove Caſteneda*, comes with Forty at his heels, ſhewing me no Order, conveyes my Son and I to the Priſon called *Urinte*, and Orders that none ſhould come to ſpeak unto us, which ſo continued for ſix Months, we ſtarving with hunger and cold, after which I found means to addreſs unty my Sacred King, who was ſo indulgently juſt, that he did authorize the Judge Millitary of *Flanders* to examine the proceedings,

as

as alſo to determine who ſo did as heretofore is declared, which compriſes his Catholick Majeſties Orders, to pay the charges of my impriſonment who had nothing to do with it, and to put me at liberty, that was made Priſoner *ſine culpa*: To give an allay unto my unjuſt ſufferances, this Order did not a little ſolace me.

XIII. One thing Noble Reader, I being admitted Pen and Ink, be pleaſed to obſerve; I did ever renounce my Kings Grace or Favour, ſhould I be made guilty of Diſloyalty; I would neither beg, deſire, or take my Kings Pardon, I never having ſinned againſt him, his Intereſts, or Service; nor would I my Gods pardon, had I no more ſinned againſt him, than I have againſt my King. I then in my time of Impriſonment, did repreſent unto my King that a time would come that the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *Edward Hyde* would be Cathier'd, and Baniſhed from his Court; and that I who was then Tyrannically made Priſoner by their falſe Informations and Suggeſtions, ſhould be at liberty to ſtand at His Majeſties Elboe, to ſee them both in diſgrace, and ſo I have, and ſeen them; and ſeeing I could not then there poſſeſs the true liberty due to a Subject, I would I may here, which hitherto I have not. I may implore, nay preſs for it, *Conſcientia mille Teſtes*; I fear no man upon Earth, my Duty to my King not compriſed, nor no Laws either: My King I am ſure cannot in himſelf err. So good I am ſure he is, I cannot nor will I ſay that Miniſters of State, who govern the conſciences of Kings, and who are to anſwer may not err: This I intend unto the Miniſters of Forraign Kings.

XIV. You muſt know Noble Reader, that the City of *Bruxels* have it by their Charter, that no ſtranger made Priſoner there, is to be detained above Twenty four hours without he be Examined, his Charge given in againſt him, and the Cauſe of his Impriſonment Examined; and that beſides, if any make a Priſoner upon Informations, that they ſhould ſecure to make a party againſt the Priſoner; who by their Law in *Bruxels* are to allow the Priſoner a daily ſubſiſtence, according to the Quality of the Priſoner, elſe the Priſoner not to be detained. Upon which it was ordered that I, and my Son, and ſervant, by His Moſt Excellent Majeſties then Councel, that Twenty pence a day ſhould be given us. The World may judge whether that was a proportion fit, and I having lain Thirty three months Priſoner. Sir *Steven Fox* being ordered to pay that conſiderable allowance; yet for the time of Thirty three months I never received but Ten pound or about the Value. I do not ſay this to upbraid Sir *Steven*, for I believe him an honeſt Gentleman; but that mony was then not over plenty in his Treaſury. I being forced to addreſs unto the King of *Spain*, he ſet me at liberty, and payed my Coſts as here aforeſaid, elſe I had there periſhed.

XV. I appeal unto my Moſt Gracious King for Juſtice, who never did deny it unto any of his Subjects, and I ſhall ever, as now I do ſubmit unto his will and pleaſure. I having ever ſerved under his Royal Banner, and never had a hand in the War of *Ireland*; I had many of my Kings Letters and Orders, to have my Eſtate not to be made liable unto new Quit Rents, and years Value, which never had or took the leaſt effects: I have payed ever ſince His Majeſties happy Reſtauration for yearly Quit Rents, at Two pence Farthing an Acre out of my Eſtate, an Hundred and Three pound odd mony yearly, as is certified under the Auditor Generals hand out of *Ireland*; which amounts not far in the time from being 1900 l. and the years full Value for one year of my Eſtate, beſides Morgages upon my Eſtate of above a Thouſand pound; which I engaged for to bring Horſe and Foot for His Majeſties Service out of *Ireland*. I muſt attribute it to my fate, or the want of meeting with Juſtice, whereas I am put in Ballance with ſuch as were in Actual Arms, and Service againſt their Majeſty. Nay, a great many of ſuch have had their Eſtates ſtruck out of charge, and their Quit-rents taken off, yet mine ſtill ſtand charged. His Majeſties Orders and Letters, as to my particular meeting with no obedience: If looſers may ſpeak, ſure none can blame me for this my Declaration, having never had the leaſt compenſation, gift or grant, nor other uſage than what herein is ſpecified; only One hundered pound from the Privy Purſe. To this my Vindication or Declaration I ſet my hand, and am ready to juſtifie it; by either Common, Civil, or Military Law, or place of Juſtice againſt any man, that dare to my face contradict what I here have ſaid; let him be Subject, *French*, *Dutch*, or any Forreigner. If any be here, he may find the lie given him, and he will ſwallow it, or give his appearance to charge me.

XVI. Sir *Robert Walſh* hath been detained Three years Priſoner to the *French* King in the *Baſtil*, and never any thing laid to his Charge; but for being of the Prince of *Conde*'s party. Then he came for *England*, and was made Priſoner in the Tower by the Uſurper, never any thing laid to his Charge. Then was made Priſoner in *Bruxels* by his Kings Miniſters, and never any thing laid to his Charge before Juſtice. Theſe Impriſonments were all, you I hope will ſay hard; here lately made Priſoner to the Black Rod, and nothing laid to his Charge in 79. Is this the liberty of the Subject?

XVII. One thing more I may with Juſtice add, I being in *Paris* about the year 72. or 73. or thereabouts I had by the means of *Monſieur de Mumbas* my ancient Acquaintance, who was Brother in Law unto *miniere de Grote*, *alias Grotius* then Embaſſador for the States of *Holland*, an entrance unto this Embaſſador, ſo as that I did diſcover that the *French* King, and the States of *Holland*, were then upon the point, and but very little difference between them of coming unto an agree-

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ment or Joyning, His Grace the Duke of *Buckingham*, then having His Majesty's Ear, I immediatly writ to him, that it would be of very great consequence to prevent the said junction, by an agreement with the States; which as I take did very soon ensue, *France* and *Holland*, having until of late continued in a War, my Letter unto his Grace I addrest to Sir *John Hanmer*, who did tell me since my coming into *England*, that such a Letter he did receive from me, and that he believe it did still lye by him, I writ at the same time to Mr. *Progers* to the same purpose, who I am sure did show or produce it unto His Majesty, unto whom I sent *Miniere Grotius* his Letter to me in Mr. *Montegue* his Packet, as may be judged by the effects of the accommodation then we made with the States; and Mr. *Edward Progers* his Letter was to have me come in Person into *England*.

XIX. The Year of His Majesties happy restauration the *Marquis de Gadance* was commissioned by the *French* King to come unto His Most Excellent Majesty to *London*, upon some pretext from the *French* King, *Dunkerk* then in the Lord *Lockerts* time of Government there, and newly rendered unto His Most Excellent Majesty: the *Marquis de Gadance*, made it his work to gain some Officers of the Garison of *Dunkerk*, to surprise the Garison for the *French* King, and had contracted a Treaty with them for that purpose, Sir *Robert Walsh* then living at *Berge* St. *Venox* a League from *Dunkerk*, this *Marquis* came to *Berge* often, he and Sir *Robert* came acquainted, so as the *Marquis* did communicate his design upon *Dunkerk* to Sir *Robert*, sounding him that knew the humor of the *English*, how he might so confide in the *English*, and to prevent and be precautioned that he may not be trapanned, he offering Sir *Robert* an assurance of Five Thousand Pistols, If he would contribute by his advice and conduct. Which Sir *Robert* did consent to yield unto, reserving to himself to do his duty to his King; immediatly hereupon, he humbly addressed a Letter to His Majesty, whereupon His Sacred Majesty immediatly writ to Sir *Robert* in his own hand, immediatly to repair unto him with all speed and privacy. Unto which Sir *Robert* quit his House, dwelling and interest in *Berge* St. *Venox*, and immediatly came to His Majesty. The now Earl of *Arlington* being then Secretary of State. His Majesty did Order Sir *Robert* to make his address unto him, and to communicate all particulars unto him, which Sir *Robert* so doing, my Lord gave thereunto a hearing answerable, and did receive Sir *Robert* with expressions very kind, of the sense he had of Sir *Roberts* service in that particular, and that he would in Order thereunto give His Majesty an account; unfortunately soon after Sir *Robert* was arrested for a Hundred Pound, and committed Prisoner to the Fleet, under Chancellor *Hide* his Verge, who made such use of his power; carrying an animosity against Sir *Robert*, that notwithstanding Sir *Robert* had put in good security, he could not obtain a day writ, Sir *Jeremy Witchcot* being so much the Chancellors Creature, until the Lord *Arlington* who was not so, writ to the Warden of the Fleet Sir *Jeremy Witchcot*, that it was His Majesties pleasure, Sir *Robert*

ſhould have a day writ, which Letter Sir *Robert* this day hath, and upon which his day writ was had; and His Majeſty a little time after did order Sir *Robert* a Hundred Pound, which was brought him to the *Fleet*, and the Lord *Arlington* did alſo make Sir *Robert* a preſent of Twenty Ginneys: unto my Lord *Arlington*, the Lord Chancellor (a thing not unknown) was then no great friend; yet the Lord *Arlingtons* Loyalty, Fidelity, and duty to his King, hath ſo preſerved him as to be now what he hath deſerved, and is, and ſo may all taſte as they deſerve, if not in this world, in the next they muſt and will, but as unto *Dunkerk* ſuch order was then given, as that the *French* Kings deſign took not, until it was ſold him, which I wiſh had never been: Sir *Robert* could ſay more but hates to trample upon the dead. This was after Sir *Roberts* being kept Priſoner in *Bruxels*, by the inſtigation of Chancellor *Hyde*, and the inſtrument he made uſe of to have Sir *Robert* then made Priſoner, was one that ingratiated himſelf with *Don John D' Auſtrea*, who was then Governor of *Flanders*, which was thus, he was an *Engliſh* man and a degree above a Knight, he being ſome years ſervant unto an *Engliſh* Dame, who had had Three or Four Children, he had her received by *Don John* for a Maid, and ſo paſt her for unto him, and ſome Five or Six Hundred Piſtols was gained that way, this was not ill mis-trip, as ſome that read this well may remember the paſſage herein, ſuch qualified perſons, not conſtant in Religion, Proteſtant or Papiſt, were the inſtruments of Sir *Robert Walſh* his Murderous Impriſonment, for Three and Thirty Months in *Bruxels*, but they never would come as witneſſes in this age do, whereby to maintain their accuſations either by right or wrong, thoſe who Treacherouſly under hand to gain them a little favor, were accuſors of Sir *Robert Walſh*, he could name Six of them ſince gone unto a worſe World then this, and few or none now living.

XX. Now Noble Reader, this *Everard* daſhing at me, that I ſhould be a ſubduer of Diſcoveries, Animoſities, Plots, or Deſigns, intended towards the ſubverſion of His Majeſties Laws and Government, to prove how far from truth that is, I appeal to what my King knoweth, as coming from me in 1675. 76. 77. 78. And what I did communicate unto the now Honorable Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Arlington* and other Miniſters in or about the ſaid years, whoſe names I now mention not, as unwilling to add calamity unto calamity. I doubt ſome whom I would have named in 1675. were I thereunto ſummon'd, are no ſmall Incendiaries or Promotors in Diſturbances. Unto which had I been heard in time, prevention might have been given, the World cannot but Judge, and ſo ſhall, that my intereſt is ſoly in my Sovereigns, and that of his good Subjects, I having ſtaid here theſe Four years, in expectance that my Repreſentments ſhould be verified and ſo allowed as now they are; and to my great coſt I have my Labor for my pains, *ſed Tempus edax rerum.*

Now

XXI. Now Noble Reader, pardon if I give you the trouble of reading, how the *Sieur Grimings* was put to death, who was the Receiver General of *Flanders*, a Perſon then moſt High and Eminent, would make Princes attend their having Audience, whiles he ſtayed to ſee his Daughters dance the *Tricote*; his Pallace in *Bruxels*, not much inferior to *Dunkerk* or *Clarendon* houſe: the reaſon why I trouble you your Reading his end, is that I was nominated in bringing him to it, he then being a Priſoner, in the ſame which I was in at *Bruxels*, in the year 1658. that I was the Perſon, who next his demeanor of not being capable to account, for the vaſt ſumms he had received, of his Catholick Majeſties Subjects, that I was the perſon who hindered his eſcape, a thing I then did own and now do, which none living can or will blame me for, when they here the truth. as now here they may of the paſſages thereof, yet did Sir *Edward Hide* and his then Creatures, falſely aſperſe me, in giving out that I betrayed this *Grimings*, the paſſages were as thus, which is the Real truth of it: this *Grimings* being a cloſe Priſoner in a ground Chamber, ſeeing me walk in the Yard, had the opportunity of asking me why I was there a Priſoner. I replied I did not know, and withal, that I renounced the Grace or Favor of all Kings or Law, for any thing that could be laid to my charge, upon which he ſaid that the Kings grace was not to be denied, and I replied not for them who had uſe thereof; of which number I did conclude he was one, and ſo we parted; his Lady was then confined to his Pallace in *Bruxels*, and a Hundred Soldiers there every Night in Guard, ſhe hearing that I was a perſon of Honor and a Priſoner, which lay in the Chamber above her Husband, ſhe diſguiſes herſelf and comes to my Chamber, throws herſelf at my feet, which very much did ſurprize me, I made her riſe, which ſhe was unwilling unto, ſhe declaring that I was the only perſon that could relieve and ſerve her, I ſaid that ſure ſhe was miſtaken, and that ſhe took me for ſome other more conſiderable Perſon, that might be a Priſoner, ſhe cryed no, that it was I, and none other elſe that could ſerve her, and declares unto me how, which was as thus, my Husband lyeth here under your Chamber, and I can no way contrive a Communication with him, but by your means, help and aſſiſtance. If that you may pleaſe ſo far to be charitably obliging towards me, as to contrive his having a Billet from me, for all his Wealth lyeth placed in convents and particular places, that without my having an account from him, how and where, I and my Children are ruined for ever. Unto which I replied, that I lay Priſoner I knew not for what, and for to render my ſelf to be guilty of Intermedling in a concern of that Nature, could ſhew no Judgment or wiſdom in me, but ſhe ſo did importune me that ſhe prevailed, and I did contrive to convey her Billets to her Husband, and his to her, by which means ſhe found where and how all his Wealth lay, upon which ſhe got his Wealth, which were Millions of Livers, and ſo conveyed herſelf into *Holland*, out of the King of *Spains* Dominions, without making me the leaſt return, but by divers of her Letters which are yet extant, *Grimings* being put upon the Rack,

Rack, confeſſed contrary to his Vows and promiſes, that it was by my means that he correſponded with his Wife, upon which his Catholick Majeſty ſent Commiſſioners to examine me, who indeed were very civil; I did not deny my guilt, ſaying why did his Catholick Majeſty detain me Priſoner, and upon what grounds: The Commiſſioners ſaid I had given great Treaſures out of His Majeſties Cophers, ſoon after *Grimings* his Wife run away, I writ to *Grimings*, that I had ſerved him in the truſt his Wife impoſed in me, and deſired him that he would give his Billet to his ſon, for me to receive a Hundred Piſtols, I being in diſtreſs, which he would not do, then I writ to him, that he ſhould never expect any favor at my hand, but to the contrary as he found by the loſs of his Head. For he being juſt ready to have made his eſcape, I did diſcover it to *Don John a' Auſtria*, and to the *Marquis de Caraſſenas*, being in no truſt for *Grimings*, for he intended to have got into the *French* quarters, and being a perſon that was in ſo conſiderable an Imployment and poſture as he was, he would have diſſerved his Catholick Majeſty to a greater value, then the vaſt ſumms of his Majeſties that he could not account for, which I prevented and made His Catholick Majeſty amends for what I formerly did for *Grimings*, who as unto his being ungrateful, did meet the due return, by my means in which he did not intruſt me. I long ſince made a Declaration of this matter, the Year of His Majeſties happy reſtauration, who was graciouſly pleaſed to write unto me to come into *England*, all in his own hand, which I did obey: I then declared that the Chancellor of *Poland*, for his ill managing the Kings Conſcience, being chief Miniſter, was degraded. Soe was *Monſieur Fouquet* in *France*, that was Treaſurer: Then how *Grimings* in *Flanders* loſt his head, and I did foreſee that the next bordering Miniſter ſhould take example in being precautioned, I addreſſing the ſame to the Lord *Clarendon*, who had me Priſoner under his Laſh in the *Fleet*, I then ſhewed my Declaration unto that Honorable Perſon the Lord of *Angliſey*, Lord Privy Seal not to conceal the right thereof from my Lord *Clarendon*, which my Lord of *Angliſey* did not, ſo as in a little time after my Lord *Clarendon*, proved not ſo vehement in the Execution of his Power. *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*

XXII. This is to declare the Ingratitude of the ſaid *Grimings*, and what his not Provoyance did bring him unto; he having been put on the Torture did confeſs, that it was by my means, that his Wife did beget a Correſpondence with him, to attain unto his wealth as ſhe hath; I being Examined therein by His Catholick Majeſties Commiſſaries, who ſhewed me, how *Grimings* did own it was I who gave the Expedient; and they carrying themſelves very civilly towards me, I did own, that I was, if it was a Guilt. The helper of giving the Acceſs of her Billets to her Husband, and his unto her; ſaying, why did His Catholick Majeſty keep me a Priſoner without producing my Charge; what had he to ſay againſt me, I renounced either Grace or Favour from him, I demanded Juſtice; withal declaring that the

Tyranny

Tyranny of my ſo being kept Priſoner, might have given me ſcope, to have ſerved all Priſoners, as ſuppoſing that they might be as guiltleſs as I was. This *Grimings* after his being put to the Torture, deſigns to endeavour making his eſcape, and begets an underſtanding with one that was then there Priſoner, to help him unto Files, to file the Iron Barrs of his Grate, which he did, I having diſſerved His Catholick Majeſty and willing to repair the ſame, I lodging above *Grimings*, in the Night I could hear him file the Iron Barrs, and taking notice thereof, I did walking in the Yard diſcover the Bar of Iron he worked upon, and was very near effecting his deſign, I lying under His Catholick Majeſties diſpleaſure, I did calculate, that if I made a Diſcovery of his intent to have eſcaped, it might have allayed the former disobligement I had layed on His Catholick Majeſty, and I being not ſatisfied with the ingratitude of *Grimings* and his Wife; ſo as I writ unto *Don John d' Auſtrea*, how *Grimings* was to have made his eſcape. Whereupon he ſent to find the Tiles, and to ſearch every corner of his Chamber, but found no viſibility of what I had repreſented, his having ſent Commiſſaries and a Glaſier to ſound the Bars, but they could diſcover no appearance; ſo *Don John* ſent to me, that I repreſented what was not true. I returned to *Don John*, that thoſe he ſent were Fools; and gave them direction how to diſcover the truth of what I repreſented, and ſo they did. You muſt know, that when they came with a Key to ſound the Iron Bars, the Bars did ſound all ſound, which in a cut Bar is not ordinary. But *Grimings*, as ſoon as he filed, did fill the Oraphis with wax and Tobacco-powder, and until I gave the Key of this diſcovery, they could not find it out; but having found it he was ſoon Executed, and all the favour he could obtain, who was once the Great *Grimings*, was to have his head chopt off in the ſaid Priſon, and was not carried to the Common Place of Execution.

XXIII. I muſt a little here diſplay in part, what return or reward I met with, for my coming out of *France*, with my Repreſentments of the diſturbances, which were intended towards the deturnment of His Sacred Majeſties Laws and Government. I having been for many Years out of *England*, upon my arrival here in *London*, I was introduced to the Widow of a *Hamborow* Merchant, by Name *E. I.* now *O. B.* ſhe was repreſented for a very Rich Widow; we falling into acquaintance, ſhe very much did importune me to lodge at her Houſe, which I did for a week, not without repreſenting unto her, that it would bring her name under a cenſure, ſeeing that there was no concern as unto any thing of Marriage in the point, for inſtead of every Thouſand Pounds, ſaid ſhe had, that proved but Four or Five great Sons, and a Daughter, which I finding, as alſo diſcovering her Goſſoping and Frolicking qualities, I withdrew in my viſits and frequency with her, whereupon ſhe grew moſt outragiouſly inveterate againſt me, and whereas her Letters of which I have a Buſhel, declare that my ſheets ſhould be well aired, and I ſhould be kept warm,

and that all her all was mine, and in her Letters declaring, that ſhe pretended not to have the honor of marrying a perſon of my quality, only coveting my Company. The cruel uſage of hers as followeth, may admit my thus expatiating, though a thing contrary, to my nature towards that venerable Sex: It's true, that in the time of our converſe, I did tell her that there would be great diſturbances and troubles ingendred in *England*, I ſoon after refraining giving her my viſits, ſhe grew paſſionately deſperate, run out one night out of her House into the ſtreet, ſtopt my Coach, ſhe half naked; and ſwore if I came not in and ſtay all night, that ſhe would kill herſelf. I not ſtaying as being unwilling thereunto, ſhe a little after went in her paſſion to my Lord Chief Juſtice, and made a moſt pernitious and falſe *affidavit*, that I robbed her of a Hundred Pounds worth of Plate, and that I had pawnd it, unto Mr. *John Wallis* a Gold-ſmith in *Lombard* ſtreet, at the ſign of the *Angel*, who can witneſs that I never did pawn any Plate unto him, a Perſon in whoſe hands, I intruſted many of mine to be kept, above Two Hundred Pounds, and that if any was pawnd that ſhe pawnd it herſelf, and afterwards ſhe came to Mr. *Wallis*, and fain would have retrieved her Plate, ſaying that ſhe only ſent it him to be Varniſhed, this Mr. *Wallis* a man of fame and credit will aver; but as unto her falſe *Affidavid*, ſhe procured the Lord Chief Juſtice his Warrant, and in comes the Tipſtaff one *Otway*, with Twenty or Thirty at his heels, and I ſcarce out of my bed, they hurried me half naked through the ſtreet, and carried me to *New priſon*, where I lay Two or Three hours, ſent for Bail, who entred into recogniſance of Two Thouſand Pounds, for my appearance at *Hick's-Hall*, which I did, and the Gentlemen ſitting there cancelled my recogniſance, and took Two ordinary men bound in Twenty Pounds a peace, and I in Forty to appear at *Guild-hall* the following Seſſions, to anſwer to the Indictment againſt me for the King, put in by this Widow *E. J.* now *O. B.* unto which I did appear at *Guild-Hall*, before the Lord Chief Juſtice and that Honorable Bench, a Jury being Impanneld, ſhe appearing there and telling her Story, the Lord Chief Juſtice and the Bench, found it ſo nonſenſical as my Lord told the Jury, that there was no Subject for them to be troubled with, ſo diſmiſſed them and me from the indictment, though ſhe pretended to have compriſed me in the Number of ſuch as were concerned in the Plot. This Widow *E. I.* now *O. B.* did abſolutely give unto Sir *Robert Walſh* a Dubble guilt Tankard, which is under her own hand, and atteſted by *John Chappel Clearke* unto Sir *James Butler*, *Sarah Sing* and *Frances Duval*, the ſaid Tankard Sir *Robert* made a preſent of, unto a Perſon of quality, yet the ſaid Widow moſt impudently did make her addreſs unto the ſaid Perſon of quality, and did perſwade him that Sir *Robert* rob'd her of her Tankard, and the ſaid Perſon of quality could not be rid of her importunity until he gave her the Tankard, without having asked Sir *Robert* of the matter; they being at a far diſtance one from the other, I had at *Guild-Hall* under her own hand Forty of her Letters, to produce what ſhe was, which are ſtill extant. In one ſhe writes, that

ſhe

ſhe was ſo much in the favor of Sir *J. E.* as that ſhe was ſure if his Wife, who was ſickly ſhould dye, that he would marry her, and that if ſo, I ſhould be her Gallant, and I ſhould not want for money, this Letter and all hers are this day extant.

XXIV. In the Year 1655. or 1656, I being here intruſted as is ſet forth in my manifeſt, to ſteal away then from the Uſurpers claws, I was neceſſitated, to take up Forty Pounds worth in ſilk Stockings, to carry me into *Flanders*, I being here in 1677. I was arreſted upon my Bond of Forty Pounds, and forced to pay Sixty five Pounds, as Mr. *John Wallis* Gold-ſmith, and *Sargent Dike* in whoſe Priſon *I* was can witneſs, yet *I* importuned not His Majeſty to my relief as in that. *I* lying Priſoner upon the ſtocking action, comes an action of Four Hundred Pound againſt me, upon Bond in the Year 1641. where *I* then became bound for the Lord *Henry Wilmot*, late Earl of *Rocheſter*, which was to carry him then after His Majeſty of Bleſſed Memory to *York*: This action being laid upon me, *I* did petition and implore, His Majeſty to look upon the hardneſs of my paying that debt, which the Duke of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Bathe*, did repreſent unto His Majeſty, who was compaſſionate, but *I* was forced to ſatisfie the debt, which *I* could not then have done, but that a great Lord and a great Subject, did ſo take me into his conſideration, as that he did relieve me, he is not now in this Kingdom, but is in one of His Majeſties, *I* dare not mention his Name, knowing he is not Covetous, that his charitable goodneſs, in ſuch kind ſhould eſclat. Theſe are the rewards *I* meet with, in return of my coming of purpoſe out of *France* in the Year 1675. To have diſcovered the inſurrections and diſturbances, which were intended againſt His Majeſties Kingdoms and good Subjects, having no other for my labor, charges, and loſs of time here theſe Four Years paſt, then have been theſe misfortunes.

The Concluſion of my Manifeſt.

I Beg the favor from you Noble Readers, not to cenſure as that *I* vaunt of my ſervices, having done but my duty, or that *I* complain of the Murderous impriſonment, *I* have for Three and Thirty Months, with *I* may ſay injuſtice groaned under, which *I* impute unto the moſt ungrounded ill conduct of ſome then Miniſters of State, who gave ear unto ſome falſe Raſcally and moſt Villanous intelligencers: Some of which may live this day, and read herein the Character *I* give them, whoſe courage affords them not to take notice, the beſt of men doth know who they where or be, *I* do not, *I* would *I* did; they ſoon ſhould here from me, who am His Majeſties Loyal Subject, and unto you my friends an humble Servant.

July 3. 1679. *Robert Walſh* Knight and Ba^tt.

F I N I S.

I do appoint Sam. Leonard Dan. Mayo of London, Stationers, to print this my Narrative, entitled, A Narrative of the late Popish Plot in Ireland, &c. and that no others print the same.

THO. SAMSON.

I do appoint *Sam. Lee* and *Dan. Major* of *London*, Stationers, to print this my Narrative, entituled, *A Narrative of the late Popiſh Plot in* Ireland, *&c.* and that no others print the ſame.

THO. SAMSON.

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A NARRATIVE OF THE Late Popiſh Plot IN IRELAND,

For the Subjugating thereof to the FRENCH KING.

Together with

The Proceedings againſt, and Tryal of the Earl of *Tyrone*, and others, who were accuſed for carrying on the ſame.

CONTAINING

The ſeveral Examinations of *Hubbart Bourke*, *Edward Ivie*, *John Macnemarrah*, and *Thomas Samſon*, Gent. upon Information taken before the Lord Lieutenant and Council of *Ireland*.

The large promiſes of Rewards and Favours made to the Perſons aforeſaid, in caſe they would have been induced to deſiſt from proſecuting the ſaid Earl, and to affirm that they had been ſuborned by others to accuſe him.

The many Threats made to all, and Puniſhments inflicted upon one of the ſaid Witneſſes after they had peremptorily declared their reſolution to diſcover what they knew concerning the ſaid Plot.

The manner of the Proceedings againſt the ſaid Earl at *Waterford* Aſſizes, 1679. with the Names of the Jury, and the Diſcouragements the King's Evidence met with before, at, and ſince the ſaid Aſſizes.

By *Tho. Samſon* Gent. late Steward to the Earl of *Tyrone*.

LONDON:

Printed for *Sam. Lee*, and *Dan. Major*; at the Feathers in *Lumbard-ſtreet*, and Hand and Scepter in *Fleet-ſtreet*. 1680.

PA 3

A NARRATIVE OF THE Late Popish Plot IN IRELAND.

To the Right Honourable

ARTHUR

EARL of *ESSEX*.

MY LORD,

IT may be thought that the frequent method of Dedications to Perſons of Honour, now ſo much uſed, might be the occaſion of this my Addreſs to your Lordſhip; but I humbly conceive it moſt abſolutely neceſſary for my Preſervation, to flie to your Lordſhip for Protection and Relief: for the very Name of *King's Evidence* is now (by the ſubtilty of evil and guilty men) grown ſo obnoxious to many, that no man who hath the courage to appear for his King and Country againſt the Papiſts, can receive other Quarter from many men, than that uſually given to Rogues, Barrators, or common Diſturbers of the Peace of their Neighbours. But, my Lord, this Diſcovery now laid at your Lordſhips feet, is of a far different nature, and ſuch which every good Chriſtian and Subject is bound in Conſcience to make for the good of his King and Country; and being no other than what hath been before the Lord Lieutenant and Council of that Kingdom in which your Honour did formerly reſide as Chief Ruler under his Majeſty, I therefore have made bold to dedicate theſe Papers to your Honour; you being acquainted with the Intereſts and Humours of that People, can beſt judge what Diſcouragements ſuch as appear for Proteſtancy and the Engliſh Intereſt lie under in that Kingdom: All perſons favouring us there, are maliciouſly termed our Promoters. I do therefore humbly pray your Lordſhip to accept of this my poor Endeavour; which done, I ſhall not doubt its acceptance from all good men, and ſhall remain,

My Lord,

Your Honour's moſt humble
and
moſt obedient Servant,

THO. SAMSON.

An Introductory TO THE READER.

THE Northern part of the World lying ſo much in the way of the Roman Church, that its converſion to the Popiſh Religion is the Mark that many venture their Allegiance, Life, and Eſtate at, having nought elſe but to be Canonized for their good work if they miſs their aim therein; and I hope good Proteſtants cannot believe that Sect of men will lay down the Cudgels if their Jeſuitical Deſignes prevail not, but will venture on the old way of Blouding, if need require.

Hence it is that their Plotting is not confined to England onely, but it muſt croſs the Seas into Ireland alſo, though they land in the boſoms of pretended Proteſtants.

And it cannot be imagined, but that the Deſigne was carried on at one and the ſame time both on this and that ſide of the Water, and the methods uſed for the carrying on of their Deſignes the ſame; as by former Narratives, compared with the following Informations and Examinations, will appear, viz.

By raiſing of Forces, by pretended ſettlements of Eſtates, to prevent its forfeiture in caſe of diſcovery, or uſing the old drudging way of aſperſing the Evidence; and if all theſe fail, promiſing Bribes for rewards on concealment, thereby to ſham the Truth.

Nevertheleſs, as it pleaſed God to diſappoint their Endeavours in England, by ſome who were intruſted by them, whom God plucked from them to pull us as Brands out of the fire; ſo here, what knowledge was obtained, came from ſome who were to be Actors in the ſame Tragedy; ſo that the Wiſe might be taken in their own Craft, and the Hand of God might be ſeen in the preſervation of our King, Country, and Religion: Such our Deliverers having changed their Bulls, Pardons, and Abſolutions of the Pope, and a horrid bloudy Act to be committed, for fear of God, peace of Conſcience, loyalty to their King, and praiſe of good men.

And as in the Gunpowder-Treaſon a Letter from one privie thereto did diſcover the ſame; ſo likewiſe in the Kingdom of Ireland in 1641, it was a Letter from one Iriſhman to another which made the Engliſh to ſecure the City and Caſtle of Dublin; which otherwiſe might have followed the fate of the whole Nation, or greateſt part of that Kingdom.

And why might not perſons as much queſtion the truth of that being ſo diſcovered and prevented, as the truth of all thoſe Plottings now in queſtion? and the rather, it being now a Crime in Ireland, to call thoſe late murthering bloody times Rebellion, but a new name is taken up for it, namely, A Civil War.

In

In this preſent Diſcovery it was alſo a Letter that gave notice of the things declared to be deſigned; which concurring with other teſtimony, did convince one of the Witneſſes of the reality of their Deſignes.

And indeed it's not to be queſtioned, but moſt of the good Proteſtants of that Kingdom, I mean ſuch as are not got into Preferments, or married into Papiſt Families, and thereby become any thing as to Religion, (ſuch I ſay) are fully ſatisfied of their Plottings, and the rather, conſidering the inſolency of the Papiſts, and the many of them, the power the Prieſts and Romiſh Clergie have over them. And were it not for fear of firing their houſes, and maſſacring their perſons and families, and the ſcandal of diſcovering (though the truth) (and the greateſt hindrance of all is) knowing that their Tryals, if impeached, muſt be by ſome of their own Faction, and it may be as much concerned as themſelves; and ſo conſequently would be cleared. Many Papiſts in Ireland *valuing more to ſwear by a piece of Iron, Wood, or Stone, a pretended Relick of* St. Peter's *Chair, Chappel, or Bell, than on the holy Bible; which I have my ſelf known, that after they have forſworn themſelves on the Bible, have confeſſed, to their damage, the truth, when ſworn on that Relick.*

But I do not queſtion but that God may open the eyes of ſome of the beſt of that Nation, as to appear for the Truth, and vindicate the Reputation of thoſe that have already appeared, and ſtop the mouths of Gainſayers.

And when Mr. *David Fitz-Gerrald's* Information becomes viſible.

Let others make it their buſineſs ſo much as they can, to aſperſe all that appear as Evidence for their King, and thereby make informing odious by Ballads and Pamphlets; I am ſure ſo long as there is no Law againſt Allegiance, but onely the Prieſts pardon for it, ſome mens Conſciences will once be awakened, and then men will not fear to appear; and Papiſts Oaths will be leſs valued againſt Proteſtants, or at leaſt, as little valued as they value the Bible they ſwear by: For it's well known by woful experience to ſome, what a many of falſe Oaths have been taken by Papiſts againſt Proteſtants, to the great prejudice of their Eſtates. Which when, I ſay, all ſuch conſiderations of fear are lain aſide, then you will have greater Torches enlightned by our ſmall Evidence, to make all things plain unto you. And though now things ſeem to be in a ſwoon, Plots being turned into Intrigues, time will come when Plots will be called Plots; Popery, Popery; Rebellion, not Civil War, but Rebellion.

As the preſent Lord Mayor of *London* and his Agents have ſufficiently ſuffered in.

Having made this ſhort Preface, I ſhall refer the Reader to the Informations and Examinations themſelves, to enquire into matter of fact, deſiring them to judge us according to the merit of the Cauſe, and not according unto the Papiſts Scandals.

The Persons Names that were indicted for High-Treason at *Waterford*-Assizes, the 11th of *March*, 1679.

The Earl of *Tyrone*,
William Bradly Esq;

The Names of the Persons accused in the Conspiracy.

Countie of *Waterford*,
- *James Power*, the Father.
- *Richard Power*, *William Power*, *James Power* } the Sons.
- Dr. *Moore*.
- *William Fince*.
- *Lawrance Swillivaitt*.
- Quarter-Master *Ely*.
- *Paul Strong*.
- *Richard Power*.
- *John Power*, that killed the Lord *Mohun*, as is said.
- Sir *Turlo Macmahan*.

County of *Limbrick*,
- Col. *Peirce Lacy*.
- Lord *Brittas*.
- Sir *John Fitz-Gerrald*.
- *David Fitz-Gerrald*, who hath since confessed himself to be concerned with the rest.

Counsel appearing for the said Earl.

Counsellor *Porter*, Counsellor *Longon*, and Three Atturneys & Sollicitors. } which were all allowed.

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The INFORMATION of
Hubart Bourke Gent.

Exhibited to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of *IRELAND* as followeth.

Who ſaith,

THat on or about the laſt day of *October* 1678, I was at *Killmac Thomas* in the County of *Waterford*, in the company of one *Richard Power* Gent. and *Thomas Samſon* Gent. Seneſchal and Steward to the Earl of *Tyrone*, where after Breakfaſt, &c. The ſaid *Samſon* told me, That the Earl of *Tyrone* deſired him to pray me to come to him that night or the day following; and that his Lordſhip had ſome Concerns to confer with me about, which he the ſaid *Samſon* knew not what they were (as he told me.) I accordingly went the ſame night to the Earl his houſe at *Curroghmore* with the ſaid *Samſon*, who went into the Parlor to the ſaid Earl, and acquainted him therewith; and the ſaid *Samſon* reurning to me, told me that his Lordſhip was at Supper with Strangers, and could not ſpeak with me that night; but deſired me to come the next morning: which I accordingly did. After wellcome, &c. His Lordſhip asked me what News? I told his Lordſhip, I preſumed that he had the beſt correſpondency in that part of the Countrey, and that for my part I had none worth his Lordſhips hearing. I have (ſaith he) received Intelligence out of *France*, where I underſtand that the French are very powerful; and that *Parlez vouz Francoize* will be plentifully heard here ere long. I asked his Lordſhip what great Exploits the French King had done? Done (ſaid he) Hath done Wonders, and we may without doubt, call him *Defendor of the Faith*: He beſt deſerves it, and I am ſure the hand of God is with him. My Lord, ſaid I, a man would be apter to think, that if the French were intended that way, he would rather venture on *England* firſt, than come hither.

I have received a Letter, ſaith he, from one *Robert Power*, who ſtudies the Law at one of the Courts at *London*, That the French have a great ſtroke in *England* already; and (ſays he) before you are half a year older the French will ſubdue both *England* and *Ireland*, and little harm thereby; for they in *England* have no Faith in them: For they no ſooner grant a thing, than recall it again, juſt as they have dealt with me about the Lands of *Deaces*: but, ſaid he, before they enjoy it, *Begog* I will loſe the beſt blood in my Body. Then my Lord, ſaid I, if the French come hither, they will kill all us poor Subjects. As for that, ſaith he, I have made my Conditions for this ſide of the Countrey; and if you will joyn with me, I will put you in a ready way to get an Eſtate. I told his Lordſhip that I wanted it much, but could not tell how to come at it. With that his Lordſhip drew out of his Pocket a

great quantity of Papers roled up, and desired me to sign unto it; where upon a sudden glance I could read the Names of *Paul Strong*, *Richard* and *John Power*; and do believe there were the Names of One hundred Subscribers. I desired his Lordship to excuse me for the present, and that I was unfit to be employed in such matters: And moreover, that I never heard of any of my name that proved Traitors to their King, and I would not begin. With that his Lordship called me Coward, and drew his Sword almost out of his Scabbard to kill me; but he espied a Gentleman coming, which was Sir *John Ponsoby*'s Son. Then my Lord went to greet him, and after he had ushered him into his house, his Lordship goes himself unto the Bridge at *Curroghmore*, and called to *William Power* a Brogmaker, and desired him in all haste to call *John Daniel* unto him, to inform against me; for that I had beaten the said *Daniel* in my own defence half a year before, for which the said *Daniel* forgave me, before four Witnesses; yet the said *Daniel* was forced to inform against me. And the Earl threatned that if he did not, he should lose his Ears: On which I was disarmed, and by a *Mittimus* sent to *VVaterford* Gaol. And it being Saturday late at night, the Constable took my word to meet him at a certain place the Monday morning following. In the mean time I procured Bail, and brought them to *Curroghmore*; which Bail the Lord of *Tyrone* refused: and his Lordship also sent to several Justices of the Peace, that they should not bail me on any account: And his Lordship said further, That if I did not starve in Prison, he would hang me the next Assizes. Then going towards *Waterford* Gaol, I wrote a Letter to *VVilliam Smith* Esquire, that he would speak to my Lord in my behalf, to take Bail for me; who promised he would: but his Lordship refused to do the same, when again Bail was tendred. And then I was sent to *VVaterford* Gaol the beginning of *November*, and there remained until the 14th of *March* following, although there were five Letters written to his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, by me complaining to his Grace of the Misusage I had received, and containing what farther I had to say. Which Letters either miscarried, or were taken up at the Post Office at *VVaterford*, that the Lord Lieutenant never received them, nor no account given to his Grace of them; as his Grace was pleased to say.

The Further EXAMINATION of

Hubart Bourke.

WHo further saith, That after I was sent for by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant and Council in *March* following, and was ordered to attend the Court of the Kings Bench, and the Earl of *Tyrone* to answer, I accordingly appeared there, and was charged by the Earls People, his Attourney Mr. *Buckner*, his Sollicitor *Thomas Cowdall*, and one *Mac Carty* Deputy Clerk of the Crown for *Munster* Circuit; where the fore-mentioned persons brought an Indictment against me for Stealing of Horse out of the County of *Cleare*,

Cleare, which, as they pretended, was about three years before. Which was but a Contrivance (as it was found upon Trial) by the Judges of the Kings Bench, thereby to render me infamous; that my Evidence againſt the ſaid Earl might be of no value: where I was bound to proſecute the ſaid *Earl* at *Waterford* Aſſizes next enſuing.

Note, That this *Cowdall* was the foreſaid *Powers* man, and *Mac Carty* one who was under promiſes to diſcover all ſecrets to the Earl, that he knew as Clerk of the Crown.

But being bound to proſecute the ſaid Earl at *Waterford*, I was diſcouraged from appearing there, ſeveral people telling me that I ſhould never return from thence; in regard the ſaid Earl had procured one of his own Council to be Judge of that Aſſizes, and his own Tenants and Relations to be Tryers of the Matter, and that at his own Door and Countrey. All which ſo affrighted me, that I choſe rather to hazard my Recognizance and forfeiture of my Bonds, than to endanger my Life; which I underſtood was ſought for.

Yet notwithſtanding all Threats, I went to *Waterford* Aſſizes, but finding the ſaid Earl of *Tyrone* and his Cozen, Lieuten. *Thomas Power*, lodging and dietting in the ſame houſe with the Judges; and being told in *Waterford*, that if I opened my lips againſt the ſaid Earl of *Tyrone*, that I ſhould not ſleep that Night following, unleſs I ſlept to Eternity. Which Threat daunted me much, alſo wanting *John Mac Namara* his Aſſiſtance of his Teſtimony, which by promiſe of Reward by the ſaid Earl, he was kept from affording me.

And not having then forced Mr. *Thomas Samſon* to bring in his Teſtimony, nor Mr. *Edward Ivie* his; all which I knew could diſcover much in this matter, was the Cauſe why I left the Court and abſented my ſelf, thinking it would be better at the *Kings-Bench*, by which time thoſe Perſons before-mentioned would be brought in.

Further, In order thereunto, I wrote a Letter to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keeting*, and Sr. *Richard Reynolls*, the Judges then at *Waterford*, That I was not then prepared to proceed, the Witneſſes being not brought in, with ſuch like Excuſes; but fearing the Letter ſhould not be delivered, and not daring to go to the Judges Chamber, by reaſon of the Earls being there, and his Friends and Servants, I went into the Court; where as ſoon as I appeared, the Lord Chief Juſtice called, as I thought unto the Gaoler, to take me into Cuſtody; which affrightened me ſo, that I went away out of the Court, and ſuch a Hue and Cry was made after me, by the Gaoler, Conſtables, and Bailliffs, that I was glad to go into one Mr. *Fullars* Tann-houſe near *Waterford*, and there to ſtay all that night. In the mean time the Gaoler goes where my Horſe was, and told the people he was ordered by the Judges to ſecure my Horſe. The next morning by break of day I hired a Boat, to ferry me over to the Slip houſe in *Killkenny* ſide and County, and went into one Mr. *William VVilkenſon*'s houſe, an Innkeeper, who about four of the Clock in the afternoon told me that it was not ſafe for me to ſtay in his houſe, in regard there was ſo great a ſearch and inquiry made after me in *VVaterford*. Whereupon I took Mr. *VVilkenſon*'s advice, and went two miles on foot towards *Killkenny*; intending to go to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, who was then there, and to acquaint his Grace with the proceedings; but Major *Richards* his Coachman, one who lived with the ſaid Earl not long before, overtook me in the way, and rid before me to an Alehouſe,

where

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where he writ a Letter to the Earls Coachman *William Finch*, that he the ſaid *Finch* ſhould acquaint his Lord of my going towards *Killkenny*; which Letter I accidentally diſcovered: which cauſed me to leave the Road, and to go to a place called the *Gurteenes*, and there to ſtay four or five days, until *John Mac Namara*, who had diſcourſed the Matter with the ſaid Earl of *Tyrone*, ſent a Letter unto me; in which he ſaid that the ſaid Earl ſwore and dam'd himſelf to Eternity that he owed me no ill will at all, praying me to come to his Houſe; but being ſo afraid of my ſafety, I told him that I could not.

I then writ a Letter in few days after unto the ſaid *Mac Namara* for my Linnen and other things that were at his houſe, who returned the Meſſenger to me with a Letter without my Linnen; wherein he mentioned that he would meet me the next morning at *Waterford*, and have my things there with him, and that he had ſeveral things to impart unto me concerning the Earl of *Tyrone*, which he durſt not write: ſo meeting accordingly the ſaid *Mac Namara*, his Wife and Father-in-law *Teege Finican* at Mrs. *Jarvies* her houſe, I told him that I was ready to go on Ship-board for *England*. Never trouble your ſelf farther, ſaid *Mac Namara*, for I will get you a good Conſideration and Liberty to ſtay in *Ireland*; the aforeſaid *Finican* alſo promiſed me 20 *s.* and one Barrel of Beer he had at home, and he would lend me his Horſe to ride to his houſe to drink part thereof; the ſaid *M. Namara* telling me that I was not in caſe at preſent to take ſuch a Journey (meaning to *England*) and ſo they flattered me home with them: Which I ſtill underſtood by their Diſcourſe, that it was on the Earls accompt that they invited me.

Two days after my coming to *M. Namara* his Houſe, he went and informed the ſaid Earl therewith, and told me, coming home from the Earl of *Tyrones*, that the ſaid Earl preſented his Service unto me, and deſired me to give Major *Butler* and Mr. *John Rouan* a meeting at a certain place, in order to agree with me; which thing I imparted to Mr. *Edward Ivie*, he living in the ſame Town where the ſaid *Mac Namara* dwelled. Mr. *Ivie* deſired me to be wary, for fear they ſhould intrap me; on which I told Mr. *Ivie* I would go and ſee what they would be at: In order to which reſolution, Mr. *Mac Namara* and my ſelf, met them the ſaid Major *Butler* and *Rouan*, about four Miles from the ſaid *Mac Namara* his houſe, where Ale was ſold; and reaſoning the matter together, the ſaid Major *Butler* deſired me to deſiſt troubling the ſaid Earl of *Tyrone* any further, and the ſaid Earl would give me a good Farm and Stock, and the ſaid Earls Favour for evermore, than ever his Lordſhip ſhewed to any before; and willed me to name any Sum of Money that I pleaſed, and he the ſaid *Butler*, would be bound for the payment thereof, on Condition that I the ſaid *Bourke*, would not any more trouble the ſaid Earl; but that I would ſay, that Eſq; *Villiars*, Capt. *Nicholls*, Mr. *May*, Mr. *Bradly*, and Mr. *Peter Anthony*, were my Aſſiſtants and Promoters in this Diſcovery and Deſign againſt the ſaid Earl.

To which I anſwered, That neither of the Parties mentioned, ever ſpake a word to me concerning ſuch things in all their lives, and if they had, I would not be prompted to ſuch an unjuſt Action by any of them; and that I never charged the ſaid Earl with any thing, but what the ſaid Earl was pleaſed to tell and ſhew unto me himſelf.

After they had kept me there until it was almoſt night, then Major *Butler* ſent *Rouan* home unto the Earl of *Tyrone*, and Major *Butler*

ler came himſelf with me, and *Mc. Namara*, home to *Mc. Namara* his houſe; where the ſaid Major and my ſelf lay that night together: all which Diſcourſe of our meeting afore-mentioned, I acquainted Mr. *Ivie* with. Then I reſolved to go into *England*, but Mr. *Ivie* told me that it that it was not ſafe to go, before I had the Lord Lieutenant his Paſs. Now upon that ſaying I knew not what to do, for want of a conveniency to apply my ſelf unto the Lord Lieutenant; and alſo being afraid to go alone, I then went to *Waterford*, where I met one of the Earl of *Tyrone*'s Servants, named *John Whelen*, who told me before Mrs. *Jarvis* and her Servants, that it ſtood me inſtead to run away at the Aſſizes, for if I had ſtayed, the Judges were reſolved at leaſt to crop my Ears; and Mr. *Wilkenſon* afore-named, told me that the Judges were reſolved to take me along the Circuit with them, and to indict me at *Ennis*, and hang me if they could.

I alſo writ a Letter to the Earl of *Orrery*, which the aforeſaid *Edward Ivie* was to carry to the ſaid Earl, the ſaid *Ivie* having occaſion of his own into thoſe parts. (Which Letter the ſaid *Ivie* read before it was ſealed.) The contents of the ſaid Letter was to pray the Earl of *Orrery* to ſend for and examine the aforeſaid Mr. *Samſon*, who was then at *Toughall* (near the ſaid Earl) and to write to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, deſiring him to ſend for the ſaid Mr. *Samſon*, Mr. *Ivie*, and my ſelf; but Mr. *Ivie* being buſie in ordering his Harveſt, could not go ſo ſoon, as he intended, to the Earl of *Orrery*'s: In the mean time, when the Earl of *Tyrone* could not by Bribes or otherwiſe, prevail with me to deſiſt, he then petitioned the Lord Lieutenant againſt me, and thereupon a Purſivant was ſent to the Earl of *Tyrones* firſt, and told him that he was ordered to take his Directions for the ſecuring of me; and being taken, I ſhould be brought before the ſaid Earl firſt: And the ſaid Earl, to cloak his knowledge where I lay (as if he was ignorant of the ſame) ſent ſeveral of his Servants to ſearch after me; who all knew where I was, having often ſent unto me before; who coming into the aforeſaid *Mac Namara* his houſe about Ten or Eleven of the Clock at night, the ſaid Earls Servants apprehended me and bound me with Ropes; but when I ſaw the Purſivant, I asked him, Whether he had a Warrant? Who told me that he was but a Spectator, and they (meaning the Earls Servants) were the Officers; and withal he bad me take leave and laſt farewel of my Friends.

Then they brought me away from Mr. *Mac Namara* his houſe four miles that night, and next morning they carried me tied with Ropes (out of the way we were to go) to *Waterford*, until they came to the Croſs there; and then they went into Mr. *Guddridge* his houſe, an Innkeeper, and there ſtayed me until all the Earls Friends in the Town, and all the Officers in the Town came to ſee me in that Caſe. And then they procured a lame unſhod little Garren for me to ride on, and tied my Legs under the Horſes or Garrens Belly, and ſo carried me out of the way, thorow the Town to the other end thereof; having many Spectators: and then carried me back to the ſaid Earls Houſe at *Corroghmore* (ſo bound), where the Earl had many Friends gathered together to ſee me come in that manner; and ſo left me to the Earls pleaſure.

After they had ſtayed me at the ſaid Earls, after the manner aforeſaid, about two hours, then they carried me on the way to *Carigmeſure*; and *Thomas Power*, the Earls chief Gentleman, rid before us to

Crehanah, to Major *Butlers* Houſe, to deſire him to meet me in the way, which accordingly he did; and asked me, as if he had not known what was the matter? I anſwered him that I did not know. Said the Major to me, Can I ſpeak with you in private? I told him that there was no fit place for him to ſtay, for I was wet and dirty with riding ſo far in dirty ways without Boots with my Leggs tied. Then the ſaid *Butler* followed me to *Carigmeſure*, and brought with him *John Rouan* aforeſaid and Quarter-maſter *Ely*; the ſaid *Ely* ſaying, That he knew the reſt of the Company, but me he knew not. I anſwered him that he knew me too, if he would acknowledg it, but I was indifferent whether he would or not. I know you ſo well, ſaid *Ely*, that one rope is too little for you. Then Major *Butler* and *Rouan* fell again to the old way of corrupting me by turns, and the Major promiſed me that if I would do as he before deſired, that he would follow me next Morning to *Killkenny*, and get me rid of any further trouble; if I would take their former proffers, and accuſe the fore-named Gentlemen: and that there were a People before me at *Killkenny*, that would be very glad that theſe Gentlemen aforeſaid, ſhould be brought in to the ſaving of the Earl of *Tyrone*.

No queſtion but he knew the reſt, being all Papiſts.

But I refuſed and ſcorned their offers, notwithſtanding the great ſhame and pain they put me to. Major *Butler* then took me by the hand, and ſaid Old Friend farewel now for evermore. Then Quarter-maſter *Ely* began a Health, to the Proſperity of the Earl of *Tyrone*, and to the confounding and utter Subverſion of all his Enemies; and forced the Health to go round.

This *Ely* is the Lord Lieutenant his Quarter-maſter, and charged by the aforeſaid *Mac Namara*, in his after Examination, of being in the Plot, and to be a Major under the Earl of *Tyrone* for the French King, and confeſſed that he was a Papiſt heretofore, when queſtioned by the Lord Lieutenant upon the aforeſaid Mr. *Samſon*'s telling him before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, that he had a Crucifix about his Neck, and afterwards was committed to the Marſhal for abuſing the ſaid *Samſon*, where he continued for one week, and then returned to his Command.

The Examination which follows is Mr. *Ivie*'s, touching the knowledge he had of Mr. *Mac Namara*, which was before ſpoken of to be concerned with the Earl of *Tyrone* in the Plot; and who afterwards in his Examination confeſſeth he was to be an Officer under the ſaid Earl: who promiſed me before the ſaid Mr *Ivie*, to diſcover the ſame at the Aſſizes; but through Bribes did not appear: but managed the Earls Deſigns with me, to bribe me to deſiſt my proſecuting the ſaid Earl; and offered me large Bribes to throw the Accuſation on others. But on Mr. *Ivies* confronting him before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and petitioning the Board to have him kept from the ſaid Earl of *Tyrone*'s Friends and Agents, and from Quarter-maſter *Ely*, who furniſhed him with Money and Horſe, and promiſed him Bail on occaſion: He then being kept cloſe, according to the ſaid *Ivie*'s Petition, he then confeſſed the Truth, and diſcovered the whole Plot; as you may ſee in his Examination following Mr. *Ivie*'s.

HUBART BOURKE.

The

The EXAMINATION of Edward Ivie Gent.

Taken at ſeveral Times before the Lord Lieutenant and Council of *IRELAND*, in the beginning of *November* 1679, touching the Earl of *TYRONE*.

WHo ſaith, That about *Michaelmaſs* laſt was Twelve-month, *John Mac Namara* of the County of *Waterford* Gentleman, brought unto me *James Power* the Father, and his three Sons, *Richard*, *William*, and *James Power*; the ſaid *Mac Namara* deſiring me to take them as Tenants on the Lands of *Dunhill*, in the ſaid County of *Waterford*; which accordingly I did, the ſaid *Mac Namara* aſſuring me that they were honeſt men: who after that they had been there ſome time, I obſerved together with my Servants and Neighbours, a great recourſe to them of perſons, being private in the ſaid *Power's* houſe by day, and going away at night; having ſeveral ſtrange horſes at day, and gone away at night. I alſo obſerved the ſaid *Powers* and the aforeſaid *John Mac Namara* providing Bridles, Saddles, Swords, and other Arms.

In the mean time a Warrant was ſent from his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to apprehend the ſaid *Powers* and *Mac Namara*: The *Powers* being apprehended, made their Eſcape out of the Conſtables hands; which the Countrey took much notice of: *Mac Namara* being alſo taken, was committed to *Waterford* Gaol, and in few days bailed out; on which he returned home, and ſome days after told me, that he had made his application to the Earl of *Tyrone* to aſſiſt him in this his trouble: And finding the ſaid Earl in fear, on *Bourke's* charging him for Treaſon, ſo that he did not anſwer the ſaid *Mac Namara's* expectation; he the ſaid *Mac Namara* returned home in great paſſion, and concluded that his Father-in-law and Brother-in-law ſhould go to *Dublin* to get his Pardon; which accordingly they did, and applied themſelves to Sir *John Cole* for their Aſſiſtance: And as they told me, they met at Sir *John Cole's* the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keeting*; on which they concluded to get no Pardon; for that the Lord Chief Juſtice had promiſed to be kind to the ſaid *Mac Namara*, and would ſtand his Friend at the Aſſizes. Upon which they returned home, and acquainted the ſaid *Mac Namara* with what they had done. But the ſaid *Mac Namara* concluded himſelf not ſafe, in their not bringing his Pardon, and therefore broke out into a great paſſion, and told me that ſeeing the ſaid Earl had drawn him into ſuch dangerous Deſigns, and had now left him, he would no more look after Pardons, nor truſt no more to promiſes, but he would diſcover the whole Truth, which the Earl

of

of *Tyrone* was carrying on againſt the King ; and further ſaid , That *Bourke* was but a Fool , and knew nothing of the Plot , in compariſon of what he knew ; and that at the Aſſizes he would make a full Diſcovery thereof.

The ſaid *Mac Namara* further told me , that the ſaid Earl was privy to all the Horſes and Arms provided for the Plot , which when the ſaid *Bourke* came into the Countrey, I acquainted him with ; and thereupon the ſaid *Bourke* wrote a Letter to the Judges , wherein he mentioned , that the ſaid *Mac Namara* and others were concerned in the Plot ; and therefore he could not appear till they appeared : The ſaid *Mac Namara* hiding himſelf , until he had received an Account of Mr. *Bourk*'s Proceedings and of the return of the Letter ſent to the Judges , in order to his coming in to diſcover ; that he might be ſecured. To which purpoſe the ſaid *Mac Namara* received a Letter from a Friend of his , That *Bourke* had not yet ſpoke with the Judges , and therefore adviſed the ſaid *Mac Namara* to continue private where he was , until he heard further from him. At this time *Mac Namara* had promiſed *Bourke* to confeſs , but deſiſted on the Earls Promiſes of Rewards.

The ſaid Earl of *Tyrone* hearing of the ſaid *Mac Namara's* Intentions , ſeveral Letters was poſted after the ſaid *Mac Namara* , in order to get him to *Waterford* ; with promiſes of being prorected from all things which was lain to his Charge. Upon which promiſes the ſaid *Mac Namara* came to *Waterford*, and there was privately ſecured in the houſe of Mr. *Fitz Gerrald* a Papiſt and Merchant , and the ſame night, or the night after, was conveyed up to the Earl of *Tyrone*'s Lodgings ; where, he the ſaid *Mac Namara* told me, being before the ſaid Earl, he the ſaid Earl told him , That he little thought his Fathers Son would ſerve him ſo as to betray him ; and that if he would deſiſt diſcovering what he knew of the Plot , he the ſaid Earl would excuſe him , as to his troubles , and ſave him from appearing at the Court : and that he had ſo ordered Matters with the Judges , that the ſame Bail ſhould ſtand till the next Aſſizes without his appearing ; which accordingly was done , to the admiration of all that heard it : And aſſured him , that he the ſaid Earl , would againſt the next Aſſizes, write to or ſpeak with Mr. *Morris* (who ſaid the Earl) is my Friend and your Proſecutor, and order the Matter ſo , that againſt the next Aſſizes, he the ſaid *Mac Namara* ſhould be freed.

After the Aſſizes *Mac Namara* returned home , and *Bourke* being gone away , ſent a Letter to *Mac Namara* for his Linnen and other things left with them : ſaying in his Letter that he was going for *England*, and that the Ship was ready to ſail. *Mac Namara* knowing that it was to inform againſt the ſaid Earl , made all haſte poſſible to him ; whom as *Mac Namara* told me , the Earl ordered to ſend for *Bourke* ; to prevent his going into *England*. Upon which *Mac Namara* and his Father-in-law went to *Waterford* , where they found *Bourke* , and told him , that they had a Barrel of Beer which he muſt take part of , and Twenty Shillings in Money for him , but whether the ſaid *Bourke* had the Twenty Shillings , he beſt knows. Upon which the ſaid *Bourke* came to *Mac Namara's* houſe , of whoſe comeing he made haſte to acquaint the ſaid Earl ; and *Mac Namara* returning home , told *Bourke* that the Earl of *Tyrone* deſired to be remembred unto him ; and did aſſure him that the ſaid Earl was not angry with him : with many other kind Greetings.

And

And being my ſelf at a Chriſtening, in company of *Mac Namara*, *Bourke*, and others, the Prieſt called *Mac Namara* out, and asked him what was done as to the Buſineſs of the Earl of *Tyrone* at the Aſſizes? And ſeeing them go privately under a Bank (to Confeſſing) I asked him what they did there? *Mac Namara* told me that the Prieſt reſolved in Things he doubted of and was troubled about.

The next day the ſaid *Mac Namara* acquainted the ſaid *Bourke* from the Earl, that he had appointed Major *Butler* and *John Rouan* to treat with the ſaid *Bourke*; and that the Earl would give him a Farm and Stock, and what Money he pleaſed, if he would charge Mr. *Villiars*, Mr. *May*, Captain *Nicholls*, Mr. *Bradly*, and *Peter Anthony*, for imploying him the ſaid *Bourke*, and ſeeing him unjuſtly to accuſe the ſaid Earl; and ſo to declare that he knew nothing againſt the Earl, but charged him thorow the inſtigation of the Gentlemen aforeſaid: and that thereunto was by them ſubborned, in promiſes of great reward. Hereupon I asked the ſaid *Mac Namara* what would become of *Bourke* then if he ſhould do ſo? He anſwered that then the ſaid Earl would be in the ſame Capacity, or greater than he was before; and then no man could harm him the ſaid *Bourke*: and that the Earl would defend him from any perſon that ſhould endeavour to harm him.

After which, I talking with *Bourke* concerning the proffers made him, I adviſed him to be juſt, to which he anſwered, That he would rather die than to be unjuſt, but notwithſtanding he would meet the ſaid Gentlemen, to ſee what they would be at. *Mac Namara* alſo told me, That he would requite me, if that I would but intrap Mr. *Simſon* the Earls Steward that was; who had been privy to the Earls Concerns, and might diſcover much againſt the ſaid Earl, if not prevented.

Some days after *Mac Namara*, *Bourke*, and I met, being that morning, they went to meet the aforeſaid Major *Butler* and *Rouan*, I being with them at one *James Finican*'s houſe, I again charged *Bourke* to be juſt, and abuſe no man, but to ſpeak the truth; which accordingly he promiſed me to do. And ſo they went from me to the place appointed, where they met the ſaid *Butler* and *Rouan*; who uſed great Reaſonings to perſwade *Bourke* to charge the Gentlemen aforeſaid, but could not prevail; as *Mac Namara*, *Butler*, and *Bourke* told me at their return; who came and lay all together that night at *Mac Namara*'s houſe.

The next morning I having ſome occaſions at *Waterford*, and Major *Butler* going that way, we went together; Major *Butler* telling me that they had treated with Mr. *Bourke* about the Earl of *Tyrone*'s Buſineſs, but could not bring him to any thing; the Major wiſhing that the Earl had never been born, to intruſt ſuch a one as *Bourke* with a Secret of that importance. I then asked the ſaid Major *Butler* what he thought then would become of it? Who anſwered that he hoped yet to prevail with *Bourke* to do as before.

And then *Bourke* writ a Letter to the Earl of *Orrery*, deſiring me to carry the ſame; which I received, having buſineſs that way: In which Letter the ſaid *Bourke* mentioned the ſeveral Treaſons he had to diſcover, but the loſing his Horſe, and the danger he was in of his life, made him uncapable of waiting on the Lord Lieutenant,

and therefore prayed the Earl of *Orrery* to acquaint the Lord Lieutenant of it. Before this Letter was ſent, the Purſivant ſeized the ſaid *Bourke*, and *Mac Namara* ſeized the ſaid Letter and carried it to the Earl of *Tyrone*, who acknowledged that he received the ſame. Whereupon I went to *Nicholas Osbourne* Eſquire, one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace of the ſaid County of *Waterford*; who took part of this Examination which I have now made; and adviſed me to go to the Earl of *Orrery* to impart the whole.

Vpon the Examination before-mentioned, I adviſed Judge *Keeting*, who took part of my Examinations, that if he ſent privately and apprehended the ſaid perſons, there would be found in *Mac Namara* his Pocket, a Letter which would confirm the ſubject matter of my Examination, provided the Warrant was committed to —— the Execution of a Truſty Perſon; but inſtead thereof the Warrant was ſent to Quarter-maſter *Ely*, before-mentioned, who gave it to the Earl of *Tyrone*'s Servant; who inſtead of ſearching him, aſſiſted him, by the ſaid Earls Order, with a Horſe and Neceſſaries for his Journey to the Earls Houſe, where he had from the Earl Money and Inſtructions for the Concealing the Treaſon; with great promiſes of Rewards from the Earl and the ſaid *Ely*: which accordingly the ſaid *Mac Namara* did for ſometime do.

The INFORMATION of

John Mac Namara

Given in before the Lord Lieutenant and Council and Committees appointed for that Purpoſe.

WHo ſaith, That *William Bradly* Eſq; one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Waterford*, in the Year 1678, gave me the ſaid *Mac Namara* an Oath of Secrecy touching the Plot intended and deſigned in *Ireland*, by the Earl of *Tyrone* and the reſt of the Confederates, againſt the Kings Majeſty: At Which time he imparted to me, That the Earl of *Tyrone* had received a Commiſſion from the *French King* to be a Collonel of Horſe in the County of *Waterford*; and that he the ſaid *William Bradly*, was to be his Lieutenant Collonel, and deſired me to provide my ſelf with Horſe and Arms, and to procure as many as I could of thoſe I dare truſt;

and

and that I ſhould have a Command of being a Captain under the ſaid Earl and him.

Whereupon I did provide my ſelf, and ſpoke unto *John Folio*, *James Finicas*, and *Dennis Mac Namara*, to provide themſelves with ſuch neceſſaries as were requiſite for that purpoſe; informing them alſo that Mr. *Bradly* did impart ſuch matters unto me, and who knew that I the ſaid *Mac Namara* had imparted ſuch matters to the ſaid *John James* and *Dennis*, who afterwards did confeſs the ſame to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and before I had liberty to ſpeak with them, or they with me, I being then kept cloſe Priſoner from any one of the Kings Evidence.

The Precedent Examination I gave, when on a Petition preferred by the reſt of the Evidences, I was kept from any of the Earls Friends, and from Quarter Maſter *Ely*, who was always with me before, and not denied to be with me but on the Petition of the aforeſaid Gentlemen: Then it was ordered that I ſhould be kept cloſe and not to have any to come unto me; I was then very fearful to diſcover my mind, becauſe of the Guilt that was upon me, being concerned: Which after a Promiſe of Pardon (if I ſpake the truth) I then reſolved to diſcover ſo far as I knew, though againſt my ſelf; upon which I freely declared my mind in this following Examination.

After the aforeſaid *William Bradly* did impart to me the aforeſaid Treaſon, I met with the ſaid Earl of *Tyrone* on the Lands of *Gaveſtown* in the County of *Waterford*, with two of his men, *viz. Thomas Power* his Gentleman and *Garret Mac Teege* his Fowler, and another whoſe name is *Luke Power*; I having in company with me one *William Power* and *Bauſtice Clancy*, being then abroad hunting with my Dogs: the ſaid Earl knowing me at a diſtance, called unto me, on which I went unto him. The ſaid Earl taking me aſide from the company, asked me whether Mr. *Bradly* had imparted to me any matter of Secrecy? I replied, He had. The ſaid Earl then told me, That I muſt be very private, and diſcover it to none but thoſe I was very ſure of. After which the ſaid Earl drew a Liſt out of his pocket, and ſhewed me the Names of ſeveral perſons that were to be Superiour Officers, both in the County of *VVaterford*, County of *Corke*, County of *Keery*, County of *Limbrick*, and County of *Cleere*, which I took ſpecial notice of, and knew ſeveral of the Perſons; and amongſt the reſt, the Earl entred my name with my own Pen and Ink in the Liſt; the ſaid Earl telling me he had his Commiſſion ſent him from the French King under Hand and Seal to be a Collonel of a Regiment of Horſe in the County of *VVaterford*; and ſaid that there was hardly a County in *Ireland* (ſave one) but perſons were appointed by the French King for that purpoſe; and named in the County of *Limbricke* Collonel *Pierce Lacy*, the Lord *Brittas*, Sir *John Fitz-Gerrald*, *David Fitz-Gerrald*, and ſeveral others; and in the County of *Cleere John Mac Namara* and ſeveral others; and in the County of *Keery* Sir *Turlo Mac Mahan*, and ſeveral others; and others in the County of *Corke*: And that the ſaid Earl of *Tyrone* was to be Collonel in the County of *VVaterford*, and Mr. *Bradly* to be his Lieutenant Collonel, Quarter-Maſter *Ely* his Major, Mr. *John Butler* Senior his Captain, with the Names of ſeveral others of

This Mac Namara *is the Examinants own Name-ſake and Cozen.*

of that County which he did not read unto me. The ſaid Earl ſaying that they were to raiſe ſeveral Hundreds of Men in every County, and that the Superior Officers were to meet on purpoſe to return an exact Account of their Forces to the French King; on which the ſaid King would land many Thouſands of Men at the River *Shannon*, and as ſoon as they were landed, the next buſineſs was to go to the City of *Limbrick* with five Hundred Men, and divide them into two parts; the one party to enter the City at Candle-light, and that at ſeveral Gates, and ſuch as beſt knew the City were appointed to ſet on the Guards, and put them all to the Sword, the reſt to be hard by the City, and to enter in immediately when the Allarum was given, and the Body of the Army to draw up as faſt as they could.

This River Sanon runs many miles into the Country thorow the midſt of the fertileſt Counties in Ireland; namely, Keery, Limbrick, and Cleare, into the City of Limbrick, and will carry great Ships to the ſame from the Weſt Seas.

By which ſaid the Earl we do not queſtion, but to poſſeſs our ſelves of the City and *Kings Caſtle*, and to baniſh the *Engliſh* very ſoon; and indeed ſaid the Earl, 'tis the Providence of God to bring ſome downfall on that unjuſt King the Duke of *Ormond* and his Children, that wronged me in ſo high a Nature on the Account of *Villiars*. Therefore ſaid the Earl go home, loſe no time, but make your ſelves ready; for we know not how ſoon occaſion may require your Aſſiſtance, and ſpeak to as many Friends as you can. Which accordingly I did, and provided Arms and Horſes for that purpoſe.

After diſcovery being made hereof by *Hubart Bourke*, as you may read in his Information, who partly knew the proceedings, and having diſcovered the ſame, was bound by Recognizance to proſecute the ſaid Earl at the next Aſſizes at *Waterford*; he did for want of mine and others Teſtimonies, abſent himſelf from the Aſſizes unto which he was bound, and for other Reaſons mentioned in his Examination.

But in a ſhort time after, the Earl hearing that Mr. *Bourke* was going for *England*, to make his Application to the King and Parliament; the ſaid Earl commanded me to write unto the ſaid *Bourke*, which accordingly I did, and ſignified in my Letter, that I would very willingly ſpeak with him; but he anſwering not my Expectation, I went my ſelf to him at *Waterford*, and courted him to go along with me home unto my Houſe; which I prevailed with him to do.

I then haſtned to the ſaid Earl, and gave him an account of my proceedings, which the Earl liked very well. Whereupon he ordered Major *Butler* and *John Rouan* and my ſelf, to confer with the ſaid *Bourke*, and at the Mill of *Carygumier* we met, and according to the ſaid Earls Order, did offer the ſaid *Bourke* a Farm ſtockt, together with a Sum of Money; ſo as that he would charge Mr. *Villiars*, Captain *Nicholls*, Mr. *Bradly*, and others, with ſubborning or prompting the ſaid *Bourke* to proſecute the ſaid Earl, and that he ſhould acknowledge it, and Mr. *Bradly* aforeſaid ſhould confeſs the ſame; and that ſo *Bourke* and *Bradly* ſhould be committed Witneſſes againſt *Villiars* and *Nicholls*: Upon which the ſaid Earl would bring his Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt *Villiars* and *Nicholls* of 40000 Pounds; which thing was contrived by Mr. *Andrew Linn* and Mr. *Bradly*, the ſaid Earls Friends: Unto which the ſaid *Bourke* refuſed to conſent.

Here

Here it is to be obſerved that Mr. *Villiars* and Captain *Nichols* were at Law with the ſaid Earl, and therefore the Earl did ſuppoſe the world would ſooner believe what was lain to their Charge upon the Earls account, though falſely alledged againſt them.

Bourke not accepting the aforeſaid proffers, the Earl then petitioned the Lord Lieutenant and Council, who ſent a Summons for the ſaid *Bourke*, and brought him to *Dublin*, and being examined of ſeveral matters, He gave in his Information, and got alſo Mr. *Samſon* and Mr. *Ivie* to be ſummoned up, and to be examined, upon whoſe examination, A Summons was iſſued out againſt *Quarter* Mr. *Ely*, *John Ronan*, *Maior Butler* aforeſaid, and *Laurence Swillivant* and my ſelf; who were all ſent for to the Council Board. *Quarter* Mr. *Ely* went firſt to the Earls Houſe to have Inſtructions touching the management thereof, the Earl alſo ſent his Gentleman Mr. *Power* for me; I being then in *Waterford*, the ſaid *Power* came to me and told me, that the Earl of *Tyrone* and Quarter Mr. *Ely* ſent for me to the intent I might repair to *Doublin*, and having no horſe with me at *Waterford*, the ſaid *Power* the Earls Gentleman provided me with a horſe, on which I went with him to *Currongmore* to the Earls houſe, where I met the ſaid Earl and Quarter Mr. *Ely* together.

Upon which the ſaid Earl and Quartermaſter *Ely* took me into the Garden, and there did agree to ſend for *John Ronan*. Who came immediately, at which time the Earl and Quartermaſter *Ely* did inſtruct us what we ſhould ſay, when we came to *Dublin* before the Council; and told me the great danger, if I ſhould diſcover any thing of the matter, but proffering an Oath unto us, and finding us unwilling to ſwear what they would have us to ſwear the ſaid Earl then told us that we ſhould be abſolved by Dean *Power* his Couſin, and the reſt of the Clergy, and after inſtructing us in the Garden for a conſiderable time, the Earl gave me a horſe, and gave *John Ronan*, *Lawrence Swillivant* and my ſelf money to bear our charges to *Dublin*. And when we came there we were maintained at the Earls charge, with promiſes to get bail for me, if impriſoned: And we were there always accompanied with the Earls Friends, who promiſed me great rewards if I would conceal what I knew. I alſo had Money from Quartermaſter *Ely*, whilſt I was in the Purſivants hands, and ſeveral Maſſes were ſaid in the Country for the Earl and me, whilſt I contained from diſcovering, but ſince have excommunicated me.

This *Dean Power* is a *Papiſt*. *Dean* ſecured by the Earl.

But at length Mr. *Ivie* and Mr. *Samſon* petitioned the Lord Lieutenant and Council to have me kept cloſe Priſoner, and to keep the Earls Friends and Sollicitors from me, which accordingly was done. Now being by my ſelf and conſidering the Evil Caſe I was in, God ſo touched my Conſcience that I confeſſed the Truth.

Several other things there are relating to the *Powers*, concerning *Stealing of Horſes* and providing of Arms for the ſame purpoſe, which you will find treated of in Mr. *Ivies* Examinations and in *James Finicans*, which *Powers* were examined on Oath by Sir *John Davies* and ſince bailed out of Goal by means of Captain *Morris* the Proſecutor, who now goes armed and moſtly accompanied with the Earls Friends and Kindred.

James Finican was ſolicited by Mr. *Bradly* not to confeſs any thing againſt him the ſaid *Bradly*, for which the ſaid *Bradly* promiſed him a good reward in money, and was before the Committee, and did for ſome time continue to conceal the matter, but being kept from the ſaid *Bradly* for a Seaſon in the *Marſhals* hands, told the ſaid Marſhal that he would not be in Trouble for concealing others Treaſons, he the ſaid *Finican* deſired to be carried again before the Committee confeſſed the whole matter, ſaying that if Mr. *Bradly* were put where he was, he would confeſs the Truth too. This aſtoniſhed the ſaid *Bradly*, for as much the ſaid *Finicans* promiſe to the ſaid *Bradly* of concealing made him the ſaid *Bradly* to tell the Committee, that he would be ſaved by the ſaid *Finicans* Teſtimony.

You may obſerve alſo, that whilſt I denyed to confeſs the Truth, and to conceal the Plot, the Earls Friends got a petition writ againſt Mr. *Ivie*, to be preferred to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, *viz.* That the ſaid *Ivie* was a man of ill Fame, and a diſhoneſt man, and that he knew nothing of thoſe Treaſons, and *Briks* before mentioned, which petition they gave me to ſend unto, or deliver unto the Lord Lieut. and Council, in the mean time I being kept from them, my Conſcience forced me to confeſs the Truth; I then ſhewed the Petition unto the ſaid Mr. *Ivie*, of which they were much aſhamed, and would have denyed it, but that I juſtifyed it, and told who brought it unto me, naming Mr. *Michael Row*, the hand alſo being known. Which way I obſerved they always made uſe of to endeavour to clear themſelves, by calling in queſtion the reputation of their Accuſers.

The Examination of Thomas Sampſon, Gent. *Taken upon Oath at ſeveral times, before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and ſeveral Committees, appointed for that purpoſe.*

BEing put to his Oath, *Whether he knew any Treaſons committed by the Earl of* Tyrone, *or ever ſaw any Letters, or ever heard the Earl of* Tyrone *ſpeak any diſaffected words of the King's Majeſty or Government.*

Saith, That in *March* 1678. The Earl of *Tyrone,* my then Lord and Maſter, was Summoned up before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, upon an Information given in againſt him by one *Hubbert Bourke,* who accordingly went and commanded me to wait on the ſaid Earl; and I then believing the ſaid Earl to be abuſed by the ſaid *Bourke:* did (as in duty I thought my ſelf bound) do my utmoſt to ſerve him; and when we came to *Dublin,* to the Inn called the *Pide-horſe,* the Earl ſent me to the *Council-Chamber,* (the Council then ſitting) to Sir *John Davis,* Clerk of the Council; telling me, that Sir *John* was his great friend, and that I ſhould tell him, that the Earl was come to Town, and did earneſtly deſire to ſpeak with him, before that the Council did know that the ſaid Earl was come to Town; on which, I accordingly went to the Council-door, and ſending to Sir *John Davis,* he came forth unto me. After I had delivered my Meſſage, the ſaid Sir *John* told me, that the Council had heard that the Earl was come to Town, and that he thought it the beſt way to acquaint them with it, and that as ſoon as the Council was broke up, he would wait on the Earl, which accordingly he did, and as the ſaid Earl told me, by Order of Council confined him unto his Chamber, where the next day a Committee came to examine him, a Copy of which Examination was allowed the ſaid Earl, which Copy I had, paying for it *nine ſhillings.*

The next night after, I was preſent with Dr. *Moore* (who came into *Ireland* upon Dr. *Oate's* informing againſt him) and was thereupon apprehended and went under Bail. The ſaid *Moore* being at the Earl's houſe at *Carroughmore,* at his coming to *Ireland,* by which I knew him, and was ordered by the ſaid Earl not to keep any Papers or any ſecret from him; and upon the Dr's invitation I went with him to the *Sun* Tavern in *Nicholas-Street* in *Dublin,* where he gave me a Bottle of Wine; and entring into diſcourſe with him, he asked me, whether I had read the Earls Examination, I told him, that I had, and that it was in my Chamber, where he might alſo read it; then he asked me, whether I remembred what it was, ſaying, that by the Examination, I knew what was the Charge againſt the ſaid Earl, and being very earneſt to know what it was, I told him, that the Earl was asked, *whether he did not receive a Letter from one* Robert Power, *who ſtudied the Law at one of the* Inns of Court *at* London, *that mentioned that the* French *had a great ſtroke in* England, *and ſhortly would ſubdue both* England *and* Ireland, (or words to that purpoſe.) To which the ſaid *Moore* replied, *was there mention made of that Leetter?* I anſwered *there was,* then ſaid *Moore, we are all undone, my Lord and I too,* ſtrikeing his breaſt and being ſo amazed, lying his head on his hand that he ſpoke not one word for one quarter of an hour. Seeing

Seeing of which I, was not a little moved in my mind, and knowing the private ſittings up at night of the *Earl* and Doctor, at the *Earls* houſe at *Curroughmore*, when he firſt came over, I then concluded, there might be ſome Truth in *Bourk* his Information, and I then reſolved to obſerve matters better afterwards, and ſo continued to take notice of the *Earls* ways and Inclinations more narrowly.

Now that the Reader may the better underſtand my *Examinations* (by the way) I ſhall obſerve ſome Confrontings of the perſons in my *Examinations* ſpecified before the Committee or perſons by Authority appointed, *viz.* of the ſaid Doctor *Moor*, when I had been examined before Judge *Keeting* the chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas and delivered to him my *Examination* concerning Dr. *Moor* aforeſaid. When I came to the Chief Juſtices houſe, in a little Room by that where we walked the Chief *Juſtice* and this Dr. *Moor* were ſitting covered, and diſcourſing, as I think, together. And having charged the ſaid *Moor* as before, when I was called in, and this *Examination* read unto him, I told him the ſaid Dr. *Moor*, *That I was ſure he could not deny ſuch a poſitive Truth*, the Dr. was then ſo amazed that he could not tell what to ſay for himſelf.

On which, Judge *Keeting* ſaid, *Doctor You are Guilty.* And certainly you being a Doctor of the Civil Law can tell what to ſay for your ſelf, either to confeſs or deny the Fact, Then (ſaid he) after a pauſe, *I* will deny it; but confeſſed it, when at the Tavern with me, and when he ſet his hand to the denyal of it, his Hand did ſo ſhake, that he was hardly able to write his own Name.

Of which paſſage *I* told the Lord Lieutenant that night at Council, and *Judge Keeting* owned to his Grace in Council, that He ſaid ſo, and that he believed the ſaid *Moor* to be guilty, and when *Judg Keeting* demanded Security of the ſaid *Moor*, He told the *Judge*, that he was bound over already, on Dr. *Oates* his *I*nformation, and that alſo he was ſecurity for the *EARL* of *Tyrone*.

All this time *Bourke* was kept cloſe Priſoner, and ordered by the ſaid *Judg* to ſpeak with none, neither have Pen, Ink, nor Paper. But this *Moor* was at Liberty, and never diſarmed, or ever ſince diſarmed or queſtioned, or whether he ever gave any other Bail, I never knew or heard, but went in few days after to the Earls, and I verily do believe, that he went to ſecure the Letters; for I told Judge *Keeting* in what Cupboard of the *Earls* they were.

But to proceed in my Examination, the Earl of *Tyrone* having given in bail (of which Dr. *Moor* was one) for his appearance the next Term, the Earl then returned home to *Curroughmore*, and one *Thomas Cowdal*, (the aforeſaid *Robert Power* his man) with us. After our return the next Morning, the ſaid Earl commanded me to wait on him to *Cooleſine*, a place of the ſaid Earls, one mile from his houſe: where he privately told me, that the ſaid *Cowdal* was to be the next day, on an Inquiry at the Sheriffs Court, to Examin what Eſtate the ſaid Earl had in that County of *Waterford*; in order to ſeize it for the Earl of *Angleſey*, on the pretence of a debt due, from the ſaid, of *Tyrone*, Earl to his Father-in-Law the Earl of *Angleſey*.

I then asked the Earl of *Tyrone* what would become of me his Steward, when the Lands were made over to the Earl of *Angleſey*. To which the ſaid Earl anſwered, *That it ſhould be never the worſe for me; for what was done, was only to prevent* Bourk's *Charge and* Villiar's *Judgment, and to preſerve his Eſtate for his Son.*

To

To which I replyed, that for *Bourke* his Charge, I thought I could clear him, the ſaid *Earl* of it, to which the ſaid *Earl* anſwered, that he would give a thouſand pound on that ſcore, for as to *Villiars* his Judgment, he cared not for as much as he had found a way with Captain *Franklin*, and had witneſſes to prove it, ſo that he cared not for him, meaning the ſaid *Villiars*.

And when the *Earl* returned home to his houſe at *Curroughmore*, He delivered me a Copy of a Letter of Atturney, written by the aforeſaid *Cowdal*, commanding me to copy out the ſame in an unknown Character which I did not ordinarily uſe, which I accordingly did, and when I had ſo drawn it, the Earl gave it unto *Cowdal*, which I did, fearing the event, if I had denied the Earles Commands.

The Contents of the ſaid letter of Attorney, were *to impower the ſaid* Cowdal, *to act for the Earl of* Angleſey, *and to receive from the Sheriff the Eſtate when ſeized for the Earl of* Angleſe's *uſe by the Sheriff*.

According to which, the eſtate was ſeiſed, and by the Sheriff delivered to the ſaid *Cowdal*, to the uſe aforeſaid.

The conſideration of the foregoing Premiſes, together with his forcing me to write the aforeſaid Letter of Attorney, and the End wherefore the ſaid Earl did it, begot in me a thorough belief of the Earles diſaffection to the Goverment, and put me in the mind of many things that were done before, which I thought to have been done in paſſion, which are hereafter mentioned.

About *Chriſtmas* 1678, *William Finch* the ſaid Earles Coachman, a *Papiſt*, being at dinner with many more: upon the diſcourſe of disbanding Collonel *Mo Carty*'s Regiment, he then called the Parliament *the ſcum of the Country*, and wiſhing that the ſaid *Mo Carty* had all the Parliament Men out one by one, he ſaid, he was ſure the ſaid Collonel *would kick them about the Streets, or if he fought them he would kill them all one by one*: and I adviſing the ſaid *Finch* to talk of things he underſtood, he told me, he knew well what he ſaid, and that he meant the Commons in Parlinment aſſembled; and after dinner giving God thanks for our food, concluded ſaying, *God ſave the King*, to which the ſaid *Finch* anſwered, (farting with his mouth) *God bleſs our Church*, meaning, as I believe, the Church of *Rome*, the ſaid *Finch* being a profeſſed *Papiſt*, and that ſame day at Maſs, all which was done in the preſence of many Witneſſes.

This was Charged againſt the ſaid *Finch* before the foregoing Judges, at the Aſſizes, but never proſecuted, though I told their Lordſhip, that the ſaid *Finch* was in the houſe where they lay, waiting on the ſaid Earl his Maſter.

The Judges were Chief Juſtice *Keling* and Judge *Reynolls*.

The next day after the ſaid *Finch* ſpoke the aforementioned words, the ſaid Earl laughing at me, told me, *that the ſaid words were not Treaſon*, and did not as much as check the ſaid *Finch* for the ſame. On which, having my Bible in my hand, I ſwore the words before the ſaid Earl, telling him that if it was Treaſon, I would not be guilty of concealing of it.

Shortly after, the ſaid *Finch* laughed at me, and told me, before ſeveral Witneſſes, *that he now cared not for what he had ſaid againſt the Parliament, for that now the King had turned them out of doors*.

I alſo obſerved that the Earl was imploying one Major *Butler*, a *Papiſt*, to perſwade Mr. *Bourk* to deny his information, and to ſay that Collonel *Viliars* and others, did bribe him the ſaid *Bourk* falſly to impeach the ſaid Earl.

I farther took notice of the Earls allowing all his Papiſt Servants to go to *Maſs*; who when it was forbidden, went at midnight; and of his ſeeming diſpleaſure to them: But in the concluſion, he turned away or ſent to Priſon all his Proteſtant Servants, as long as he had any. And when I denied his Labourers to work on the Fifth of *November*, he, the ſaid Earl, commanded them to work, calling that day, *A Proteſtant Cheat*: And the day of Humiliation for our late Soveraign of Bleſſed Memory, *The Parliaments Faſt*; ſaying, that he would take the ſin upon him, if I would not keep it.

I obſerved alſo the great Concourſe of the Officers that came out of *France*, and were disbanded at his houſe: and his Papiſt Servants private receiving of Papiſts Arms, to ſecure them for their Owners, or other uſes.

And when Madam *Mortamore* was reading of *Coleman's* Tryal, and in particular the long Letter, the Earl ſaid, that what *Coleman* had done was juſt, and that if he had been in *Colemans* place, he would have done as *Coleman* did: I anſwered, that ſuppoſe I was in *Spain*, was it lawful for me to endeavour to ſubvert the Government there eſtabliſhed? To which the ſaid Earl anſwered, that it was my duty ſo to do, and that there was no Law againſt *Colemans* doing of it in *England*; or for taking away the Kings Life, for endeavouring the ſubverting the Religion, and that *Coleman* ſuffered unjuſtly. And as for *Colemans* endeavouring to Murther the King (ſaid the Earl) that was proved only by two Rogues. And here he ſhewed me a Letter, which, as I remember, came from one *Robert Power* aforeſaid, in which was inſtanced a Knight, whoſe Name I do not remember, that begged the Kings Pardon to ſpeak, who after it was granted, told the King, He verily believed that there was no *Plot*, and that the Witneſſes were two Rogues, who if encouraged, would take away all their Lives. Madam *Mortamor* having ended the reading of the Book, weeping ſaid, that ſhe was ſure that *Coleman* was a Saint in Heaven, and that all that had a hand in his Death, were or would be damn'd in Hell.

At another time the ſaid Earl being appointed by Authority to ſettle the *Militia* with the High Sheriff *William Dobbins* Eſq; and others, Mr. *Fith Gerrald* of *Waterford* ſent to him to act in it: and I my ſelf carried the Meſſage from the ſaid *Fith Gerrald* to him, telling him the ſaid Earl, that by his appearing, and ſhewing himſelf active for the King, he might again redeem the Kings Favour, and do himſelf and Servants good. To which the Earl replied, That if the *French* were at *Coole-fin*, meaning a place a mile from his houſe, he would not draw his Sword againſt them.

And at another time when he wanted Oats for his Horſes, the Earl ſaid, That he had rather want Bread for his Table, than Oats for his Horſes, not knowing how ſoon he might be called on Service. Now having denied the ſerving of his own King before, I might well wonder whom he intended to ſerve, having made ſuch Great Proviſion of Horſes.

And afterwards when perſwaded to go and meet the Sheriff about the *Militia*, he went to a place called the *Three Miles Bridge* in the County of *Waterford*, where the meeting was appointed; but juſt met them and made haſte back, and diſheartned thoſe he met from going; and jeared at the Troop, calling it the *Buttermilk-Troop*, ſaying that his *Great Horſe* would beat a Troop of them. At his return ſeveral of the Officers that came out of *France* were come to the ſaid Earl's Houſe, where he met them.

And at another time having had ſome Trial gone againſt him in the Courts at *Dublin*; and receiving a Letter from his Attorney or Sollicitor, of ſomething which the King had done concerning it in *England*, he fell into a great Paſſion againſt the King, and ſaid, That if the King was pulled out of his Throne, he would not draw his Sword to defend him.

And upon getting one *Owen Whelan* an Old Tory, and making him his Sergeant or Bayliff, I telling him that the Country would take notice of it, he wiſhed that he had ten thouſand ſuch Torys, for there is a time coming, ſaid he, that I could make uſe of them.

Obſerving all thoſe things, it made me uſe all poſſible means to get my ſelf free from the ſaid Earl's Service; and in order thereunto got one Mr. *Power* of *Claſmore*, being the Earl's Kinſman, to ſpeak to the Earl; who was thereupon appointed to audit my Accompts, which accordingly he did. After which they uſed all means and endeavours to take away my good Name or Life, *viz. Garret M. Teege* alias *Wall*, the Earls Fowler, who threatned my life, lying in wait for me with one of the Earls beſt Guns, (as he hath confeſſed, And at a Fair at *Clonagan* he lent one *Martha M. Shehan* a Knife, which the ſaid *Shehan* had ready to kill me withal, had not one eſpying of it prevented him by taking the Knife from him, as he was giving the Stab, and ſecured it. Hereupon I acquainted the Earl therewith, who deſired to ſee the Knife, and taking it into his hands, broke it, and then bid me to proſecute the Offenders.

At the ſame time the aforeſaid *Owen Whelan* the Old Tory, and others lay in wait for me with Clubs, which was alſo diſcovered, and prevented by my preſenting a Piſtol at them, and ſo made my eſcape from them.

Alſo *John Power*, who, as the Servants told me, killed the Lord *Mohun*, threatned my Life: he was carried to *Dublin* in the Earls Coach, and there kept private at the Earls Charge.

Lieutenant *Thomas Power* the Earl's Kinſman, now of Captain *Congroſe*'s Company, alſo threatned my life at the Aſſizes in the Judges Chamber. He alſo got me to be ſued by one *Porter*, a Papiſt, for Wine, which the ſaid Earl had many years before I came unto him; the ſaid *Power* wiſhing that he had broke my Neck when he laſt met me, for then, ſaid he, you would not have been an Informer now. This was after I denied the Earl's Man to appear for the Ear againſt the aforeſaid Mr. *Bourke*. And having had Warrants from *William Bradly*, Eſq; againſt all the aforeſaid Perſons, got by the Earls pretended leave to me; yet afterwards they were all ſecured from Juſtice by the ſaid Earl. Of which I acquainted the Judges of the Aſſizes, but they gave me no Warrant againſt the ſaid Perſons; but afterwards acquainting the Lord Chief Juſtice *Booth* therewith, he gave his Warrant againſt them; but it could not be ſerved, the Offenders being all ſecured from Juſtice by the ſaid Earl in his own houſe or lands.

Madam *Mortamore* telling me, That if I proſecuted them, eſpecially the *Powers*, that I ſhould loſe my life, and no body know what was become of me, being a ſtranger in the Country

And when Mr. *Bourke* was to proſecute the ſaid Earl at the Aſſizes at *Waterford*, *Auguſt* 14. 1679. fear cauſing him not to appear, *Thomas Power*, the Earls Gentleman came to me and told me, that the Earl would have me to appear for him before the Judges; and that if I would ſo appear for him the Earl would be clear'd: *Bourke* being gone with promiſes of Reward, if I would

would ſo appear, which I refuſing to do, the ſaid *Power* parted from me in a threatning manner, and afterwards at Mr. *Bradlys* was followed by *Finch* aforeſaid and others.

The ſame night Mr. *Dobbins* the High Sheriff was ſent by the Judges for me to come to them to their Chamber, which I accordingly did, at which time the Judges told me, that the aforeſaid *Bourke* was gone, and had ſent them a Letter, wherein he mentioned, that fear and want of his Evidence, made him to abſcond, or words to that purpoſe. Then the Judges ſent for Mr. *Mo Cartee* the Deputy Clerk of the Crown, and for *Bourk's* Information, who brought it, and read it unto me before the Judges, and hearing them read, I told the Judges, that as for part of the information, as it was read unto me, I thought the Earl not guilty; but as to *Power's* Letter, I refuſed to anſwer thereto, and the reaſon I anſwered ſo, was, becauſe I was not on my Oath, and therefore conſidering the danger I was in, being ſo threatned, as before, and ſeeing the Judges and the ſaid Earl, lodging and eating together, and the Earles ſervants at the Judges door, as if they had been keepers of the door, cauſed me then to confeſs nothing againſt the Earl, of what I knew.

The Judges commended me for a very honeſt man, as they told me that they heard I was, and therefore, *Bourke* being gone, if I would vouch for the Earl, that he was not concerned in any thing that he was charged, the ſaid Judges ſaid that on my bare averring it, the ſaid Earl would be acquitted, I then complained much againſt the Earles Servants; eſpecially, againſt the aforeſaid *Finch*, (who was then in the houſe) and ſo I left the Judges; who ſent for me a ſecond time, and Judge *Keeling* asked me; *whether I had any Treaſons, or knew any thing of the Earles diſaffection to the King, to inform them withal*; I being ſilent they concluded I had, and therefore commanded me to bring the ſame in writing, to them the next morning, which accordingly, I promiſed them to do. But having acquainted the Judges of the ſaid *Finch*, as you may read before, and of his being in the Town, and he not being apprehended; and being in the Judges own Chamber, where they dined with the Earl, ſolicited and threatned by *Mr. Shortnal*, the Earles pretended Chaplain, and menac'd and threatned, as before, by the aforeſaid Lieutenant *Thomas Power*, in the Judges Chamber; and in open Court by *William Buckner*, the Earles Attorney, before the Judges; and knowing the great Correſpondency there was betwixt the Earl and the Chief Juſtice *Keeling*; and the great dealings there had been betwixt Judge *Reinolls* and him, the Earl often telling his great joy when Mr. *Keeling* was made Chief Juſtice, ſaying, when the aforeſaid *Cowdal* brought him the news thereof, that now *he*, the ſaid Earl, *neither feared the Lord Lieutenant, nor Lord Chancelour his enemie*, and that *he cared not now where he was tryed*, having before often ſaid, that *he could not be forced to* England *to be tryed, and that in* Ireland *they could not, without calling a Parliament.*

The conſideraton whereof, and the fear I was in to deal with ſo potent a perſon, made me not to appear according to my promiſe, the next Morning, to give in my teſtimony; but I went into the County of *Cark* to adviſe with the Earl of *Orrery*, whom I knew would adviſe me, whoſe ſickneſs hindred my procedure, until I was ſent for by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and being there ſeveral times examined, and by ſeveral Councils and Committees, that our genuine ſence might be taken, and for that prevention of all miſtakes, Mr. *Bourke*, *Mr. Ivy* and my ſelf, gave in thoſe forementioned Examinations.

In

In which I alſo acquainted the Lord *Lieutenant* and *Council* that one *Lawrence Swillivan*, a *Papiſt*, left with the Earl by a Prieſt, and afterwards made the Earles Butler, was in *March* 1678, allowed to go, or was ſent, into the County of *Kery*, under pretence of ſeeing his friends there, who went his journey thither as the Earl went firſt to *Dublin*, after he the ſaid Earl was impeached by *Bourke*. After his return I heard him talk much of Sir *John Fitz Gerald* and others, in the County of *Limbrick*, and telling me how much he was made by the ſaid Gentlemen, whom I after ſaw taxed for like Treaſon by *Mr. David Fitz Gerald*, and obſerving alſo the return of the Earl from *Dublin*, and he from his journey the ſame time, and the Earles reproving him with a kick before me, and withal, giving him a wink, and went into private together a conſiderable time, by which I ſaw that the Earles anger was but pretended to him.

Upon which the ſaid *Swillivant* being examined by the Biſhop of *Meath* and Sir *John Davis* a Committee, at which time Sir *John Davis* read my Examination or Information to him, before me who was appointed to confront him; he confeſſed he were with the Gentleman Sir *John Fith Gerrald* and ſome of them accuſed, who made much of him; but the ſaid Sir *John Davis* ſo much threatned me and upheld the ſaid *Swillivant*, that they made nothing of it, always obſerving that Sir *John Davis* had more care to examine or to intrap us, then to intrap the Impeached; elſe they might have ſent and examined the Earls Cupboard where his Letters lay, which would put all things out of diſpute, as I told Judge *Keeting* and Sir *John Davis*, and fully ſatisfied them whether our Teſtimony was true or no.

All theſe precedent Examinations and Informations together with three more, *viz. Dennis Mac Nemara*, *John Foley*, and *James Finican*, all agreeing in their Evidence with thoſe Examinations & Informations, notwithſtanding the one did not know what the other had confeſſed or declared. All which Examinations and Informations being delivered to the Lord *Lieutenant* and *Council*, we were all bound to appear at *Waterford* Aſſizes, to proſecute the ſaid Earl of *Tyron*: Where we accordingly went, having firſt petitioned the Lord *Lieutenant* and *Council* that none of the Earls Kindred, Papiſt, or Tenants ſhould be of the Jury: Acquainting his Grace, that if they were not exempted from being of the Jury, it was in vain for any of the Kings Evidence to appear there: Which Petition the Lord *Lieutenant* told us was granted; but when we came to the Aſſizes, we found it denied by the Judges: and the Juries Proceeding were ſuch as made the Evidence complain, ſome unto the Kings Majeſty, and others to the Lord Lieutenant and Council.

Upon which *Thomas Samſon*, one of the Examinants was commanded by the Lord Lieutenant to deliver his knowledge in writing into the Council of the Proceedings againſt the ſaid Earl at the Aſſizes: Which he accordingly did in the following Examination. On which the Lord Lieutenant and Council, telling the ſaid *Samſon*, the ſaid Examination was to be ſent to the Kings Majeſty. And to vindicate my Reputation, the Lord Lieutenant and Council was pleaſed to give me leave to come for *England*, and gave me their Licenſe for the ſame.

THE

The Examination of Thomas Samſon *Gent. taken before the Lord Lieutenant and Council of* Ireland *the* 14. *of* May 1680, *by the Lord Lieutenants ſpecial Command, about the Tryal of the Earl of* Tyrone, *and* William Bradley *Eſq; at* VVaterford *Aſſizes, and the Juries Proceedings therein.*

WHo ſaith, That according to my Recognizance I went to the ſaid Aſſizes on the 10. of *March* laſt paſt; the then going Judges being Sir *Richard Reynolls* and Sir *William Davis*.

The next morning after my arrival there, I waited on them in their Chamber to receive their Commands. I then told Judge *Reynolls*, that I had ſometime before petitioned the *Lord Lieutenant* and *Council*, That no Papiſts, Tenants, or Kindred ſhould be of the Jury: and that his Grace told me, that my Petition was anſwered, and that he would give the going Judges Inſtructions therein.

To which Judge *Reynolls* replied, That all the Judges had given their Opinion, that it was contrary to Law, that Papiſts ſhould be exempted of being of the Jury. I then anſwered, that I was content with what my Superiours thought fit.

Judge *Reynolls* then told me I might have a Councel allowed me, I told him, I deſired it in regard it was for the King, and by reaſon I was a ſtranger to ſuch Proceedings: Upon which I made choice of Counſellor *Becket*, but Judge *Davis* told me that he was not acquainted with Crown Proceedings, and therefore ſaid, they would allow me Counſellor *Pine*; and that they would give me a Note to him; but they went to Church, and gave me no note at all. I then went to enquire for Councellor *Pine*, but found that he was not in, or near the Town.

Judge *Reynolls* alſo told me, That the Earl was to be indicted for High Treaſon, and that Mr. *Bradley* was to be indicted with him on the ſame Bill.

I then replyed, that I much wondred at it, in regard that the Witneſſes againſt the one, were not againſt the other.

And that I thought Mr. *Bradley* might, if well handled, and indicted aſunder, be a material Witneſs for the King; but Judge *Reynolls* then anſwered, it was ſo ordered above: I then ſaid, I was content with what Authority commanded. Upon which the Judges went to Church, from whence they returned to the Court, and after the Ceremony of the Court uſed, *&c.*

The Grand Jury was called: Counſellor *Porter*, a Papiſt, ſaid, My Lord, there is a Peer of the Nation in queſtion, and therefore he prayed leave to appear for him. I anſwered, That there were three Nations in the Caſe, and that the Kings Witneſs had rather need of Counſel: Yet the Judges allowed Counſellor *Porter* to ſpeak, and Counſellor *Longan*, a Papiſt alſo; who ſaid, My Lord, I am for the Impeached: And they prayed leave to except againſt ſome of the Jury, which was againſt none but Proteſtants.

The two Counſels together with three Attorneys appeared for the Earl, the Kings Evidence being not allowed one: and preſſing for a Counſel, Judge

Reynolls anſwered me, he would be our Counſel; which I took as ſpoken in deriſion.

Hereupon I deſired to object againſt Tenants and Kindred of the Earl's, Papiſts being before allowed; and in particular againſt *Paul Sherlock*, a Tenant, and *Peirce Welch* Gent. a Kinſman of the Earl, and others, who upon their bare denying themſelves Tenants or Kindred, were admitted Jurors, and ſworn; whereas they were both either Tenants or Kindred. After Dinner I attended the Judges again in their Chamber, who ſwore me and the other Witneſſes, commanding us to attend the Grand Jury; which we accordingly did, waiting in a Chamber next the Grand-Jury Chamber; and *Hubbart Bourke* one of the Evidences, went to the Jury, and intreated Admittance, and deſired to be heard, as he told me and the reſt of the Witneſſes. But the Jury told him, that they had his Examinations already, and that they had no buſineſs with any of us; for that they were ordered to hear no new Matters: To which I anſwered, That I was ſworn to attend the Jury, and therefore would have Admittance.

Capt. *Grant* always meeting the Evidence at the Door, and telling them that they had no buſineſs with us, which was unknown to ſome of the Jury.

Whereupon I went three times to the Grand-Jury-Door, and being earneſt, I was admitted in; Capt. *Grant* and Mr. *Carew* asked me, Whether I had any new Treaſons to inform the Jury of, other than what were delivered in before the Lord Lieutenant and Council in my Examinations? and told me, if I had, they were ordered not to hear (or Words to that purpoſe;) I told them, that I had no new matter but what had been before the Lord Lieutenant and Council; but I deſired to have my Examinations read unto me, to ſee if they were all there, or if need required, that I might explain the ſame, or words to that purpoſe.

On which, they read one of my Examinations unto me, whereby I found all my Examinations were not there; or at leaſt read unto me, of which I informed the Jury.

But Mr. *Welch*, Capt. *Grant*, and Mr. *Carew* preſſed not to have me heard; on which, I told them, that ſome of them were fitter to be on an Examination, than on that Jury; on which they were ſilent.

And the Foreman acknowledged before the Committe of the Council appointed to examine them, that they received but Nine Examinations; of which he gave me an Account in writing, and that I told them of ſeveral things that were not in thoſe Examinations.

Sir *John Davis* wondering where the fault lay, that all the Examinations had not been delivered to the Jury, being not the one half of the Examinations taken before the Lord Lieutenant and Councel, and alſo of the leaſt value, the next day, being in the Judges Chamber, there came in Capt. *Grant* and Major *Richard*, two of the Jury, who told Judge *Reynolls*, that the Bill againſt the ſaid Earl, was found *Ignoramus*.

Whereupon Judge *Reynolls* asked Maj. *Richard*, whether they all agreed to it? He anſwered, That 7 were for finding the Bill, and 10 againſt it, and ſo they were out-voted.

Capt. *Grant* ſaying that they found the Matter Charged againſt the ſaid Earl High Treaſon, but they invalidated the Teſtimony of the Witneſſes, and that was the reaſon why they did not find the Bill. But being asked, Whether he knew or heard of any evil Report of me? he denied that ever he did. And not long before, Capt. *Grant*, and they that were againſt finding the Bill, gave a Teſtimony under all their hands for one of the Evidence's Honeſty, which is ready to be produced; it being at a time when he appeared for the Earl, and alſo promiſed him Bribes if he would not confeſs. And when three of the Jury that were for finding the Bill, and three that were againſt it, were ſummon'd before the Councel, the Foreman ſaid, That the nine Examinations in their hands were ſufficient for any to find the Bill; but he was ſure that if there were as many more, and as many more Witneſſes, yet they that were againſt it, would not have conſented to the finding of it.

But that which I further obſerved, was, That after the Evidence were ſome of them denied Allowance to the Jury, being told, that they had Evidence enough before them; on which the Evidence left attending, and were gone: They then pretended that they ſent for them, and not finding them, informed the Judges, that they would have heard them, but could not find them: I deſired that Mr. *Mac Nemara* might be examined to this; but was not when I came away.

The next day, being on my Duty, attending the Court, the Bill was brought in *Ignoramus*; on which I told the Judges, that I obſerved but juſt before, a Bill was found againſt a Perſon for pulling a poor Fellow out of a Smoky Cabben, for which a Fine of 4 *d.* was impoſed.

But

But the King (ſaid I) had hard meaſure that a Bill ſhould not be found againſt a perſon for denying to be aſſiſtant to him if he were pulled out of his Throne, with other Crimes ſworn againſt him. And therefore I prayed the Judges that the Jury might be ſent for and poled, and that they might anſwer one by one, which were for finding the Bill, and which againſt it. And that inquiry might be made of the perſons that were of moſt value as to the Kings Intereſt, and proteſtant Religion, they that voted for finding the Bill, or they that voted againſt it.

On which the Judges ſent for the Jury, and had them called over one by one, and no queſtion was put to them, but *whether they were all agreed?* To which the Foreman anſwered, That according to the way they uſually uſed in Juries (that is) by Poles or moſt Voices they were agreed, but no otherwiſe: But if it were according to law, they left that to the Judges; and ſo the Bill was received *Ignoramus*.

I alſo told the Judges in open Court, That one *John Winſton*, the Earl of *Tyrone's* Seneſchal, and the laſt Subſheriff of whom I had informed the Lord Lieutenant and Council, That what private concernes came to the ſaid Sheriffs hands, the ſaid Earl ſhould be firſt acquainted therewith.

On which his Grace ordered in Council, that he ſhould be no more Subſheriff: yet as ſoon as another High Sheriff was choſen, the ſaid *Winſton* deſired to be Subſheriff; and in order thereunto offered the High Sheriff, That if he would admit of him the ſaid *Winſton* to be Subſheriff, and let the Pannel of the Old Sheriff ſtand, the aforeſaid Counſellor *Porter* ſhould give him Counſel all the Year for nothing: And that Mr. *Andrew Lynn*, and the late High Sheriff ſhould be his Friend for ever: Of which I offered the Judges Proof in Court, Witneſſes being there ready to atteſt it: But the Judges took no notice of it.

There was likewiſe brought to the Judges by Maj. *Rickards*, an accuſation of one *Francis Hatchet* againſt the ſaid Earl, for that the ſaid Earl would have imployed him to make Pikeſtaves and Holbard-ſtaves, and that the ſaid Earl ſhewed him heads to put thereon; of which the Judges commanded me to give in writing what I knew of the ſame; which accordingly I did, and was ſworn unto it, but was ordered by the Judges, not to ſpeak with the ſaid *Hatchet*. I then told the Judges, that I ſcorned to do any thing under hand: The the ſaid *Hatchet* was ordered to be examined by Major *Richards*, who when he was examined again, minced his Teſtimony, from what he had ſaid before, to the ſaid Major *Richards*, alledging, that he dare not ſpeak more for fear of his life, or firing his houſe. When Major *Richards* was examined to this by the Committee appointed therefore, Sir *John Davis* being one of the then Committee, ſaid, he wondred that this Examination ſhould not be delivered to the Lord Lieutenant and Council by Judge *Reinolls*, who received it, in asmuch as he thought it one of the moſt material things that came in againſt the ſaid Earl, of which, I being thereunto, required a Copy I gave to the Council of which things the Earl was not accuſed of before; but for fear he ſhould be the workman that was to make the aforeſaid ſtaves with the ſaid *Hatchet*, (but could not by reaſon none of the Earles Timber would not make them) did give a Note under his Hand and Seal, that the Earl did not intend them for any plotting againſt the King, but for his own uſe. And when I went to Judge *Reinolls* his Chamber, to take my leave of him, I was an hour with him in private, before Judge *Davis* came to him, this I did auer, notwithſtanding Judge *Davis* did acquaint his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, that they agreed when they firſt came the Circuit, not to be aſunder when any of us (meaning the Kings Evidence) were before them.

They told the Lord Lieutenant ſo when I confronted the Judges at the Council with this following Diſcourſe, and about the Proceedings at the Aſſizes.

I alſo told Judge *Reinolls*, when I was at his Chamber to take my leave of him, that Sir *Thomas Osborn* one of the Jury ſaid, that had the like Evidence, Againſt his father as againſt the Earl, he would have found the Bill, which he did not deny when examined before the Committee.

Judge *Reynolls* then told me that the Earl had better given a 1000 *l.* than that the Bill ſhould have been brought in *ignoramus*.

And when I told Judge *Reinolls* that Mr. *Bradley* who was joyned in the ſame Bill with the Earl, would have confeſſed what he knew, and gave a great diſcovery to the thing.

Judge *Reinolls* anſwered, that if he had confeſſed any thing, he would have hanged him as round as a *Fuglers Box*.

And

And I moſt humbly acquainted the *Lord Lieutenant*, that the Bill being not found againſt the Earl, moſt men looked upon us as ruined, who were the Witneſſes for His Majeſty, and they that can act moſt againſt us, account themſelves moſt happy.

Many perſons having ſaid from the firſt, that if we diſcovered any thing, we were ruined in regard all the great Ones of the Nation would be againſt us.

And on inquiry, it will be proved that ſeven of the ten of the Jury that found the Bill *ignoramus*, were Kindred, Tenants and friends of the Earles prepared for the purpoſe,

One of them allyed to Mr. *Bradley*, was brought out of another County to make a body in the County of *Waterford*.

And as to ſeveral preparations made in Coffee Houſes to aſperſe the Kings Evidence, I am ready to make out the perſons whom, the time when, and the places where.

The Copy of the JURORS Names.

Theſe were for finding the Bill.	*Theſe for not finding the Bill.*
William Bolton *Ar.*	Jeſpr. Grant, *Eſq;*
Andrew Rickard, *Ar.*	Pierce Welch, *Eſq;*
Thomas Osbourne, *Kt.*	Thomas Kneal, *Gent.*
John Morris, *Gent.*	Robert Cooke, *Eſq;*
Robert Whitley, *Gent.*	Robert Carew, *Gent.*
John Stevens, *Gent.*	Michael Carew, *Gent.*
Henry Jaques, *Gent.*	Roger Carew, *Gent.*
	Paul Sherlocke, *Gent.*
	James Oldfield, *Gent.*
	Alphon O Bryan, *Gent.*

Several Queries touching the Earl of Tyrone's *and Mr.* Bradley's *Tryals.*

WHether all the Examinations taken againſt the ſaid Perſons, or any of them, before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, on which the Lord Lieutenant and Council, declared the ſaid Earl's to be High Treaſon, ſhould not have been delivered to the Jury.

2 Whether the Evidence for the King ought not to be heard by the Jury, when ſworn thereunto.

3. Whether the Kings Witneſſes ought not to have one Counſel, as well as the Accuſed five Counſels and Attorneys.

4 Whether the Bill could be found *Ignoramus*, twelve not agreeing thereunto.

5. Whether all thoſe Letters mentioned in the Examinations ſhould not be ſearched for, when deſired by the Evidences, to ſtrengthen the Evidence, and told the place where they might be found.

6. Whether the ſame perſons were not fit Evidences for the King on their Oaths, when proffered to clear the Accuſed on their bare Word.

7. Whether all that was charged ſhould not be examined and diſarmed.

8. Whether a Perſon accuſed for ſeveral Treaſons, on Tryal of ſome, can be cleared of all, meaning when all Examinations and Witneſſes were not heard, or known of by the Jury, *&c.*

The Account and Vindication of the above-mentioned Mr. Hubbart Bourke *his Perſon and Family.*

LEſt the unworthineſs of my Perſon, and ſmalneſs of my Fortune, together with the many Lies and Falſhoods which do ordinarily attend ſuch as come on the Stage, wherein great perſons are concerned, thereby to weaken or invalidate their Teſtimony, (the accuſed having little elſe to excuſe their fact, as will evidently appear in Mr. *Sampſons* Examination, and his Confronting the Jury) for fear, I ſay, leſt the one or the other ſhould leſſen the circumſpection or care of all Proteſtants, to avoid that fire, which through the warning of Dr. *Oates* and others, hath yet been ſuppreſſed, and which without care may yet break forth into a greater flame; we have therefore apart at the end of all our Examinations annexed a ſhort excuſe for our preſumption, and alſo given a brief deſcription of our ſelves.

As to my birth, I was born in *Tomound*, Son to *Edmond Bourke*, a man of honeſt life, though not the richeſt of his name. I had my Breeding and Education in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, in the Romiſh Religion, and alſo under an Atturney, which employ ſince I have been at my own diſpoſe, hath maintained me, by keeping of Courts in the Country, and acting as an Atturney in the ſame. And whereas it hath been generally ſaid by ſome, who make it their buſineſs to invalidate my Teſtimonie, out of love to the Impeached, that the reaſon why I informed againſt the Earl of *Tyrone*, is, for that he ſent me to Goal for great Miſdemeanours; what cauſe he had of ſending me to Goal, did appear before the Judges of the Aſſizes to be very unjuſt, there being nothing at the Aſſizes laid to my Charge, or on the Indictment proved; but I hereby declare, that my being in Goal, together with the miſcarriage of my Letters ſent to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, was the only reaſon why I did not diſcover the things contained in my Examination ſooner; and that the diſcharge of my Conſcience to God, and Allegiance to my King, was the only motive thereunto. And to make it more evident, ſeeing the evil of my former Religion, and being convinced in my Conſcience that no ſound Religion can be maintained by the effuſion of innocent blood, diſobedience to Superiours, and ſubverting of Government; I therefore have before his Grace the Lord Primate and Chancellour of *Ireland*, and hereby do declare to all others, my ſelf to be of the Reformed Church of *England*, and by Gods aſſiſtance do intend to live and die in the ſame; and I deſire all perſons to conſider, for what I leave my Friends and Relations, and Name-ſakes, denying my ſelf ſuch great proffers and advantages, as by my Information you may ſee I have refuſed. And I do hereby further declare, in the preſence of Almighty God, that I never directlie or indirectlie received any Sum or Sums of Money, or to the value of one Meals Meat, or ever in the leaſt expect ſo to do, from any of the Gentlemen on whom I was deſired to charge that I ſhould be by them hired to Impeach the ſaid Earl, and then I ſhould have ſuch large Rewards. If the world will but conſider the great hardſhips I have lain under, to be impriſoned ſo long time, in a Countrey where I have no Friends, or at leaſt, that dared to appear for me, and on ſo unjuſt a cauſe as the Judges and Jury were ſenſible it was, when I by them was acquitted;

I know they will conclude I had very hard meaſure. And when I was ſent for to give my Teſtimony for the King, being then but one ſingle Teſtimony that appeared, and had onely Truth and Juſtice to ſtand by me, I was by the malice of the Sheriff, or Sub-Sheriff, bound with cords under the Horſes belly, contrary to the Warrant ſent for me by the Lord Lieutenant and Councel; and after I was brought to *Dublin*, I was falſely Indicted for horſe-ſtealing, by the Earl of *Tyrones* Atturney, and by the Judges of the Kings-Bench Acquitted; and when I was bound over to *Waterford* to proſecute the ſaid Earl, was therefrom afrighted by Menaces and Threatnings, and afterwards made a ſpectacle of Contempt, being carried about with my legs tyed in an egregious manner, by the Earls ſervants, under a falſe pretence of the Lord Lieutenants Warrant, who ſaid he granted no ſuch Warrant. And when I deſired that Mr. *Sampſon* and Mr. *Ivie* might be ſent for, knowing that Mr. *Ivie* could, and believing that Mr. *Sampſon* muſt of neceſſity know of the Treaſon, when they came up I was ordered to have neither Pen, Ink, nor Paper, nor to ſpeak with any out of the Purſivants ſight and hearing, until they were fully examined apart; notwithſtanding all perſons that were ſent for on our charging them, were never kept aſunder, but one left to inform the other, until we acquainted the Lord Lieutenant and Council therewith. Conſidering the premiſes, I do deſire all good Chriſtians to be ſparing in their judging of me for what I have done, God of his mercy having raiſed me up (with others) to make a diſcovery of what in probability might have inflamed the whole Nation: and let not the performance of my duty in diſcovering, though the preſent danger ſeem to be ſilenc'd, be any diſreputation to the Diſcoverer, who is ready to ſerve God, his King and Country, to the utmoſt of his power.

Hubbart Bourke.

An Account of Mr. Macnemarrah.

NOw to follow the ſame method which the other Evidence hath done before, being ſo very well known in the Countrie both by name and living, I ſhall therefore trouble my ſelf the leſs, and onely tell you, that I am of the *Macnemarrahs* of *Cracolo*, and was for many years a Proteſtant, and never a Papiſt but ſince I married into a Popiſh Family in the County of *Waterford*, and have lived there ſome years paſt; and having never ſince I lived there been excluded from being of the Grand or Pettie Jurie of every Aſſizes, and all along been of good Credit with the beſt of the Countrie; often employed in publick Concerns, and a Receiver of the Kings Revenue of Hearth-money in ſeveral Counties; which Office I have faithfully and honeſtly diſcharged: ſo that I defie any man to charge me to the contrarie, being at moſt References or Countrie-concerns made uſe of, either publick or private.

And when the Powers mentioned in Mr. *Ivie*'s Examination, who was concerned with me in that Plot, were apprehended by a Lieutenant's Warrant (who after they were apprehended fled from Juſtice) I was alſo apprehended, and gave Bail, but kept from trial by the Earls intereſt with the Proſecutors. At which time many of the Jurie and other Gentlemen gave a Certificate of my good behaviour, and ſpoke for me in open Court, though now they are againſt me, and would invalidate my Teſti-

Teſtimonie, for my diſcovering the truth concerning the ſaid Earl, and for my diſcharging my Allegiance; which if I had not done, it might have proved of ill conſequence to his Majeſties intereſt: they alſo promiſing me Safetie and Bribes if I would not diſcover. And whereas it may be objected the ſmalneſs of my intereſt in the Countrie, it is well known, that not one man in the Countrie had the like intereſt amongſt the ordinarie ſort: and I could have raiſed as many men as one of a great deal more ſubſtance; which was the occaſion of my being drawn into this evil Contrivance, which through Gods providence was prevented, and by my Confeſſion (though I was long kept from it by the Earl's and Mr. *Ely*'s promiſes of reward and preferment) may become of great uſe to the King and Countrie; which time may diſcover, although at preſent the Prieſt excommunicates me, and the voices of evil Confederates and their Allies are open againſt me. And I do declare, that my Confeſſion was got from me not onely through fear, but out of love I had to that Religion I had formerly profeſſed, which was got ſo near my heart: That bloud which I muſt have been guiltie of, my Conſcience would not ſuffer me to ſhed; nor would I leave that Allegiance which was due to my gracious Soveraign. And I do bleſs God for my Return from that helliſh bloudie Plot, and do pray the Readers favourable Conſtruction of him that is, *&c.* a devoted Servant to the publick good of King and Kingdom,

John Macnemarrah.

The Vindication of Edward Ivie *Gent.*

BEing of no long reſidence in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, I ſhall ſpeak but little of my ſelf. My Relations lived in the Counties of *Devon*, *Wilts*, and *Somerſetſhire* in *England*, being all very reſponſible men; and I lived moſt of my time in *Somerſetſhire*, in a Town called *Winecanton*, and was in the late Wars a great ſufferer for his Majeſtie, both in Bodie and Eſtate; and ſince ever readie to ſerve his Majeſtie on all occaſions, eſpecially in times of greateſt danger, as in Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*'s Engagement, in which I was an Actor, and for which I was forced to abſcond; and never was counted otherwiſe but a perſon whoſe Teſtimonie was fit to be taken, both Publick and Private.

Neither do I believe but the Earl of *Tyrone* would look upon me under that Character, if I had been a Witneſs for him; elſe he would never have endeavoured to have had me entrap Mr. *Samſon*, and to have come in againſt him, as in my Examination is expreſſed: Wherefore all that I ſhall ſay, is, That if through my Teſtimonie I have been the occaſion of Mr. *Macnemarrah* his confeſſing and declaring the great danger the Engliſh Proteſtants were in, and the preventing of the ſame, through Gods mercie and the vigilancie of our Superiours; all that I deſire is the accepting of the Endeavours of a Loyal Subject and Servant to his Countrie.

Edw. Ivie.

SInce it hath been the uſual practice of the Romiſh Partie, in reference to the late Plot, to aſperſe the Witneſſes for his Majeſtie, endeavouring thereby the purging of their own Faults, by taking in queſtion others; thereby to make the world believe their falſe Reports, and to buzz them in the ears that it is for ſiniſter ends theſe things are brought in queſtion, having little elſe but aſſaſſinating the lives and ſcandalizing their names, to clear their Villanies; as appears by thoſe alreadie murdered, and like to be: And it would be an encouragement to future Evidences, if any of the Kings Evidence could but eſcape their Jeſuitical Pen, bloudie Hand, or black Mouths.

Wherefore as ſomething hath been ſpoken in vindication of the other Evidences, ſo I crave the Readers patience to ſpeak ſomething in my own vindication; which I ſhall endeavour to do, to undeceive the world, by declaring theſe three things:

1. The condition of my Perſon and Family.
2. The true Grounds moving me to appear in this Caſe.
3. In anſwering the Prejudices and Objections whereby the Accuſed have laboured to traduce and defame me.

Firſt. As to my Perſon, I was born in *Sherburne* in the Countie of *Dorſet*, of an honeſt and credible Family, being in Marriage and otherwiſe related to the chiefeſt Inhabitants in that place; having paſſed all the Offices of the Town where I lived, under Mr. *Lyford*, a Divine well known by his learned Works, then Miniſter of the place; and after his deceaſe, under the labours of others, in a firm adherence to the Proteſtant Religion, for above thirtie years: But after the deceaſe of my Wife, I went into *Ireland* to gather up ſome Debts of my own, and others by whom I was employed. And after my arrival there in *Ireland*, I lived moſt in the Province of *Munſter*, being acquainted with moſt of the Nobilitie and Gentrie of the Counties therein; where a Certificate of my Life and Converſation might, if deſired, have been eaſily procured: for I defie the world to charge me with any Miſdemeanours which may in the leaſt render me uncapable of being a Witneſs for the King, or other perſons in any Judicial proceedings; or that can otherwiſe blemiſh my Reputation: Yea, the very Tenants of the Earl of *Tyrone* himſelf, not intereſted or pre-engaged, will teſtifie for me; and three of the Jurie examined before the Council, did on their Oaths ſwear that they never knew or heard any evil Action done by me.

Secondly. The Motives engaging me to make this Diſcoverie, after a long forbearance of the ſame, when ſummoned up to the Council, was,

1. The fear of God; which ſhould be the ground of all our Actions and Undertakings: for that will not allow a man to approve Guilt in himſelf, or conceal it in others, eſpecially when the Conſequence is ſo portentous as to threaten Ruine to the King and Countrie; which would have been involved in the common Calamitie, if real, as it ſeemed to appear.

2. Love to the Proteſtant Religion; which muſt needs be in great danger, if not quite extirpated, if a forraign Papal power had the upper hand in that Kingdom, the Papiſts having ſo great a part alreadie.

3. My

3. My Dutie and Allegiance to his Majeſtie, *Ireland* having for ſome hundred years been his and his Royal Predeceſſors; ſo that no good Subject could poſſibly hear any thing tending to the rending it out of his Majeſties hands, and being called thereunto on Oath, but muſt teſtifie his truth therein. Old *Tyrone*, of Iriſh Extraction, had in Queen *Elizabeth's* days endeavoured to betray it unto the Spaniſh, who by Gods Mercie and Engliſh Valour, were ferreted out. Being ſatisfied in my Conſcience of Endeavours to betray it to the French now, I looked upon my ſelf under a deep Engagement not to conceal it.

4. I will not deny but that Self-preſervation and Command of Superiours, had alſo ſome influence upon my Diſcoverie in concurrence with the former Motives. Having diſcovered ſome dangerous Intrigues, I thought it hazardous to conceal them, there being no Acceſſaries in Treaſon, but Concealers as well as Actors, coming under the ſame Guilt; and the rather incited thereunto by his Majeſties Proclamation, ſignifying, That if the Diſcoverie were not made by a day appointed, there was no Pardon to the Diſcoverers. Herein I hope, amongſt the intelligent ſort of mankind, I have not laid in any great prejudice againſt my Teſtimonie, becauſe Self-preſervation is a natural Principle which runs through the whole Species of mankind: And yet I confeſs I had ſome ſtruglings in my ſelf, before I could conquer thoſe difficulties which lay in my way; I mean, thoſe prejudices which I foreſaw would be objected againſt me.

Thirdly. The Objections and Prejudices I foreſaw, were theſe:

1. I was comparatively but a mean and inferiour perſon, and therefore unfit to act in ſo high a Concern, and againſt ſo potent a Power, eſpecially having the harſh uſage of Mr. *Bourke* before my eyes. It was a Saying, as I remember, of Sir *Walter Rawly*, *That if a man followed the Truth too cloſe by the heels, it might perhaps knock out his brains.* For an inferiour perſon to accuſe great men, doth many times make the Witneſs ſuffer, and ſet the Offender free. Truth, it's but ſeldom entertained for its own ſake, that it hath need of piecing advantages to buoy it up againſt the power of great Perſons. This, I confeſs, put ſome ſtop on me for a while, until the former Conſiderations did out-ballance them.

2. There was much danger of Life, Libertie, loſs of Employment, foreſeen by me; which are Clogs and Weights hindring the attempts of many noble Actions; it being the predictions of moſt perſons, that ſuch would attend thoſe that appeared therein. Conſidering likewiſe the many Slanders and Reproaches that was caſt upon us by the Earls Friends, and to reckon up all the Abuſes and Threatnings againſt me and the reſt of the Witneſſes, ſome of which are hereafter mentioned, would be tedious; if love to Truth had not carried us on, it was impoſſible we ſhould have been ſupported under them.

3. It is alleadged as a Diſparagement to me, that I appeared againſt my Lord and Maſter, for ſuch the Earl of *Tyrone* had been, which is counted a thing of no credit for a former Servant to do. To which I ſay, I was the Earl's Steward, for which I had his Commiſſion, and do acknowledge it the dutie of a Steward to be true and faithful to his Maſter, in things wherein the ſafetie of King and Kingdom are not concerned: Yea, and to perſiſt in that frame of reſpect, as long as matters will bear any favourable interpretation, it being the part of a Servant to take all in the beſt ſence. And I my ſelf was ſo far excuſable herein, that at firſt when I heard the Earl ſpeak ſome diſcontented words, I thought them merely indited from his paſſion, or other particular preſſure, without any real or

ſolid ground; which made me go ſo far in concealing, or rather acting for the Earl, that I could hardly retrieve my Allegiance.

Yea, his Lordſhip when he was accuſed by *Bourke*, I was very forward to appear for him, as thinking him wrong'd; and accordingly accompanied him to *Dublin* to that purpoſe: ſo that I was not the firſt Starter of the buſineſs againſt the Earl, but was brought in by the information of Mr. *Bourke*; and I was ſo paſſionately zealous for him, that I could hardly retrieve my Allegiance.

Indeed upon ſerious recollecting of things, and conſidering that the ſaid Earl had a conſtant defiance to the King; and alſo the multitude of Papiſts, and other Iriſh Officers diſbanded in *France*, reſorting to my Lord, and harboured by him, I was convinced that a tranſient diſcontent could not form it ſelf unto ſo great a deſigne, but that it muſt have a firmer root: And thereupon began to obſerve things more narrowly, and then found matter enough to ground more than a Suſpition, and did believe there was ſome truth in *Bourk*'s Information. Being alſo further awakened by the Plots in *England* againſt his Majeſty and Government, I had a great conflict in my ſelf what to do. At laſt the nobleſt conſideration weighed down all the reſt, and I reſolved to maugre all fears and doubts, and teſtifie the truth; reſolving that it was not an incumbant dutie on a Servant, utterly to loſe his own Reputation to piece up his Maſters.

Whereupon I made ſeveral days to make ſome diſcoverie at *Kilkenny* to the Lord Lieutenant, but did not then effectually proceed; but then I acquainted Eſquire *Bradley* (which after was charged) one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace, who told me that he dare not meddle for fear the *Iriſh* would fire his houſe and burn his Family. Whereupon I undertook a Journey to *Youghall* to the Earl of *Orrery* for to get his advice and counſel, but found him in a dying condition. In the mean time God himſelf open'd a door unto me for my Diſcoverie: for upon Mr. *Bourke*'s Information I was ſent for by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to declare my knowledge of that matter; which having before diſ-engaged my ſelf from the Earl's ſervice, I was the freer to do. And having before ſeen the great ſwarms of Papiſts flocking to the ſaid Earl's houſe, thirtie or fortie more than our own Family. I alſo conſidering the pretended ſettlement of his Eſtate, for fear of Mr. *Bourke* his charge againſt him, in caſe the Treaſon was found.

All theſe things conſidered, I leave my ſelf to the Cenſure of all unintereſted perſons, whether my dutie to my Prince and love to my inperiled Religion, ought not to over-ballance the inferiour conſideration of being a Servant to Lord and Maſter, if he had been ſo at that time; which he was not, when thoſe two references do enterfere one with the other.

4. It's objected againſt me, that I left the Earl and turned head againſt him, becauſe I could not make up my Accompts; and that ſo I covered my diſhoneſty under a pretence of Loyalty.

To which I anſwer, That there is no truth in the Allegation, as they that know the Earl's concerns, may eaſily judge: for that I was not in his ſervice above eight months, and having never or ſcarcely above 10 *s.* in my hands, but as the Rent was received, or before it was ordered to be paid away. And if at any time I undertook a Journey of a nights ſtay abroad, I left with the ſaid Earl my Money and Books, for fear of being robbed, and the Robberie put on my ſelf; a trick which I was fore-

warned

warned of by my Friends, and the Earl's too. The truth of this I leave to the Countrie-Gentlemen, whether they have not heard the Earl ſpeak it to my commendation.

And of all the Years Rents that came to my hands, was not with other Receipts above 500 *l.* (what Eſtate the Earl had more, I know not) for which I was accountable; out of which was paid 300 *l.* and more in ſolvent Bills, and old Debts, and Rent-charges on the Eſtate: which conſidered, with the charge of Law, Building, Improvements, Journeys to *Dublin*, Maintenance of the Houſe, buying almoſt all we uſed: And ſometimes when well freighted with Iriſh Gentlemen and diſbanded Officers out of *France*, it coſt in Extraordinaries above 10 *l.* a week; ſpending more in the Popiſh Faſting-days, being always two or three days in a week, than would maintain a well-govern'd Proteſtant Family the whole week.

But to give no more ſuch needleſs Excuſes, I paſſed that Account of the firſt half years Rent to *John Power* Eſq; of *Clachmore*, the Earl's Kinſman, and by the Earl his order: and having charged my ſelf with the Receipt of the whole Rental, the Earl was in my debt 30 *l.* which I owed at *Waterford*. And to make me take up more there, he gave me a Rental of the next half year; which being ſo ſmall, and ſo great Debts charged on it, that the Earl himſelf could not think on a way how to make proviſion for that Journey he was then going to *Dublin*, and to pay the old Scores. But I was forced to ſtay behinde and drive the Tenants Cattle; and what Rents could not be had, to take a Bill for on my word in *Waterford*, and ſo have the remainder of the Rents made over to me to diſcharge the ſame.

At the Earl's return from *Dublin* I was earneſt to diſcharge my Accompts and Stewardſhip, and in order thereunto got the aforeſaid *John Power* to ſollicit the ſaid Earl to audit my Accompts; who accordingly did, and himſelf made up my Accompt by Acquittances, which the Earl allowed him to paſs, and in the behalf of the Earl to ſet his hand to them. On which all the Arrears due from the Tenants was due to me, having charged my ſelf with the whole Rental and Charge as received; which the ſaid *John Power*, by the Earls order, was ordered to acquaint the Tenants with: which Arrears I was a fortnight gathering, and diſtraining for at the Earls own door. And what Arrears was due, and I could not then receive, I took Bond for in the Earls own houſe in my own name; which I after ſued for and recovered at the next Aſſizes: which the Earl never found fault with, until (as you may ſee in my Examination) I denied his Gentleman to appear for him the ſaid Earl at the Aſſizes, in Mr. *Bourke*'s abſence; and when I would not appear for him, then he pretended that he was not ſatisfied in his Accounts, and deſired to have them examined again: and then every penny to the very Work-men was alſo examined and proved, and others that were brought to deny what they had received and diſcharged under their hands, went away with great ſhame. *John Power* returning to the Earl, ordered me to wait on the Earl in the Field, where he diſcharged me with many Threats. I paſſed the Accompt ſo ofen and ſo well, that the ſaid *John Power* ſaid, that he defied the whole world to ſhew a better or honeſter Accompt; on which the Earl was Debtor to me 10 *l.* 10 *s.* 5 *d.* on the Ballance.

All Gentlemen that know the Earls Concerns, can, if they pleaſe, ſay that the Earl yet never parted with any Steward but gave him the like ſcandalous parting; no, not ſo much as Mr. *John Power* himſelf, who was as to the Earls concerns, in all mens eſteem, a very honeſt man. And

And when I was ſummoned up to Council-board, then he got me arreſted in the way; which Suit the Lord Lieutenant offered to free me from. Yet I anſwered the Suit to avoid the ſcandal, and then the Earl let fall his Suit; and as Counſellor *Porter* ſaid, he believed that the Earl knew not of it; and farther ſaid, that he was ſure he could not certainly ſue me, inaſmuch as he had ſeen the Accounts, and which were ſo juſt and legal. Judge *Keeling* well obſerving, that if I had been as great a Rogue as *Clanſey*, he was ſure I could not cheat him in his Rents. But to ſatisfie the world more fully, I am ready to paſs it again, if fairly thereto admitted; or to refer the farther ſcanning the ſame to indifferent men, provided one of them is a Proteſtant.

5. Objection laid in againſt me was, of being bribed by others to throw the Treaſon on the ſaid Earl.

This Cloud, though black, or blacker than the former, may flie away as ſoon as the other: For the Earl himſelf cannot think ſo, when he knows that Maj. *Butler* was ordered to put this on foot againſt Col. *Villiars*, as ſoon as the Earl heard that Mr. *Bourke* had charged him; concluding that the world would believe it, becauſe of the Law-ſuit that had been betwixt them; which certainly the Colonel had then no need to do, having obtained the Eſtate from the Earl.

And when examined by the Chief Juſtice on Oath, whether I was a Steward to Col. *Villiars*, I anſwered, That I was not; but if free, I would, foraſmuch as he was a good Proteſtant, and a Loyal Subject. And when the Queſtion was put to the Colonel, whether he had employed me, he anſwered, That he had heard by the Country that I was an honeſt man; and if free from the Kings concerns in this Examination, he would employ me. And one thing I obſerved of the ſaid Colonel was, that when he had a Witneſs examined on a Commiſſion about a weighty affair, he then told the perſon, encouraging him to ſpeak truth, that he had rather loſe his Eſtate, than to keep it by a falſe Oath.

And I do hereby declare, in the preſence of God, that I never had one Penny bribe from him or others in my life.

6. Hopes of Reward in the laſt place charged as a Motive inducing me to this Undertaking.

To which I ſay, That my Carriage in both Kingdoms will be my Compurgators from this Charge. I have been always more a Friend to others than to my ſelf, having ſtraightned my ſelf to do others good. Beſides, the Accuſation contradicts it ſelf; to loſe a certain Employ for uncertain Hopes, is not the part of a prudent man. I did eaſily foreſee the Troubles, by Threats and Menaces to others, and did not expect leſs to fall on me; and which at length came to paſs, the Knife being taken out of the hand of one going to ſtab me: and for me to diſpoſſeſs my ſelf of a quiet and peaceable Habitation and Livelihood, and thereby, as it were, to court my own Trouble and Diſappointment, is not to be imagined I ſhould have done, unleſs higher Motives had engaged me. I was but an ill Carver for my ſelf, the way I took, if my aim was only at Rewards. All mens judgments (which are but fallible) will be at laſt ſurveyed and examined at a higher Tribunal; and if then it appear that the firſt recited Motives put me upon this Diſcovery, and do ſtill ſupport me againſt all Diſcouragements under it, I ſhall be then ſufficiently acquitted before God (as I am at preſent in my own Conſcience) whatſoever Slanders, Obloquies, and Reproaches, the Envy of Adverſaries doth caſt in my way, to aſperſe, black, and defame me.

Theſe things I have offered to the view of the World, in reſpect of my Allegiance, knowing it my duty, that if I ſaw but a Cloud as big as my hand, I ought to diſcover it to my Maſter the King; and alſo in love to my ſelf to ſecure me againſt ſuch Scandals, which otherwiſe might be a hindrance to Truth.

THO. SAMSON.

FINIS.

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THE NARRATIVE OF Mr. William Boys, CITIZEN OF LONDON:

Faithfully Relating what came to his Knowledge concerning the Late Horrid *POPISH PLOT*, and the Death of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, by his Acquaintance with, and Attendance upon Mr. *Miles Prance*, before, and after his being Taken and Imprisoned,

WHEREIN

Many things not yet Discovered to the World, Relating to the Truth of the Kings Evidence, and the Guilt Charged upon *Philiberd Vernatti* (formerly Servant to the Lord *Bellasis*) *Gerrard*, *Kelle*, and *Lusan* Priests; All Fled for the said Fact is made Manifest.

PUBLISHED

For the Conviction of all Gain-sayers, and the Vindication of the said Mr. *Boys* from the Aspersion the *Popish* Party would have cast upon him, for his Faithfulness in finding out their Divellish Designs, made Evident by the many Snares laid for him.

LONDON,
Printed for *Dorman Newman* at the Sign of the Kings Arms in the *Poultry*. 1680.

I Do appoint Mr. *Dorman Newman* and no other, to Print this my NARRATIVE.

WILLIAM BOYS.

THE NARRATIVE OF Mr. William Boys.

THe Malicious Slanders, and Scandalous Reproaches thrown upon me for my good Intentions to Serve my King, and Country, being the Contrivances of that Never-ſleeping Party, who have left no ſtone unturn'd to aboliſh the Belief of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*'s Murther, at leaſt as any way Reflecting upon *Romiſh* Deſign, have occaſioned me to Publiſh theſe few ſheets, not only for the Vindication of my own Innocence, but alſo for the General Satisfaction of the Nation, and for its farther Confirmation by ſeveral particulars never yet made Publick to the world.

That I was a faithful Inſtrument to procure the Diſcovery of that Inhuman and deeply Meditated Murther, is a thing well known to many, as having been particularly employed by His Majeſty and the Council, to perſuade Mr. *Prance* to Diſcharge the Conſcience of a Chriſtian, by making a true Confeſſion, becauſe of my great Acquaintance and dayly Familiarity with him. Which they, who felt the fatal Conſequences of my ſincere Endeavours, ſo deeply laid to heart, that they ſought ſeveral ways to Enſnare my Life, and Undermine my Reputation, accuſing me of being a Party concern'd, and one that ſpoke by the Dictates of Fear or Impoſture; and therefore not to be Credited, whereby they aim'd to kill two Birds with one Stone, that is to ſay, to ſtop the Progreſs of *Proteſtant* belief, and Satisfie their Revenge upon me. Therefore for the Satisfaction of the world, and my own Vindication, I thought it but neceſſary to give this Real and Faithful Account of my Proceedings and Tranſactings in reference to my Accuſations.

In the firſt place, I was Bred up in a *Proteſtant* Family from my Infancy, as being the Son of Mr. *Rowland Boys*, a Clothier in the City of *Worceſter*; and I have all along Profeſs'd the ſame Religion. True it is, that Neighborhood and a Sociable Temper brought me into the Acquaintance of ſeveral *Roman Catholicks*, with whom I had frequent Converſe, but with none ſo ſtrictly obliged in Friendſhip as with Mr. *Miles Prance*, between whom and my ſelf there was a more than ordinary Intimacy, which gave cauſe of Suſpicion to many, that I was of the ſame Perſuaſion; though indeed the true ground of ſuch Familiarity was only upon the frequent occaſions of mutual Commerce. A

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reaſon for intimate Converſe ſo fair, that a more probable cannot be given, nor more frequently in practice, there being nothing that Familiariſes even Familiarity it ſelf, ſo much as the League of Friendſhip and Profit, and the dependency of Trades one upon another, I being an Artiſt in *Lampwork*, for the making all manner of Curious Repreſentations in Glaſs.

Upon the 29*th.* of *September* was Twelve-Month, at my Return out of the Country, I was by my Neighbour Mr. *Prance* invited to Dinner, in Token of a courteous Welcome-Home. While we were merry at Table one *Thomas Haddon*, a Lodger at that time in Mr. *Prance*'s Houſe, came in very haſtily full of private Intelligence, which Mr. *Prance* having underſtood in a Corner of the Room, return'd to his Gueſts with a Sorrowful and Penſive Countenance. Which ſudden alteration occaſion'd me out of Friendſhip, to be more than ordinarily inquiſitive into the Cauſes of ſo Diſconſolate a Change. At firſt he ſeem'd very ſhie and reſerv'd, but when I preſs'd him more cloſely, he told me, That ſeveral of his Friends had been taken out of their Beds the night before, and carryed to Priſon. I ask'd him whether he knew the cauſe of their Apprehenſion? He anſwer'd, No. Perhaps ſaid I they may prove to be Highway-men, and then your Grief will ſoon be over, though they ſhould receive the Reward of their Miſdeeds. To which Mr. *Prance* return'd, That they were perſons falſly accuſed, but that their Crime was not for Robbing upon the High-way. Whereupon I bid him be of good Comfort and fear nothing, for that Innocency would juſtifie it ſelf. While we were thus Diſcourſing, in came one *Grove*, a School-Maſter, living in *Princes-ſtreet*, in the Company of another Stranger, who both took Mr. *Prance* aſide to the end of the Room, where they Whiſper'd for ſome time together, ſo that I could not underſtand any thing of their Diſcourſe; only *Grove* was over-heard to ſay, His Unkle *Grove* (who was ſince Hang'd) was taken.

After we had ſtaid till toward night, the Company that had Din'd together, that is to ſay, Mr. *Prance*, *Haddon*, my Self and others, went all to a *Coffee-Houſe* in *Drewry-Lane*, where Mr. *Prance* being known to be a *Papiſt*, was Greeted with a very Sowre Welcome by one of the Company, in theſe words. *Now all the Bloody Deſigns of you* Papiſts *are Diſcover'd, and ſeveral of your Prieſts and Jeſuits are apprehended for High-Treaſon, for attempting to Kill the King and Deſtroy the* Proteſtant *Religion.* Theſe words did not a little Nettle Mr. *Prance*, who therefore to vindicate the Innocency of his own Party, ſmartly reply'd, That they who were taken were Honeſt men, and that he would prove them ſo to be. Which Diſpute (one word begetting another) grew to that degree of Heat, that I was afraid of an abſolute Quarrel, which would have ended in nothing but Blows. Whereupon I took an opportunity to perſuade Mr. *Prance* to leave the place, and to retire to the *Tavern*; where being in private, I endeavour'd to get out of him the truth and the occaſion of theſe odd Paſſages; but he would give me no ſatisfaction, only continued ſtiff and firm in the Vindication of his Friends, the apprehended *Papiſts*.

On the firſt of *October*, Mr. *Prance* was ſent for to the ſame *Coffee-Houſe*, and Threaten'd by ſome perſons, that they would have him before the King and Council for his vindication of Traytors, and the extravagant Expreſſions he had uttter'd the laſt time he was there. To which

Mr.

Mr. *P.* more calmly anſwer'd, that he would ſend for me, and hear what I would ſay to it, which he accordingly did. When I came, I told him, he was much to be blam'd for delivering himſelf in ſuch high Terms, but that I hop'd there would be no farther notice taken of his words, in regard he was known, or at leaſt verily believ'd to be an Honeſt man, and no way concern'd in Deſigns of ſo wicked a Nature. To which he reply'd, That he was as Innocent as the Child unborn. After he made this Proteſtation, we went both of us to the Parties that had Threaten'd him, and I. undertaking to be his Advocate, deſired them that they would not call a man in Queſtion for a few raſh words, eſpecially ſince they knew nothing of ill in his Behaviour, but had rather experienc'd the contrary: who being by that means pacifi'd and oblig'd to a kind promiſe of Civility, I adviſed him to be more careful for the future and go home about his Buſineſs.

About a 11. or 12. a Clock the ſame Night, Mr. *P.* being a Bed, was put into a moſt terrible Affrightment; for hearing as he lay, the Noiſe of a Conſtable and his Watch paſſing along the Street, he verily imagined that they had been come to apprehend him. This ſudden Terror caus'd him to call up his Lodger *Haddon*; who having made himſelf ready, and obſerv'd the Coaſt to be clear about his Houſe, away went Mr. *P.* to ſeek a ſafer Harbour: which when I underſtood the next day, I Check'd him for his idle Fears and groundleſs Apprehenſions, and Counſel'd him to ſtay at home. To which he made this ſhort anſwer, That he was afraid, and could not help it. Thereupon, in point of Friendſhip I offer'd him my own houſe, and there entertain'd him for two Nights, *viz.* the 2*d.* and 3*d.* of *October*; but withal I adviſ'd him that if any Officer ſhould come to enquire for him at his own houſe, that he ſhould immediately Surrender himſelf, for that the bare Suggeſtions and Surmiſes of his Neighbours could be no Proof againſt him, and that his own Innocency would overcome all.

Upon the coming forth of the Kings Proclamation, Mr. *P.* not being willing to take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, was reſolv'd to have gone out of Town. But when he Communicated his Intentions to me, and had Diſcover'd the Scruples of his Conſcience, I perſwaded him not to be ſo over nice, but to take the Oaths, and not only uſed all the Arguments my own Capacity had furniſh'd me withal, but alſo for his clearer Information and Inſtruction profer'd to go along with him to the Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Stilling-fleet*, or Dr. *Burnet*, who, I did not Queſtion, would give him thoſe convincing Arguments that would oblige him to embrace the *Proteſtant* Religion and forſake *Popery*. Which Diſcourſe of mine ſo far prevail'd upon him, that he went and took the Oaths both of *Allegiance*, and *Supremacy*, in obedience to the Kings Command: and after that, went along with me to hear Dr. *Sharp*, whoſe Sound Divinity confirm'd him in what he had done.

This Succeſs engag'd me to improve my Induſtry with others, that were his Friends and Viſiters; particularly with one Mr. *Edwards*, a moſt Severe *Roman Catholick*, living in *Browns-Court* in the *Old-Bayley*, whom I met at Mr. *Prance's* Houſe, and there endeavoured to perſwade him to a Conformity with the Church of *England*. But his obſtinacy was ſuch, that he utterly refus'd to think of any alteration in his Opinion; not but that he loved the King, as he ſaid, but that he would not Swear *Allegiance* to him. Upon which ſome Diſcourſe ariſing between the ſaid Mr. *Ed-*

wards and my ſelf, wherein Mr. *Edwards* ſeem'd to complain of the hard meaſure which was Dealt to the *Roman Catholicks*, that being Subjects and Freeborn-men, they ſhould be forc'd like Exiles, from their Homes and Habitations, meerly for not acting againſt their Conſciences. But here, I met with ſo angry a Rebuke for declaring, in juſtification of the Proclamation, that no good Subjects would Scruple to take thoſe Oaths which were Commanded by Him, to whom they ow'd their Protection, that I thought my ſelf in ſome danger of my Life. For one Mr. *Owen* a Zealot of the ſame Leaven, taking up the Cudgels againſt me, flatly told me that I was no Honeſt man to ſpeak in defence of his Majeſties publick Command, call'd me, in a vehement Paſſion, Great Heretick, and with a Menacing fury bore up ſo cloſe me, that I expected ſome immediate Act of Violence, which perhaps he had executed, had not my Siſter, in a trembling fear ſtepp'd between and pull'd me away from the Company. However I accounted my ſelf not a little happy in the good Office I had done my friend Mr. *P.* And I make this ſhort inſtance, not only to ſhew how difficult a thing it is, to cure the Canker'd obſtinacy of men Intoxicated and Stupified with the Deſtructive Principles of *Popery*, but in ſome meaſure to let it appear to the world, that the good Service Mr. *P.* has done, was not an Act, ſo much proceeding from the hopes of future advantage, but by the Inducements of a fair and Candid Reformation.

Soon after theſe Paſſages had happen'd, there was a ſecret Murmuring among the Neighbours, that doubtleſs Mr. *P.* was concern'd in the Murther of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, for that he was ſo timorous as to lie from his Houſe, and becauſe he was alſo the Queens Servant. But for my part, when I heard theſe dangerous Rumours, I ſtill reprov'd the Reporters for going about to bring a perſon cauſleſly into trouble, not deeming him in the leaſt to have been Guilty.

At another time, when *Vernatti* was with Mr. *P.* at the *Horſe-ſhooe Tavern*, in the Company alſo of the before-named *Haddon*, Dr. *Parratt's* man, whoſe Office it was to Collect Money from the Friends of Deceas'd *Papiſts* to have *Maſſes* ſaid for their Souls in *Purgatory*, it happen'd that I came in, I knew not what their Diſcourſe was before I enter'd the room; but ſo ſoon as *Haddon* was gone, *Vernatti* fell upon me with all his perſuaſive Arguments to Reconcile me to the Church of *Rome*, and would have us'd perhaps many more words, but that Mr. *P.* told him, it was in vain to trouble himſelf. And indeed it was but an ill time for him to think of Converting me, who had the ſame Deſign upon his preſent Friend.

Upon the 20*th.* of *December*, when Mr. *P.* was Apprehended and carried away, his Wife with Tears in her eyes came to me, and requeſted me to go and give my Teſtimony for him, that he lay at my Houſe ſuch and ſuch nights, and therefore could not be Guilty of the Crime that was laid to his Charge; I went accordingly to ſpeak what I knew, but my Teſtimony would not then be admitted. Yet in regard I had Diſcovered ſo much kindneſs for him, and ſuch an Intimacy with him, it was Order'd by ſome of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, that my Houſe ſhould be Searched; believing there might there be found ſome Letters perhaps belonging to Mr. *Prance*, from whence they might Collect ſome farther Diſcovery of a truth which they were ſo diligently labouring to find out. For the Execution of this Order, the Officers appointed came to one Mr. *Robert Sexton's* Houſe in *Princes-ſtreet*, who underſtanding their buſineſs,

and

and being my very good friend, perſuaded them to deſiſt, or at leaſt to ſtay for ſome time, till I came thither my ſelf, in regard it might bring a Scandal upon me, and breed an ill Opinion of me among my new Neighbours (for I was but a little before removed to my Houſe near *Ludgate*) Luckily I came into Mr. *Sextons*, while the Officers and he were in this Debate. They ſtrictly examined me what I knew of Mr. *P.* and his Actions, and told me they came to Search my Houſe. I readily deſired them to do it, while I ſtaid where I was; but entreated them to do it with as little noiſe as might be, for the reaſons before-mentioned; aſſuring them withal, that I had no Letters, Books, or Papers that any way in the world concern'd Mr. *P.*, which gave them ſufficient Satisfaction.

Much about this time Mr. *P.* was more ſtrictly examined before the King and Council, where he firſt made a Confeſſion, and then denied all again; whereupon he was ſent back to *Newgate*. But the Honourable Board having been informed that I had been intimate with the Priſoner, ſent for me, to trie whether any thing to the purpoſe might be gather'd from me in point of Circumſtance or otherwiſe. I anſwered directly to all Queſtions demanded, to the utmoſt of my knowledge. But not being privy to any thing of the Murther, I could not give that Satisfaction which was ſought for, ſo that I was order'd to attend the next day being the *4th.* of *January*, and to bring along with me my Wife and Servant. We were ſeverally called in, and narrowly examined about many things in relation to Mr. *P.* What he was? When he lay at my houſe? We Anſwered, that we knew no ill of him, but that we thought him to be a very Honeſt man. We alſo told them the time that he lay at my Houſe, and the occaſion, as is before declared. Which gave the Council ſuch ſatisfaction, that we were all Diſcharged.

The Council being thus ſatisfied that I was a *Proteſtant*, and a perſon of honeſt repute, ſent for me again upon the *10th.* of *January*, and commanded me to go to *Newgate*, and to endeavour to draw what I could out of him, concerning the Murther of which he was Accuſed, and to ſee whether I could perſuade him to make a full Confeſſion of the truth. Accordingly I went, put ſeveral Queſtions to him, and begged of him over and over to Diſcharge his Conſcience, and to tell the Truth. Mr. *P.* ſeemed to be very joyful to ſee his old Friend, but would Confeſs nothing, and to all my Queſtions made only this general Anſwer, That he was Innocent of the Horrid Murther; however he entreated me to come again, and not to forſake him in his Diſtreſs. I promiſed to return the next day, and did ſo; but then I found him like a perſon almoſt Diſtracted, and obſerv'd that in his Frantick Paſſions he would often repeat his Innocency, and his ignorance of the Murther, but yet when he was asked any Queſtion about it, he never anſwered to the purpoſe. Seeing therefore that I could by no means engage him to Confeſs the Fact, and that all my Labour had been hitherto in vain, I returned back to the Council and gave them an account of what I had done. Nevertheleſs they ordered me to perſiſt, and to make uſe of all the means and Perſuaſions that I thought might take effect to oblige him to Diſcover the particulars of a Murther, in which they were fully perſuaded he was none of the leaſt Active Conſpirators. And indeed ſuch was the Care and Diligence of thoſe great Perſonages in the Diſcovery of that Deteſtable Murther, that they gave me great encouragement to return again, and ſeemed to intimate ſome hopes of favour to the relenting Priſoner. The two ſorrowful Brothers of the Murthered Knight went along

with

with me, and ſtaid in another Room while I Diſcours'd, entreated and perſuaded the Priſoner, and ſpent many kind and friendly words in vain, for nothing yet could prevail. In the Evening upon the 11*th.* of *January* D. *Lloyd*, the Dean of *Bangor*, came to him, and calling for me, ſhewed me before Mr. *Prance's* face a Warrant for his Pardon, intreating him withal upon his Majeſties ſo Gracious and Condeſcending Mercy, to Diſcover his knowledge. He would not at firſt believe the Warrant to be real, For, ſaid he, to me, if it were ſo, why had not you brought it as well as the Doctor? After many perſuaſions reiterated in vain, the Doctor perceiving him in a bad Condition of Health, would not urge him any farther that Night; only wiſh'd him a Phyſician to give him ſuch Preſcriptions as he wanted; whereupon I beſought him to take care that ſome one of the Kings Phyſicians might be ſent him; which he procured accordingly. So that about one of the Clock the ſame Night I being left with him all the while, Mr. *Dickyſon* came to him, and gave him ſuch proper Remedies as perfectly recover'd him. The next day, being *Sunday* the 12*th.* of *January* I return'd to him again, and ſpent the whole Afternoon with him, intreating him with many perſuaſions as well for his own and his Families ſake, as for the publick good, that he would not conceal from merited Juſtice, thoſe whom now I was fully convinced, that he knew to be ſuch notorious Offenders; but that he would at length declare his knowledge. Urging him withal, not to looſe the fair opportunity that was offer'd to him to have both his Life and his Liberty, which if now neglected, might coſt him a dear and too late Repentance. At that time I preſs'd him ſo effectually, that he began to ſpeak ſomething to the purpoſe, telling me that he had ſeen a Relation of the Murther, but, that never being perſonally concern'd in the Fact, he knew nothing more than what he had learnt from that Narrative. I ask'd him who ſhewed him the Relation? He anſwer'd, *Vernatti*, but this ſeemed not Satisfactory to me. For upon farther Diſcourſe with him, I perceived that he gave me an account, not as from a ſecond Hand, but as one that had been all along concern'd in the Fact. After a long Debate, and many Perſuaſions, at length I told him, that I was aſſur'd of his Pardon, if he would ingeniouſly and in time Confeſs the whole matter, and how far he himſelf had been concerned. That I knew there were others in Priſon for the ſame Crime, who if they ſhould firſt Reveal the Buſineſs, his Confeſſion would only ſerve to Condemn himſelf; and therefore I adviſed him, as he lov'd his life, ſpeedily to prevent his own Misfortune, by giving a free and exact account of the Murther; in regard it was plain, that *Vernatti* would never have truſted him with the Relation of ſuch a Secret, had he not been a Confederate. That night I could get no more out of him, ſo that I left him to ponder upon what I had ſaid to him. Which had that good effect, that by break of day the next Morning being the 13*th.* of *Jan.* I was ſent for to the Priſon, to ſpeak with Mr. *P.* And that very morning it was, that he Diſcovered to me all that he knew of the Murther of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, and of ſomething more relating to the Plot it ſelf, and gave me a full account of the manner of the Action, if not in the ſame words yet altogether the ſame in Subſtance, which he himſelf hath already made publick to the world, to which, for avoiding a needleſs Repetition I refer the Reader.

When I brought the account to the King and Council, they gave me my Oath to Confirm that the Recital of it came immediately from Mr. *Prances* mouth which I readily took, as being a moſt certain Truth. I farther told

told his Majeſty what Mr. *P.* had revealed to me of the Deſign of *Proſſer*, *Matteſon*, *Adamſon*, and *Bradſhaw*; to have Murthered the Right Honorable the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. And indeed ſuch was the Indefatigable Care and Induſtry of that Noble Peer in Proſecuting the Diſcovery of the Plot, ſuch his unwearied endeavours to ſecure his Majeſty and the Kingdom, by his Wiſdom and Councils from the Attempts of our Enemies, that he has merited the thankful applauſe of the whole Nation. No wonder therefore that the *Papiſts* ſhould be ſo zealous to remove ſo great an Obſtacle of their wicked Conſpiracies out of the way.

I alſo gave an account of what Mr. *P.* had revealed to me concerning the Plot, or at leaſt of ſo much as he knew. All which things Mr. *P.* has ſince himſelf more amply declared either in his own Narrative, or in the Teſtimonies which he gave againſt the ſeveral perſons, ſince Convicted and Executed for the Crimes in ſome part by him proved againſt them.

When the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty had received a full Information of all theſe things from me, part in Writing, part by word of Mouth; he cauſed Warrants to be iſſued forth for the apprehenſion of *Proſſer*, *Bradſhaw*, *&c.* and by me ſent an Order to Captain *Richardſon* to bring Mr. *P.* up to the Council the ſame day. The King was then preſent, and took the pains to examine him himſelf, to every particular of what I had delivered and declared; all which Mr. *P.* confirm'd as he had before Confeſs'd to me in the Priſon; and further declar'd to his Majeſty, That he would ſtand by his ſaid Confeſſion with the hazard or loſs of his Life.

In conſideration of this Confeſſion, his Majeſty was pleaſed to command that Mr. *P.* ſhould have his Pardon, and that Captain *Richardſon* ſhould ſuffer him to want for nothing. I was alſo ordered to keep him Company every day. For the Kings Majeſty and Council were pleaſed to be ſo ſenſible of the pains I had taken, to bring that horrid Murther to light, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, a moſt Noble and Prudent Counſellour, with the reſt of the Honourable Board, did me the high favour to return me a particular thanks. And Sir *Robert Southwell* afterwards declared in the Lobby before ſeveral perſons that I had Diſcharg'd a good Conſcience both toward God and man. And therefore in requital of my good Service upon that occaſion, upon the 29*th.* of *Jan.* his Majeſty in Council was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to make the following Order in my behalf.

At the Court at *White-hall* the 29*th.* of *January* 167⅘.

Preſent the Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The Lords of the Committee of Examinations, having this day repreſented to his Majeſty in Council, the neceſſity of having a ſtock of three or four Hundred Pounds, to anſwer the Occaſions of the Committee, did among other particulars make mention of the Service which had been done by Mr. William Boys, *who had for a long time left his own occaſions, and the following of his Trade, to obey the Orders of the ſaid Committee, and frequently to reſort to his Neighbour Mr.* Prance, *in order to Diſcover the truth of the Evidence which he had given touching the Murther of Sir* Edmund-Bury Godfrey, *and their Lordſhips praying that his Majeſty would pleaſe to beſtow ſome mark of his Favour upon him to the value of* 30 *l. His Majeſty was pleaſed to Order, and it is hereby Ordered accordingly, That the Right Honourable the Lord High Treaſurer of* England *do forthwith cauſe to be paid to the ſaid*

William Boys *the Sum of Thirty Pounds Sterling, as of his Majesties free Gift and Bounty to him, out of the Stock, which by the said Committee is desired to answer the Service which is under their Care.*

Robert Southwell.

After the Tryals of the Murtherers were over, I waited upon the Right Honourable, the Earl of *Essex* to intreat his favorable Assistance and his kind word to his Majesty and Council in behalf of Mr. *P.* that he might be releas'd out of Prison; That as I had been an Aid and Succour to him in the time of his Trouble, I might not be thought to leave the work imperfect, which I had in Friendship begun; having no other end or aim in all my Actions Relating to this Affair, than to approve my self a good and Loyal Subject, a true *Protestant* and a Cordial Friend. Neither am I conscious to my self of having fail'd in any one of these particulars; for which, my Innocency will at no time refuse with all humility to make its appeal to those Noble Lords who were the discerning Witnesses of my behaviour, as having frequent occasion to attend upon them, during Mr. *Prance's* Imprisonment.

Therefore for several reasons, I thought it but necessary to give this short account and Narrative to the world as being, First,

1. An Eye-witness of his Majesties most Princely and Tender Care, and unwearied pains, which he took at that time for the publick Security of the Nation, and to bring the Offenders to Condign punishment. And that the Lords of the Council were no less vigorously Active to second his Soveraign Resolutions with their most prudent Advice, and continual and laborious Scrutinies.

2. To confirm the Relation of the Murther made by Mr. *P.* as being first received by my self from his own Mouth, which I do Attest before God and the whole world to agree in all particulars with what he himself has Published, and so absolutely consent, that I should but have incurr'd the blame of tyring or abusing the Reader with a Repetition of the same words again. Nor was it extorted from him by any other Wrack or Torture, then that of a Dismaid and Distracted Conscience, which could not Disburthen it self till it had thrown off the Shackles of those fears and jealousies that usually perplex the Guilty, especially considering the remedilesse *Dilemma* that was put upon him; that Labyrinth of Life or Death, wherein he found himself intrigu'd without hopes of ever getting forth, unless he made use in time of the Silken Clue that was offer'd.

3. In the third place, I thought it was a duty owing to my own Reputation, to disengage it from the Scandals throw upon me by the *Papists*, who would make the world believe me to be a Phanatick. As also to rescue it from some ill thoughts of the *Protestants* who suspected me to be a *Papist*, in regard of my frequent Converse with those of the *Roman Catholick* Profession.

As for the *Papists*, it was no more than I exspected from them, who being unwilling to believe so horrid a Murther, perpetrated by the contrivance of their dignifi'd Priests and Confessors, or ashamed that such an eternal Blur should contaminate their Ecclesiastical History, care not what Blemishes and Scandals they throw upon others, to wipe off the Reproach from themselves. Which in regard it has been their continued practice from the beginning of the first Discovery of that Villanous Murther, the

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Effects whereof have only redounded to their farther ſhame and Confuſion, I have great reaſon not to queſtion but that the Reports which they have rais'd upon me, will be as little regarded, as thoſe vilifying Imputations, which they vainly caſt upon others. Although, were it true, that I were a *Phanatick*, I ſhould not account my ſelf ſo ignominious, as if I were in the number of the *Papiſts*, with that weight of Blood and intended Maſſacre upon their Shoulders. I lightly paſs over that other Reproach of theirs, That I was a *Presbyterian* Raſcal, and that if it had not been for ſuch a *Presbyterian* Rogue as I, Mr. *P.* had never made his Diſcovery, as being of little or no value.

As for the *Proteſtants*, I muſt confeſs that their Suſpicions do not a little trouble me, and I cannot but look upon their unkindneſs as proceeding from ſomewhat of Ingratitude; ſince that Familiarity with which they ſo upbraid me, happened to be ſo Fortunate for their Advantage.

But for their ſatisfaction, I do declare that I never was a *Papiſt*, nor of any other Profeſſion then that of the Church of *England*, in which I alſo intend to live and die. Nor was I ever concern'd in any of the foul Actions of the *Papiſts* relating to the *Plot*, or the Barbarous Murther of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, but as an Inſtrument to Diſcover the Truth: being look'd upon by his Majeſty and his moſt Honourable Privy Council as the fitteſt, and moſt likely perſon to Succeed, by reaſon of my Acquaintance and Familiarity with Mr. *Prance*.

And to ſhew how Careful and Faithful I was in the Management of that Secret wherewith I was entruſted by his Majeſty, I muſt farther declare, That when Mr. *Redding*, who had often ſought for me at my houſe, and having at laſt found me out, and by all Perſuaſions and Arguments imaginable, had endeavoured to get from me a Copy of Mr. *Prance's* Confeſſion and Depoſitions (which was highly preſs'd upon me at the *Dog Tavern* near *Ludgate*) I refus'd him with Indignation of all his promiſed Encouragements and Rewards; telling him withal, that as I had been entruſted by his Majeſty in the Buſineſs, I would by no means or perſuaſions in the world Falſifie ſo great a Truſt, nor Diſcover what Mr. *P.* had revealed before the ſeaſon of due allowance.

When Mr. *Reading* had given me over, there came two other Gentlemen to me with the ſame Propoſals; aſſuring me of a great Reward in hand, to let them have Mr. *Prances* Confeſſion, and what he had Diſcover'd concerning the Murther, and the *Plot*. But all their Promiſes could not move me in the leaſt to betray a Truſt, ſo Graciouſly repos'd in me by my Sovereign; and with the Honour and Satisfaction of having ſo done, I hope to live with a more quiet Conſcience upon the ſmall gains of my Lawful Induſtry, than upon the more abounding ways of Treachery, and Infidelity.

Neither may I here omit to tell my Revilers, that while I was in the midſt of that Service which I performed, I was not without ſome diſencouraging Apprehenſions of being in danger of my Life. For being one Evening at Mr. *Sexton's* Houſe in *Princes-ſtreet*, three perſons living hard by, and well known to be of the *Popiſh* Gang, were obſerved to ſtand waiting at the Corner of the ſame Street, who when they perceived that I was coming forth, withdrew themſelves towards *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, which was my directeſt way home; of which, Notice being given to Mr. *Sexton*, both he and the reſt of my Friends adviſ'd me to take another way, in regard it was dark, and fearing thoſe perſons were upon the Watch to

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do me a Miſchief. The perſons names were, one *Tarleton*, a Guilder, ſince Fled for being concerned in Guilding Mill'd Shillings, and one *Aldrige* a Turner, and Neighbour thereby, with one more who was a Stranger; which, with what I have already ſaid, I hope may ſerve to quaſh the Miſtruſts of my Religion, and ſatisfie all good *Proteſtants* of the reality and ſincerity of my Intentions.

Now ſo ſoon as I had obtain'd Mr. *Prance*'s abſolute Enlargement, I brought him to *Princes-ſtreet* to ſee his Wife, whom he had not ſeen all the time of his Confinement, and there alighted at Mr. *Sextons* Houſe. At that time the ſame *Aldrige* above-mentioned, with his Wife and ſome others, began to renew their former Malice, muttering one to another that the *Rogue P.* was come out of Priſon, and that the *Presbyterian Rogue Boys* was with him; which not ſufficing, they alſo began to vent their Spleen in irreverent Language againſt his Majeſty himſelf; for which I had them ſeiz'd by vertue of a Warrant from ſeveral of the Juſtices of the Peace, who Committed them to Cuſtody, where they remained two days, and were then carried before the Lords of the Council, who were pleaſed to Diſcharge them upon their Submiſſion. After this, I took Mr. *P.* together with his Wife, home to my own houſe near *Ludgate*, where he continued for a Month. Thither alſo came ſeveral of the Relations of both to Viſit him, as I thought, out of love, but indeed for nothing but to Teaze and perplex him, by Pealing continually in his Ears, That they were afraid he had wrong'd his Conſcience, and wiſhing that the Blood of thoſe that died might not lie at his door. All which for a while Mr. *P.* took patiently enough, but told them withal, that he had done nothing but what Juſtice oblig'd him to do, and that had it not been for thoſe wicked Prieſts and *Papiſts* who had deluded him before, he had never come into that Trouble and Diſgrace which he had undergone. Perceiving then, that they came rather to vex him, than Congratulate his Delivery, I made bold to tell 'em, that I believ'd they were ſorry that his Life was Sav'd, and that they had rather he ſhould have Died than have Diſcover'd the Truth, and ſo with Mr. *Prance's* leave, forbade them all my houſe, excepting only his Wife.

Being thus diſguſted, and meditating new Projects, they endeavour'd all they could, to get Mr. *P.* from a place ſo inconvenient for their purpoſes. Which when they had effected, then they began to form New Deſigns, for the bringing about whereof, they thought they could find no better way, than to create a difference between Mr. *P.* and my ſelf, which they intended to heighten afterwards to an abſolute Quarrel and breach of Friendſhip.

The Deſign was very ſilly and like the reſt of their vain Imaginations; however they were reſolv'd to put it in execution, hoping that when they had ſet us once at Defiance, that ſome ſtrange Incongruities and Incoherencies would have dropt from us for them to lay hold on, and to make their advantages of. So carefully is that great Maxim of the *Pope*, *Divide and Reign*, diffus'd from the Hand to every particular Member of the *Romiſh* Doctrine.

To this purpoſe the women were the firſt that attempted to make Tryal of their Female Cunning. The firſt that began to lay her Trains to blow up the long Friendſhip between Mr. *P.* and my ſelf was one Mrs. *Billing*, as Mr. *P.* himſelf acknowledg'd, a profeſt *Roman Catholick*, ſet on by thoſe of her own Religion.

But her Plot failing, Mrs. *Prance* her ſelf went to one Mrs. *Dorothy Sherborn*,

born,her own Siſter, and a zealous *Papiſt*,and Cunningly inform'd her, that the time was now come to be reveng'd upon me for being Inſtrumental in the Diſcovery of the Murther of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*; for that her Husband and I were quite fall'n out. Though I have ſo much Charity for Mr. *Prance's* Wife, to believe, that ſhe had no unkindneſs for me, but upon the Score of her Religion.

This Wheedle encouraging Mrs. *Sherbons* Zeal, away goes ſhe to the Lady *Powis*, and inform'd her of the difference which themſelves had forg'd between Mr. *P.* and my ſelf, and adviſ'd her not to let ſlip the Opportunity that offer'd it ſelf of making their Advantage of it. The Lady, believing the overture real, and conſequently a thing probable to take effect, employed Mr. *Danzerfield*, a perſon at that time altogether unknown to me, to make his way into my Company, and to uſe his Art to the beſt advantage of their Deſign, which was to entrap me, if poſſible, by Prolixity of Diſcourſe, and to gain what ever Diſconcurrencies of former Evidence he could, relating to the Tranſactions between me and Mr. *P.* To which end he came to me by no name, but only as from Mr. *P.* upon a pretence of deſiring me to cut him ſome *Amber*. To which I made him anſwer, that it was a thing quite out of my rode, and wonder'd that Mr. *P.* who knew me better, ſhould ſo far miſtake my calling. The Gentleman perceiving his Errour, deſir'd to be more private with me over a glaſs of Wine. As for Wine I refus'd him, conſidering how he had fail'd in his Addreſs, which had rendered him very ſuſpicious to me; but in regard he came from Mr. *P.* as he ſaid, I yielded to drink a Diſh of Coffee or a Glaſs of Ale with him, yet with this Caution to my ſelf, that I reſolv'd the Maſter of the Houſe, as much as poſſible he could, ſhould be by, all the time of our ſtay. When we were together, Mr. *D.* then (as I ſaid before) unknown to me,began with the Death of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*. Upon which he applauded my Kindneſs to Mr. *P.* by telling me how great a Friend I had been to him in Saving his Life. But then coming to his point, he fell on the other ſide to bemoan my Misfortune that I ſhould be ſo ill requited for my Kindneſs, for that Mr. *P*, ſtrangely ungrateful and forgetful of my ſucceſsful Friendſhip, did nothing but rail at me, and ſpeak ill things of me, behind my Back. To all which I made only this ſhort reply, That I was very ſorry for it, but for the occaſion, left it to God and Mr. *Prances* own Conſcience to be the Judges.

To this purpoſe he went on much further, and left no inſtigations and incentives uneſſay'd to heighten my Provocation againſt my Friend. However I ſtill perſiſted in my good Opinion of him, believing Mr. *P.* to be the ſame perſon in reference to his honeſt affections toward me; and therefore deſired M. *D.* to deſiſt from any further Attempts, which would be but vain and fruitleſs. Which, though it ſilenc'd his farther Proſecution at that time, yet he again the next morning, ſtill concealing his name, and pretending only came to be an admirer of Art; and therefore, ſeeing certain Counterfeit Necklaces in my Room, ask'd me, whether I made them or no? I told him, I did. Thereupon he bought ſome three or four, with ſome ſlight Queſtions beforehand, what the true value of them might be? To which I repli'd, That in regard he was Mr. *Prances* Friend, I would have no more of him, than

what I ſold them for to the *Exchange*. But he repli'd, he was ſo much an admirer of Art, that he could not but believe himſelf oblig'd to give me a Price according to his own judgment, and the value, that he himſelf had ſet upon them; which was more than I demanded. After that we parted, and I ſaw him no more till about ten days, or a Fourthnight afterwards, at what time I met him accidentally in *Fleet-ſtreet*, when he would have preſs'd upon me a Bottle of Wine at the *Caſtle Tavern*. But I refus'd it, and excus'd my ſelf, by telling him, I did not care to Drink with ſtrange Company, as being known to have been Inſtrumental in the Diſcovery of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey's* Murther, and therefore did not know what Deſigns ſome people might have upon me. After which, I only met him Paſſant upon a *Sunday* in *Fleet-ſtreet* with a Lady in his hand.

All this while Mrs. *Dorothy Sherborn* kept an Intimate Correſpondence with me and my Wife. But with no other Deſign than to blow the Coals of Diſcord between Mr. *P.* and me, with often Repetitions of my Kindneſs to her Brother-in-law Mr. *P.* and telling me how much he was beholding to me for his Life, for which reaſon, he was a very unworthy perſon to ſpeak ſo ill of me, as he did, in all Companies. On the otherſide I ſtill took his part, and juſtifying that what he had done was no more than what it behoov'd him to do, told her, her Brother-in-Law could have no reaſon to ſpeak ill of me, and that therefore I ſhould be very cautious of believing what ſhe ſaid to be true.

Notwithſtanding all this, Mrs. *Sherborn* continu'd without ceaſing her undermining Projects, ſo that neither my Wife nor I could paſs by her Houſe, but ſhe call'd us in, and was ſtill exclaiming againſt the good Service Mr. *Prance* had done, which ſhe call'd one of the greateſt pieces of Villany that poſſibly could have been Committed. And ſo changing her Note, accus'd me, to have wrought him to make a Confeſſion of Tales and Stories to ſave his Life and hazard his Soul. So that it was no wonder her Brother-in-law was ſo much offended at me as he was. Applauding Providence therein, that would by means of their differences unfold the Myſteries of both our iniquities.

Which Inſinuation might perhaps have wrought ſome effect upon my belief, well knowing how Indefatigable the *Papiſts* are to Bugbear and Terrifie the Conſciences of perſons not well reſolv'd, and conſequently that Mr. *P.* might poſſibly be wrought upon to have ſome ill thought of me, but that I knew, that I had only compleated what Mr. *P.* himſelf had begun; by fortifying him in his reſolutions to ſtand to that Confeſſion which he had made before the Lords of the Committee, and to confirm him in the ratification of his own Act and Deed.

Seeing then, that Mrs. *Sherborn* preſt theſe things ſo hard upon me, I reſolv'd to put the Queſtion as ſeverely to her, and deſired her punctually to tell me, whether ſhe thought there was any Plot or no? To which ſhe anſwer'd, that ſhe believ'd there was a Plot againſt the King and Government, but not that it was carried on by the *Papiſts*, but that I ſhould find in a ſhort time, that it was a *Presbyterian* Plot: which made me very much admire,

admire, in regard that neither by my Converſe with my Acquaintance of that Profeſſion, nor by my reading of their Books, I could find them inclin'd or Principl'd to any ſuch Acts of Irregular Violence.

Mrs. *Sherborn* being thus at a loſs, one *James Pemberton*, living near *Ludgate*, Tracing her Steps, undertook to accompliſh what ſhe had begun, though he made his Batteries with the ſame plauſible Inſinuations that ſhe had uſed before; as, that I had been a great Friend to Mr. *P.* &c. However that I had over perſuaded him to Confeſs things of which he was no way Guilty, meerly to ſave his Life; arguing from a ſuppoſition, that he was inſufficient to be entruſted with ſo great a ſecret, that he was altogether innocent. Finding my ſelf thus frequently and ſo ſeverely encounter'd, I retreated to my former Queſtion and ask'd him likewiſe, whether he thought there was any Plot or no? whoſe anſwer was to the ſame Tune that Mrs. *Sherborn* had Sung before, that he believ'd there was a Plot, though not of the *Papiſts* Contrivance, but by the Contrivance of the *Presbyterians*, and that in a ſhort time it would be ſo prov'd: And his Grand Argument was, that the *Papiſts* had died wrongfully, or elſe they would have made a true Confeſſion of themſelves. I repli'd, that was no true proof, and ſhewed him a Book upon the Tryal of *Parry*, wherein it was made out, that he firſt Confeſt the Treaſon againſt the Queen, and at his Execution denied it, againſt the Letters which were produced under his own hand Writing; which Book he deſiring to [illegible] I lent it him; but he found it ſo ill for his Turn, that though I often [illegible]emanded it of him, I could hardly get it again (by which I [illegible]onjectur'd that he had a mind to have embezel'd it, and diſpoſe of [illegible]Heretical Story) but at laſt I did.

All theſe Contrivances ill Succeeding, I receiv'd the following Letter from an unknown perſon at *Weſtminſter*.

Sir,

I *Am informed by a Friend of mine that you are a very great Artiſt for making Artificial Eyes. I do want Two or Three, and if your Leiſure would give you leave; I am a Stranger to you, but I am in good hopes, you will do me the favour to come to me to the* Dog Tavern *in the* Palace-yard *at* Weſtminſter *to Morrow by Eleven of the Clock, and enquire for the Number* 2. *and there you may find me, for my Occaſions will not give me leave to come into the City, or elſe I would not give you the Trouble. So I remain hoping to be better acquainted. Sir, I am Yours,*

William Odriffe.

Angel-Yard *October* 31. 1679.

This Letter I ſhewed to ſeveral Friends, but they all concurr'd that it was only a Trapan, and a Deſign laid to enſnare me, and advis'd me not to go without ſome other perſons to bear me Company. With this Caution I went, and enquired for the Number 2. but there was no ſuch perſon as had ſubſcribed his name to the Letter. I underſtood indeed that there was an honeſt Gentleman of the ſame Name that liv'd at *Weſtminſter*, but being

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being ſent to by me, he utterly diſowned any knowledge of the Matter, or that he had appointed any Buſineſs at the ſaid Tavern. But it ſeems there was a Gang that Watch'd my coming, and hearing my ſmart enquiry for the Number 2. and my Expoſtulation with the Servant of the Houſe, one of them came to me, and told me, that he and ſome others ſtaid for Mr. *Odriffe*, and that it could not be long ere he come; and thereupon invited me to the reſt of the Company. Then I concluded twas time for me to march off; ſo I thank'd him, for his Kindneſs and took my leave with a reſolution not to come near him nor his Mr. *Odriffe* neither.

When all theſe Deſigns prov'd fruitleſs, then they gave itout, that I held a Correſpondence with the Earl of *Danby*, and that he had given me Ten pounds to pay my Rent; which, as they pretended was for ſome private Service, that I had either done or was to do his Lordſhip. A thing which I utterly diſown; for I cannot remember, that ever I ſo much as ſaw the Earl of *Danby* in my life but once, and that was, as I was coming down with Mr. *P.* from his Grace the Duke of *Monmouths* Lodgings in the *Cockpit* at *White-hall*, and the ſaid Earl was paſſing by through the place where the Sentinel ſtands; and then neither did I know who his Lordſhip was, till the Sentinel, of whom I ask'd the Queſtion, had inform'd me, nor did I ſo much as ſpeak to him, as all that were preſent can Teſtifie. And indeed it would have been a ſtrange confident Preſumption in me to have gone to ſpeak to a perſon of Honour to whom I was utterly unknown, having no buſineſs with him, as I neither had at that, or at any other time. So that how his Lordſhip ſhould come to know my wants, and be ſo bountiful as to give me Ten Pound, I can by no means underſtand. However, if his Lordſhip were ſo Liberal, I had the Misfortune to be baſely Cheated, for I never had it. And I wiſh Mrs. *Sherborn* would do me the Kindneſs to inform me, who the perſon was, to whom his Lordſhip gave order to pay the money, for I promiſe her, did I know the perſon, I ſhould go and demand it. For if it were true, both his Lordſhip, and my ſelf, are very much abus'd. On the other ſide I ſhould have been extreamly to blame, that I ſhould not ere this have returned his Lordſhip my moſt humble Thanks for ſo great and ſpecial a favour: neither do I know of any perſon from whom I ever received a kindneſs, that can Tax me of ſo much Ingratitude. But this is like the reſt of the Actions of the *Papiſts*, that care not what they ſay, or Swear to, ſo it be to advance the Intereſt of their Holy Mother the Church of *Rome*, though never ſo much to the Prejudice and Defamation of the Innocent.

At length Mrs. *Sherborn* declares, that Mr. *Dangerfield* told her this Story, and that he came to have impoſed upon her. A Tale which ſeems very Incoherent with Truth, that he ſhould go about to Amuſe or Trapan her, when they were both at the ſame time in the ſame Confederacy together. For Mr. *Dangerfield* hath ſince declar'd, that he never knew me, but by her means, and that they had a real Deſign to have ruin'd me, if they found that they could not win me to ſerve their purpoſes, though with this intimation, that my complyance with them would prove a Thouſand pound in my way.

But

But now that the Scene is chang'd, Mrs. *Sherborn* rails againſt Mr. *Dangerfield* as much, or more than ever ſhe did againſt me, and proſecutes his Failings with as loud Invectives and Aggravations, as her Anger can expreſs. So that it is evident that the *Papiſts* do not bear ſo much Malice againſt the perſons, or the Vices of men, as againſt their Reformations, and Recantations of their Errours. The wicked ſhall be Saints among them, ſo long as they will be Inſtrumental to carry on their Deſigns; but if once, out of an apprehenſion of their Miſtake, or an abhorrency of the Facts which they put upon them to Execute, they ſeek to retrieve themſelves and their Reputation, by a ſeaſonable Repentance and Detection of the *Romiſh* Treacheries, then the moſt ponderous Crimes and Scandals are too light to over-whelm their recover'd Reputations.

As for Mr. *Prance* himſelf, his own Relations began to be his moſt bitter Enemies, and rais'd a Report, that he was concern'd in making of Fire-balls; and that he was ſeen in *Perpole-Lane*, the Night before the *New-Priſon* was Burnt, and that ſeveral Fire-balls had been found near the place where he had been Drinking, in that Lane, the night before. This Report ſo terrifi'd Mr. *Prance's* Wife, as fearing it might ſwell to the prejudice of her Husband, that with a mind very much troubled and perplexed, ſhe came and found me out, in a place in the City, where I was with her Husband and ſome other Company, and calling me aſide, told me the whole Relation, and deſired my aſſiſtance to ſearch out the Truth, which I promiſed her. Accordingly I went the next day to ſatifie her. But after I had made all the diligent enquiry I could, I found the whole buſineſs to be grounded only upon the Idle Twattle of an Old-woman that Lodg'd in *Perpole-Lane*, who the next day after the Fire went to a Female Relation of Mr. *Prances* in *Bride-Lane*, and a *Proteſtant*, and told her of the Fire that had happen'd the night before, and that Mr. *Prance* was ſuſpected about it: who made her anſwer, that ſhe knew nothing of the Fire, neither did ſhe believe her Kinſman any way concern'd in it. However ſhe went in Friendſhip to her Siſter, that was a *Papiſt*, and giving her an account of what the Old-woman had told her, deſir'd her to give Mr. *Prance* notice of it, as being more familiar with him. She on the other ſide meditating to make another ſort of uſe of the Information, improves the Surmiſe, intending to have Kindled a more deſtructive flame to Mr. *Prances* diſadvantage, and endeavour'd to have brought not only Mr. *Prance* but her Siſter into trouble about it. But it prov'd ſuch an idle and ſilly invention of *Popiſh* Contrivance as only ſerv'd to ſhew the inveterate Malice of their Dying Revenge, ready to lay hold upon any ſeeming opportunity to have blaſted the Credit of Mr. *Prance's* Evidence, as I made it clearly out.

About the beginning of *January* Mr. *Prance* came to me, and told me I was to be Examined in reference to a very great and weighty Concern. I asked him whether he knew what it was? To which he made Anſwer, that it was not convenient for him to ſpeak of it: but ſaid withal, that there was a woman to be examined alſo with me.

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Upon which I endeavour'd to Recollect my Memory, but could not call to mind any perſon with whom I had had any Diſcourſe about any thing of State Affairs, as not becoming me to meddle with them.

Thereupon I ask'd him who the perſon was that ſhould cauſe me to be Examin'd? which he refus'd to tell me; a thing that I took ſomewhat unkindly from him, telling him that I could not have conceal'd any thing from him, which might have fore-arm'd him againſt the Information of any perſon whatſoever; but all I could ſay ſignifi'd nothing at that time.

Upon the Twenty Second of the ſame Month, he invited me to a Glaſs of Wine at the *Feathers Tavern* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, whither I went along with him. There we met (as I thought accidentally) with Mr. *Warcupp*, one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*, and Captain *Creſſet*, in whoſe Company I had not ſate long, but Mr. *Warcupp* ſent for Mr. *Bedlow*. After ſome Salutations that paſs'd betwixt us, in came another perſon, who Saluted me by the Name of Mr. *Boys*. I return'd him his Salute, but could not Divine who he was, till one in the Company taking up the Glaſs, preſented his Service to him by the name of Mr. *Dangerfield*. So ſoon as I hear'd that, I ask'd Mr. *Prance* if that were the ſame perſon who was employed to make the *Plot* as Acted by the *Presbyterians*? He told me it was. Then ſaid I, this is the perſon that came the laſt Summer to have inveigl'd me. Whereupon I ask'd him if this were the perſon who intended to have me Examined? To which he repli'd, it was: whereupon I ſtaid ſomewhat longer than I meant to have done; expecting what Mr. *Dangerfield* or any other perſon in the room might have to ſay to me; but there was nothing ſaid that night.

Upon the 29*th*. of *January* Mr. *Dangerfield* came to my Houſe, and told me I muſt appear before the Lord Mayor to be by him Examined, but told me nothing of the occaſion. Thereupon I went that day to my Lords Houſe, but his Lordſhip being that day buſie, I had Orders to attend the next, which accordingly I did. Before I went Mr. *Prance* came to me, and offered to go along with me; but I refuſed his Curteſie, becauſe he had Conceal'd the name of the Perſon from me, when I deſired him to let me know it: Telling him withal, that I did not Queſtion but to be able to anſwer any thing that ſhould be alledg'd againſt me.

When I came before my Lord I found the occaſion of my being Summoned to be quite contrary to what Mr. *Prance* had intimated, as that, *I had talk'd at a ſtrange Rate of things of high and great Concernment*. For indeed the buſineſs was only this (and I was conſcious to my ſelf it could not really be for any other reaſon) that I ſhould declare and juſtifie the Truth of Mr. *Dangerfields* coming to enſnare me, how I came to have a Diſtruſt of him, and the ways and Method which he us'd to engage me to a Diſcovery of the Secrets which the moſt Honorable Privy-Council had entruſted me withal, and what Mr. *Prance* had Confeſſed touching the Murther, and farther to at-

teſt

teſt my conſtant refuſal of his Temptations, and Reſiſtance of his plauſible Batteries. Of all which I made an *Affidavit* before his Lordſhip, ſince Printed in Mr. *Dangerfields* Second Narrative, to which I refer the Reader; which gave his Lordſhip Satisfaction, and ſerves as much as any thing, to confirm Mr. *Dangerfields* Evidence.

This is that which in Vindication of my ſelf, I thought not only fit, but neceſſary to declare to the world. A Relation altogether plain, and without any Fallacy of Expreſſion, which he that will go about to diſprove, may do it if he can.

F · I N I S.

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A True and Brief

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

BETWEEN

Mr. David Fitz-Gerald

AND

William Hetherington,

Before His MAJESTY in COUNCEL,

On *Friday* the 11th. of *February* 168$\frac{0}{1}$.

Where the Attorney-General was ordered to prosecute the said *William Hetherington*, and one *Bryan Mac Donagh*, (that goes under the name of *Bernard Denis*) a *Dominican* Frier that came out of *Ireland* in *October* last, who formerly belonged to a Convent at *Sligoe* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

AND ALSO

The ARTICLES of the said *Hetherington* against Mr. *Fitz-Gerald*: with Mr. *Fitz-Gerald*'s ANSWER to each Article.

With Six high and transcendent ARTICLES preferred by the said Mr. *Fitz-Gerald* against the said *Hetherington*, fully proved before His Majesty in Councel.

LONDON: Printed in the year MDCLXXXI.

The enſuing Interrogatories were preferred by Mr. Fitz-Gerald *againſt* Hetherington, *and upon* Hetherington's *own Confeſſion, and full proof, as afterwards appeared before the King and Councel, on* Friday *the* 11th. *of* February *inſtant. Mr.* Fitz-Gerald *grounded his Charge againſt the ſaid* Hetherington, *and one* Bernard Dennis (*called in* Ireland, Bryan Mac Donaugh) *a* Dominican *Frier, who is of the County of* Sligoe *in* Ireland, *as he ſays: This is he who uſed ſiniſter means to perſwade one* Hugh Duffey, *and ſeveral others, to ſwear againſt the Queen; which was fully proved upon him, and an Order made to the Attorney-General to proſecute both the one and the other to the utmoſt of the Law, which will be ſpeedily done: The* Quæries *are as followeth.*

Interrogatories put to Mr. *Hetherington*, before His Majeſty and Privy-Councel, on Mr. *David Fitz-Gerald*'s Petition.

1. MR. *Hetherington*, Have you any miſdemeanour, or other crime to lay to Mr. *Fitz-Gerald*'s charge?

2. Do you know of any Collections of Money that have been made in *London* for the *Iriſh* Witneſſes? if ſo, who were the Collectors by name, and who were the Pay-maſters by name? by whoſe direction or authority was thoſe Monies demanded or received? what method was uſed in applotting the ſame? where was their uſual place of meeting?

3. Mr. *Hetherington*, How much did you receive of this Money? who appointed you to receive it? what have you done with it? how much of it did you keep to your own uſe? how much did you pay of it to others? name their names, and the particular ſums you paid them? what were they to do for that Money? and who treated with them, or to what purpoſe? declare your knowledge at large to each particular.

The conſequences of Mr. Hetherington's *Anſwers I humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty, and crave leave to proceed to further Interrogatories grounded on my Petition.* Granted.

4. Mr. *Hetherington*, You ſaid I tamper'd with the King's Evidence, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs it; you complained of me to Juſtice *Warcup*; you ſaid I endeavoured to ſtifle the Evidence of one Mr. *Dennis* againſt the Queen; I was ſummon'd to appear before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons thereupon: Now declare, what Evidence was there againſt the Queen, Sir *John Davis*, or any other, that I endeavoured to ſtifle? name the Witneſſes I tamper'd with, who have any thing to ſay againſt the Queen, or any other; I deſire they may be called in.

Now I deſire the Opinion of this Honourable Board, whether I was unjuſtly conven'd before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons; whether I am guilty of ſtifling the King's Evidence, or deſerve a Vindication: And I deſire I may proceed further on the matter of my Petition.

I alledge in my Petition, that the practices of Mr. Hetherington *and others are of dangerous conſequence to the Government: and before I come to ſhew that, I humbly ask leave to ask Mr.* Hetherington *the enſuing Queſtions.*

5. Mr. *Hetherington*, How came you firſt acquainted with Mr. *Edm. Morphy* now in Town, one of the King's Evidence, and where? and where was it in Priſon? if ſo, in what Town? how came he committed, and for what? and how came you alſo committed, and for what? and how were you enlarged? were not you in for Debt? if ſo, how much was it? at In *Dondalk* Gaol. After his denials, at laſt confeſſed that he brake Gaol in *Dublin*, and ſtole away.

whoſe Suit? did you pay it? did not you get your ſelf removed to the *Kings-Bench* Priſon, or the *Marſhalſea* of the four Courts, ſo called in *Dublin?* do you know Mr. *Lovet* the Keeper thereof? how got you out of Priſon? In plain terms, did not you break Priſon, or ſteal away thence? what ſums was he forced to pay by your eſcape then? and durſt he touch you the laſt time you were in *Dublin*, you being (as you pretended) one of his Majeſties Evidence? And if you are not, who Commiſſioned or appointed you, or ſtiled you the Manager of the *Iriſh* Evidence?

No anſwer to that.

6. Mr. *Hetherington*, How long were you and Mr. *Morphy* in *Dondalk* Gaol together? were you both under one Crime? if otherwiſe, declare the particular cauſe of your commitment? what time of the year were you both, or either of you committed? how long were you in reſtraint before you knew any thing of the Plot? how, when, where, and by whom were you made privy to it? did you reveal your knowledge of it to any of the Privy-Councel in *Ireland?* if you did not, tell your reaſon why? was it becauſe you broke Priſon and ran away from *Dublin?* be punctual, how long were you a Priſoner in *Dondalk* and *Dublin* before you came away?

7. Mr. *Hetherington*, Have you any Eſtate in *Ireland?* if you have, name the Lands, County, and place, and the yearly value: were you ever a Juſtice of the Peace in any County there? if ſo, in what County there? did you ever, as a Juſtice of the Peace, examine Mr. *Morphy* in *Ireland*, as a Diſcoverer of the Plot? did not you perſwade the people in *London* to believe theſe things?

8. Mr. *Hetherington*, How came you and Mr. *Morphy* ſo great? did you declare, that Mr *Morphy* endeavoured to ſuborn Witneſſes to ſwear that Mr. *Smith* and *Baker* were Confederates with the Tories in *Ulſter?* where was Mr. *Morphy* then, and ſome time before? of what life and converſation? did he then diſcover the Plot in *Ireland?* or did he ſay that he knew any thing of it?

Made no diſcovery No.

9. Mr. *Hetherington*, What Money did you bring with you into *England*, and how much? was it in Caſh, or by Bill of Exchange? if by Bill, who drew it? and upon whom in *London?* name the parties.

Very little, but borrowed, but forgot the mans name.

Now Sir, you have an account of Mr. Hetherington's *life and converſation, the principal manager of the* Iriſh *Evidence, as he ſtiles himſelf. I will now go on and prove, that inſtead of doing his Majeſty ſervice, or rightly managing the Evidence, he endeavoured to render his Majeſty odious to his people in* London, *and to perſwade them that the Popiſh Subjects of* Ireland, *were diſcharged from their Allegiance by the Pope. And that he ſhewed the Popes Bulls, or Briefs to that purpoſe, to his Majeſty, and that his Majeſty took no notice thereof; that he concluded therefore his Majeſty was actually in the Plot, or a Favourer of it: And that the Earl of* Eſſex *called him Rogue and Raſcal for producing thoſe Bulls. All theſe things he endeavoursd to inſinuate into the hearts and minds of the people here, to do the King harm, and to breed confuſion and miſchief.*

Stood up to juſtifie the Bull or Brief, but at laſt was utterly convinced.

10. Let Mr. *Hetherington* declare if he e're received any ſuch Bulls or Briefs, where they are now, who gave them to him, and to whom did he deliver them?

But let the Reader obſerve, that when Hetherington *found himſelf to be Impeached, he popp'd in the enſuing Charge againſt Mr.* Fitz-Gerald, *though he could neither juſtifie nor prove any or either of the ten Articles, which defeated his malice.*

ARTI-

Articles of Miſdemeanour humbly propoſed by *William Hethering-*[illegible], againſt *David Fitz-Gerald* Gent. With Mr. *Fitz-Gerald*'s Anſwer to each Article, read before his Majeſty in Councel.

1. *THE ſaid* Fitz-Gerald, *at the firſt coming over of the Witneſſes out of* Ireland, *to prove the Helliſh Popiſh Plot, did ſeem to be very glad of their coming to juſtifie their Evidence, and in particular that of* Euſtace Comyns, *ſaying that he was an honeſt man, and was wrongfully clapt up in Priſon by the means of Sir* William Davis, *for diſcovering of the Plot, which he ſwore he could ſay more to then any of them all, and that he could charge the greateſt Men, or Man in* Ireland *therewith, or in words to that effect: But after he ſaw* Comyns *Narrative printed, and found that ſeveral of his Friends, as he pretended, were charged therein, then he began to rail and reflect upon him, and threaten to be the Death of him; and afterwards took occaſion to abuſe and revile the reſt of the Witneſſes.*

1. The ſaid *David Fitz-Gerald*, ſaving to himſelf all advantages and benefit of Exceptions, in anſwer to the firſt Article ſaith, That he was then, and would be ſtill heartily glad to ſee honeſt and credible men (ſuch as neither the ſaid *William Hetherington*, nor *Euſtace Comyns* in the firſt Article named, are reputed to be) to come in and diſcover any Plot that ſhould be againſt your Majeſties Perſon or Government; but abhors Villany, Combination, and contrivance to diſturb the peace and tranquility of your Kingdoms. And further ſaith, That it was impoſſible for him to commend the ſaid *Euſtace Comyns*, as in truth he did not, he having little or no acquaintance with him; only ſeeing him ſometimes Threſhing and Ditching for Mr. *Manus O Brian*, this Reſpondent's Neighbour in the County of *Limerick*, and knowing that he was a Fellow not above the quality of a daily Labourer, who commonly wrought for 4 *d. per diem* in that Country, and hearing by credible perſons that he was eſteemed a Rogue, and threatned to burn the ſaid *Manus O Brian*'s Houſe, and ſtole out of *Limerick* Gaol, as Mr. *Hetherington* did out of the Black-Dog Priſon in *Dublin*; and the ſaid *Euſtace Comyns* being of no other quality or reputation as aforeſaid, (as the Lord Biſhop of *Limerick*, Sir *William King* Governour of *Limerick*, and Lieutenant *Croker* and others can teſtifie) it was unreaſonable that this Reſpondent ſhould think (as he never did) that the ſaid *Euſtace Comyns* could charge the greateſt Men, or Man in *Ireland* with any Plot, any more then he thinks, it was otherwiſe then wicked in Mr. *Hetherington* to bring over honeſt men from their Habitations in *Carrick* and *Clonmell*, thinking to bribe them groundleſly to accuſe ſome of your Majeſties Loyal Subjects, thereby to affirm and countenance the Contrivances of the ſaid *Hetheringtrn* and others.

2. *That amongſt other matters that he pretended he could prove touching the Plot, he ſaid he could prove the Day and Time that the Duke of* York *was to be proclaimed King in* Ireland, *and that he would tell the King of it; and that he did acquaint the Earl of* Burlington, *coming out from the Committee of the Lords, that he could and would hang thoſe he had accuſed, and bring Great ones to prove the matters he had charged them with.*

2. This Reſpondent abſolutely denieth the charge of the ſecond Article; only that he told the Earl of *Burlington*, that the Lord *Brittas* and Biſhop *Mullony*

Mullony muſt ſtand to your Majeſties mercy, or undergo the Rigour of the Law: He confeſſeth, that ſince his coming into *England*, he was very often ſolicited and entreated by divers perſons, whom he ſhall name when your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to command him, to accuſe Her Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and Sir *John Davis* with the Plot, which the Reſpondent (having nothing to lay to their charge) always refuſed; and then they earneſtly requeſted this Reſpondent, ſince he could not ſwallow Oaths, and gallop along with them, not to contradict others, or to hinder them to accuſe Her Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs, and the reſt of the perſons aforeſaid.

3. *That notwithſtanding the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *hath ſince endeavoured by many ways and means, to bring this Informant and the ſaid Witneſſes into his Majeſties diſ-favour, and to caſt reproaches upon them, the better to invalidate their Evidence; alledging untruly, that they had received Three thouſand pounds from the City of* London, *or ſome of the Citizens thereof, or ſome others, whom he would mention if he could.*

3. To the third Article this Reſpondent ſaith, That he believes that neither the ſaid *Hetherington* or *Comyns* ever were in your Majeſties, or any good mans favour, and therefore to endeavour or take the leaſt pains to bring them and their Witneſſes into your Majeſties diſ-favour, or to caſt Reproaches upon them, is needleſs, the Character enſtamped upon them already by Oral Teſtimony, and matter of Record, ſufficiently evidencing their demerits: He confeſſeth he ſaid that he heard, and doth verily believe that Three thouſand pounds have been collected from ſome of the Citizens of *London*, and that part thereof was paid to Sir *William Waller*, and other part thereof to the ſaid *Hetherington*, where, (in breach of his Truſt) paid but little or nothing of it to the Witneſſes.

4. *That the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *hath ſometimes by Threats, other times by Feaſts, Treats, Monies, Promiſes, and other ways of perſwaſion, laboured to take off the ſaid Witneſſes from giving their Evidence on his Majeſties behalf; particularly in the caſe of Sir* John Davis; *and when all that would not prevail upon them, told them that his Majeſty was diſpleaſed with this Informant's proceedings, and would be ſo with them, if they followed his directions; and by theſe devices ſo affrighted them, that he got them to ſign to a Petition to his Majeſty, which he drew for the purpoſe, intimating that they were informed his Majeſty did not look upon them as coming to do him Service, and that if it were ſo, they ſhould readily deſiſt appearing further, though their Intentions were really to ſerve his Majeſty therein. That the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald, *when he knew the ſaid Witneſſes were to be called into either Houſes of Parliament, or ſome Committee relating to them, to give in their Evidence, hath endeavoured to hide them, or ſome of them, that they could not be found; and when they have been found, he hath laid violent hands on them, or ſome of them, and would not permit them to go, until they forced themſelves away from him; and then he threatned them, and thoſe that called them, and with an Oath ſaid he would break* Shaftsbury's *Knot; and the better to prevail with the Witneſſes, acknowledged he had received for his ſervice One hundred pounds of his Grace the Duke of* Ormond, *Five hundred pounds from the King, and a Commiſſion to be a Captain; and that his Majeſty had given him two blank Patents for Baronets, the one for his Father-in-Law, and the other to be at his own diſpoſing; and alſo a Grant of the Commons of* Rakeale, *and all the Commons of* Knock-Greary, *in the County of* Limerick.

4, To

4. To the fourth Article he ſaith, That he never in his life-time laboured or endeavoured by any ways or means to ſtifle or keep back any Evidence againſt Sir *John Davis*, or any other; though at the ſame time he firmly believes, that Sir *John Davis* is a loyal faithful Subject to your Majeſty, and doth from his heart abominate any Villany or Contrivance againſt your Majeſty, he having been as ſcrutinous to find out the truth upon the ſeveral Examinations of this Reſpondent, taken before him and ſeveral others in *Ireland*, as any perſon whatſoever. He confeſſes he ſaid he would break *Hetherington*'s Knot, but denies he ever mentioned the Earl of *Shaftsbury* to that purpoſe: He confeſſeth he received One hundred pounds of your Majeſties money out of your Treaſury in *Ireland*, by order of the Lord Lieutenant and Councel there, and not a peny of the Duke of *Ormond*'s own money, as is maliciouſly ſuggeſted; and he received alſo One hundred pounds *ſterling* more out of your Majeſties Treaſury in *England*, by your Majeſties order in Councel, and no more, which is all the Reſpondent ever received to defray the extraordinary great charges expended by him in ſeveral Journeys in *Ireland*, and his Voyage from thence to this place, in proſecution of his Diſcovery, being far ſhort of the real ſums laid out by him purely on the account aforeſaid, having ſpent ſeventeen months entirely in that Service, wholly neglecting his own private concerns. He confeſſeth, that he was deſired by ſome of his Friends and Relations, to procure (if he could) two blank Patents for Baronets in *Ireland*, from your Majeſty; denies that ever he ſaid he had a Grant of the Commons in the ſaid Article mentioned, but confeſſeth that he intended to apply for the ſame, being parcel of his ancient Eſtate, and would have raiſed a conſiderable ſum of Money for the procuring thereof, if it could be obtained; and as to all and every other matter and thing in the ſaid fourth Article contained, this Reſpondent denieth the ſame.

5. *That he the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *had not only vilified and threatned the ſaid* Comyns, *but had alſo informed ſeveral of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, that the ſaid* Comyns *was a very Rogue, and that he could produce many Records againſt him, and that he was not fit to be credited; and alſo terrified and threatned to kill him the ſaid* Comyns, *ſo that he was forc'd for ſome time to keep himſelf in obſcurity. That the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *hath not only vilified and abuſed him this Informant, and the Evidence which he was concerned for, but alſo Mr.* Thomas Samſon, *who came over upon his own accord to ſerve his Majeſty in that matter, who by his Teſtimony therein hath given great ſatisfaction to both Houſes of Parliament.*

5. To the fifth Article the Reſpondent anſwering, confeſſeth and ſaith, That he did inform the Houſe of Commons, that *Comyns* was eſteemed a Fool and a Knave: whereupon, and by reaſon of the incoherency of the ſaid *Comyns* Narrative, as the Reſpondent humbly conceives, the ſame was rejected; but denieth that ever he threatned to kill him, or do him any other bodily harm: He alſo confeſſeth, that being provoked, he did correct *Samſon* in the ſaid Article named, for ſome ſawcy language he gave this Reſpondent, whereof the ſaid *Samſon* did complain to the Houſe of Commons, who did in hearing of his Complaint, adjudge it to be idle and ridiculous: This Reſpondent denieth that the ſaid *Samſon* came over out of *Ireland* of his own accord to ſerve your Majeſty, but was wrought upon to come over out of wicked ends, by perſons not yet named, (whom this Reſpondent ſhall name, whenſoever your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to command him) to diſturb and deſtroy ſome of your Majeſties good Subjects in both Kingdoms.

6. *That the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *being examined by a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, againſt Sir* John Fitz-Gerald, *refuſed to give his Evidence (being his Relation) unleſs the Committee would promiſe to intercede to his Majeſty for his the ſaid Sir* John's *Pardon: And before a Committee of the Lords, in his Evidence he charged Col.* John Fitz-Patrick, *and Sir* Edward Scot, *to be Confederates in the Plot, but at the Lords Bar would not, though asked; and left their Names out in his Narrative publiſhed in print, of his own knowledge, in that matter his mind being ſince altered, upon what conſiderations may well be judged: He alſo ſaid before the ſaid Committee, that he fared the worſe becauſe they knew the King had a kindneſs for him.*

6. To the ſixth the ſaid Reſpondent ſaith, That he did never mention to the Committee of the Houſe of Commons for a Pardon for Sir *John Fitz-Gerald*, otherwiſe then as followeth: (*viz.*) That the Committee asking this Reſpondent what he knew concerning Sir *John Fitz-Gerald*, and the Reſpondent anſwering, That what he had to ſay againſt him, was mentioned in his Narrative then in his hand, which he adhered unto; a Member of the Committee thereupon demanded, whether the ſaid Sir *John* would own his being in the Plot? To which the Reſpondent then replied, he did not conceive it would be proper for Sir *John Fitz-Gerald* (if he knew he was guilty) to accuſe himſelf, before he was ſure of his Majeſties pardon; or words to that effect. He alſo ſaith, that he declared at the Bar of the Lords Houſe, that by flying report he heard that Col. *John Fitz-Patrick*, and Sir *Edward Scot* were concerned in the Plot; but how far they were concerned therein, this Reſpondent did not, nor doth not charge them with of his own knowledge: He denieth to have altered his mind, or to deviate from Truth or Juſtice; and hopes that God will not leave him, after the example of *Hetherington* and others, to follow evil ways, and promote wicked deſigns, upon any temptation whatſoever: And therefore he doth not underſtand *Hetherington*'s meaning, who ſaith that the Reſpondent's mind is ſince altered, upon what conſiderations may be well judged, the ſame being abſolutely falſe, and ſcandalouſly inſinuated. And the Reſpondent further anſwering, ſaith, That he being ſummoned to anſwer *Hetherington*'s complaint, before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, the ſaid *Hetherington* urged as a great crime in this Reſpondent, that he was a Favourite of your Majeſties; to which this Reſpondent anſwered, that ſuppoſing he were, (as he never had the vanity to pretend unto any ſuch thing) he hoped he ſhould not fare the worſe for that.

7. *That the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *asked the Witneſſes, or ſome of them, whether they retained the* Romiſh *Religion yet, or no; who replied, they did: for which the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *commended them for ſo doing, for that the Proteſtants would only make uſe of them for their own purpoſe and advantage, and afterwards would hang them.*

7. To the ſeventh the Reſpondent ſaith, That he was, and is ſtill of opinion, that the Teſtimony of ſuch Witneſſes as were all their life-time Papiſts, would bear more credit, by their not publiſhing their changing of their Religion, until they had firſt given in their Evidence; but after that done, it behoved ſuch of them as were Prieſts, and whoſe Judgments were convinced, to declare their Conformity to the Church of *England*, leſt they be queſtioned upon the Statutes.

8. *That the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *alſo told the ſaid Witneſſes, or ſome of them, that the*

the King was ſatisfied that the late Lord Stafford *was innocent, denying the Fact at his death, or words to that effect; and that his Majeſty was reſolved not to Try any more of the Lords in the* Tower: *And after the Parliament was prorogued, he told the ſaid Witneſſes, or ſome of them, that he would remove their Neſts.*

8. As to that part of the eighth Article, (*viz.*) That the Reſpondent alſo told the ſaid WItneſſes, or ſome of them, that the King was ſatisfied that the late Lord *Stafford* was innocent, denying the Fact at his death, or words to that effect; and that his Majeſty was reſolved not to Try any more of the Lords in the *Tower*: The Reſpondent ſaith, the ſame is utterly falſe, malicious and helliſh, and humbly ſubmits it, whether any man in his right wits, would utter ſuch horrid things, which never entred into the imagination of the Reſpondent: ſo as he humbly hopes, your Majeſty will look upon this as a deſign of the ſaid *Hetherington*'s merely to defame this Reſpondent, and render him as obnoxious to your Majeſty, as the ſaid *Hetherington* has made himſelf infamous to ſuch as know his pernicious practices: And as to the reſidue of the ſaid Article, this Reſpondent confeſſeth he would endeavour, if he could, to have the ſaid *Hetherington* removed from the ſaid Witneſſes, to prevent his continuing of thoſe attempts he had formerly uſed, of perſwading the Witneſſes falſly to accuſe perſons, againſt whom they declared they had no crime to object.

9. *That he the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *had kept continual correſpondency and familiarity with the four Witneſſes which were brought over by a Meſſenger from* Ireland; *and a Perſon of Quality perceiving it, told him that he had not obſerved the Orders the Commons gave him, which was, that he ſhould not come near any of the Evidence, nor converſe with them: the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *reply'd, that he was commanded by the King to come there; and alſo gave the ſaid Perſon of Quality very ſcurrilous and abuſive language. The ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *alſo abuſed the ſaid four Witneſſes, or ſome of them, and asked if they came to hang poor* Plunket.

9. To the ninth the ſaid Reſpondent anſwering, confeſſeth, that he had ordinary converſe with the four men, that lately came from *Ireland*, namely *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, *Morlagh Downing*, *George Coddan*, and *Paul Gormly*, the two firſt giving him an account of his Wife and Family, which he conceives to be no crime in him; knows not what Perſon of Quality the ſaid *Hetherington* means; if it be Sir *Henry Ingoldsby*, as he can gueſs no other, this Reſpondent hath already given an account of what paſs'd betwixt Sir *Henry* and this Reſpondent, though this Reſpondent cannot but admire what Sir *Henry* had to ſay to thoſe perſons, and to what purpoſe, and on what deſign, or by what authority did he come to them: But to what paſs'd betwixt this Reſpondent and the ſaid four perſons, this Reſpondent referreth himſelf to them, who are yet in Town.

10. *That the ſaid* Fitz-Gerald *ſaid he was abuſed, becauſe he would not accuſe the Duke of* Ormond, *and the Chancellor of* Ireland, *which he knew to be as honeſt men as any in the three Kingdoms.*

William Hetherington.

A true Copy,

John Nicholas.

10. To

10. To the tenth this Reſpondent anſwering, confeſſeth that he ſaid, and he ſtill ſaith, and is ready to depoſe, whenſoever your Majeſty ſhall think fit, that ſeveral perſons did labour to perſwade this Reſpondent to accuſe the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, of the Plot, as alſo Her Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs, and others, as he hath already in his Anſwer to the ſecond Article declared; and he alſo confeſſeth, (which he conceives to be no miſdemeanour in him) that he in his conſcience believes that the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, were never concerned in any Plot or Contrivance againſt your Majeſties Perſon or Government, but are true and firm to your Royal Intereſt: And he further ſaith, that he believes that the perſons who deſigned, or do ſtill deſign to impeach or accuſe them thereof, or of any ſuch abominable practices, do abhor and deteſt your Royal Government, and the happy ſtate and condition of your Kingdoms: And the Reſpondent alſo ſaith, that the reaſon why the ſaid *Hetherington* has ſo much falſly abuſed this Reſpondent, was for that he the Reſpondent would not comply with the ſaid *Hetherington* to accuſe the aforeſaid perſons.

And this Reſpondent having in obedience to your Majeſties Order in Councel, bearing date the 4th. day of *February* inſtant, anſwered the ſaid Articles exhibited againſt him by the ſaid *Hetherington* as aforeſaid, doth with all humility ſubmit himſelf, and his ſaid Anſwer, to your Majeſty and this Honourable Board, and doth humbly pray your Majeſties ſevere Reprehenſion, or gracious Vindication, as his Caſe ſhall deſerve.

And as in duty bound ſhall ever pray,

DAVID FITZ-GERALD.

Mr. *David Fitz-Gerald*'s Arguments againſt *Hetherington*'s Articles before his Majeſty in Councel.

THE ſaid *David Fitz-Gerald* being convened the laſt Seſſion of the laſt Parliament before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, upon the complaint of the ſaid *Hetherington*, alledging that the ſaid *David Fitz-Gerald* ſtifled Evidence againſt the Queen, and others, in relation to the Plot, was diſcharged by the ſaid Committee, and received a juſt Vindication: Whereupon the ſaid *David* petitioned the Houſe of Lords to the ſame effect, with the following Petition; and before any progreſs could be made thereon, the Parliament was diſſolved: ſo as he was forced to addreſs himſelf to his Majeſty and Councel by Petition, the ſubſtance whereof is briefly thus.

That ſome collections of Money hath been made, and applied to the diſpoſal of the ſaid *Hetherington* and others, the ſaid *Hetherington* pretending himſelf to be the Manager of the *Iriſh* Evidence; That the Petitioner hath great reaſon to fear, that the conſequence thereof will be prejudicial to his Majeſty and the Nation in general; That the ſaid *Hetherington* had publickly defamed him, as a perſon that ſhould endeavour to ſtifle ſome *Iriſh* Witneſſes againſt the Queen, Sir *John Davis*, and others, and by ſiniſter means to prevent their Teſtimony; That the Petitioner conceives, that this is a practice ſet on foot of purpoſe to prevent the true diſcovery of the Plot, and hath juſt cauſe

Sir *John Davis* is Clerk of the Privy-Councel in *Ireland*, and a Member thereof.

cauſe to ſuſpect the ſame; and that the ſaid *Hetherington* will attempt his life, as he did his reputation: And becauſe the Petitioner can prove by ſeveral inſtances, that he hath always encouraged the Witneſſes to diſcover the whole Truth, and to conceal nothing thereof; and becauſe he hath juſt cauſe to fear the great diſadvantage and diſhonour that may enſue ſuch practices to his Majeſty, (if not ſpeedily prevented) he made this Addreſs to his Majeſty in Councel, that ſuch foul and dangerous practices may be detected and defeated, and that the Petitioner himſelf (if guilty) may receive condign puniſhment, but if innocent, a juſt Vindication.

The ſaid *Hetherington* has ſpread ſeveral Libels and Pamphlets of Mr. *Fitz-Gerald*, which he and the Printer are like to ſmart for.

And ſo he prayed a ſpeedy day for the hearing of the matter of his Petition and Summons, requiring Mr. Hetherington, *and ſuch as ſhall appear to be his Confederates, to Anſwer; and Summons for his own Witneſſes to prove the Charge in his Petition.*

Hereupon the ſaid *Hetherington* appeared perſonally at the Councel-Board, where he was examined by the Lord Chancellor in full Councel (his Majeſty then preſent) upon the Interrogatories before ſpecified, which the Petitioner delivered in writing under his hand: And by *Hetherington's* own Anſwers thereunto, (appearing by the Minutes taken by the Clerk of the Councel) it is evident, that ſome Money hath been collected in *London*; that *Hetherington* received part of it; that there was no Evidence againſt the Queen, or any other, that the Petitioner ſtifled; that *Hetherington* is a Fellow of ill life and converſation; that he was in *Dundalk* Gaol for holding correſpondence with the Outlaws and Tories in *Ireland*; that he was theſe two years paſt in the *Marſhalſea* in *Dublin*, and broke Priſon there, and ſo came for *England*; and that he is not worth a ſhilling, *&c.*

Now to anticipate Mr. *Fitz-Gerald's* proceedings againſt him on the ſaid Petition, *Hetherington* exhibits Ten Articles of Miſdemeanour againſt Mr. *Fitz-Gerald*, the ſubſtance whereof is briefly thus. *Nota.*

1. That Mr. *Fitz-Gerald* at the firſt coming of the Witneſſes out of *Ireland*, cheriſhed the Witneſſes, commended *Euſtace Comyns* one of them, and ſaid he could accuſe the greateſt Men, or Man in *Ireland*: but afterwards threatned to kill him, and took occaſion to abuſe and revile him, becauſe he accuſed ſome of Mr. *Fitz-Gerald's* Friends.

Anſw. 1. *That he would be glad to ſee honeſt men to appear for the King, that* Hetherington *and* Comyns *were none; that he never did commend* Comyns; *that he was but a Thraſher and a Labourer at* 4 d. per diem *with Mr.* O Brian, *Mr.* Fitz-Gerald's *Neighbour in the County of* Limerick; *that it was unreaſonable to think ſuch a Fellow could accuſe the greateſt men, or man in* Ireland.

2. That Mr. *Fitz-Gerald* ſaid he could prove the day and time when the Duke of *York* was to be proclaimed King in *Ireland*; and that he acquainted the Earl of *Burlington* he would hang thoſe he accuſed, and bring Great ones to prove the matters he had charged them with.

2. *He denies this charge; he told the Earl of* Burlington, *that thoſe he accuſed muſt ſubmit to his Majeſties mercy, or undergo the rigour of the Law; he ſaith he was earneſtly ſolicited, ſince he came to* London, *to accuſe the Queen, the Duke,* Ormond, *Chancellor of* Ireland, *and Sir* John Davis *of the Plot.*

5. That Mr. *Fitz-Gerald* laboured to bring Mr. *Hetherington* and the Witneſſes into his

3. *He ſays it is needleſs to labour that, Witneſſes and Records prove him*

him and his Witneſſes to be Villains; he confeſſeth, that he believeth ſuch Collections have been made; that Sir Will. Waller *received part of it, and* Hetherington *another part of it, but paid nothing of it to the Witneſſes.*

4. *He denies to have ſtifled any Evidence againſt Sir* John Davis; *he confeſſeth he ſaid he would break* Hetherington's *Knot, but denies he ever mentioned the Earl of* Shaftsbury *to that purpoſe; he confeſſeth to have received* 100 l. *out of the Treaſury in* Ireland, *by Order of Councel there, and no more, and not a peny of the Duke of* Ormond's *money;* 100 l. *more in* England *by Order of Councel, out of the Treaſury, and not a peny more; he confeſſeth he was deſired to procure the blank Patents, and that he would lay out money for a grant of thoſe Commons, being part of his ancient Eſtate, if it might be obtained.*

* Note here, he would make the King author of ſtifling the Evidence of the Plot, and the diſcovery of it; which ought not to paſs without due reprehenſion.

5. *He confeſſeth that he did inform the Houſe of Commons, that* Comyns *was a Knave and a Fool, and that by reaſon of the incoherence of his Narrative he conceives it was rejected; he denieth to have threatned him; he confeſſeth, that being provoked, he did correct* Samſon *for ſawcy language; he denies that* Samſon *came out of* Ireland *to ſerve the King, but was wrought upon to come over to diſturb and deſtroy your Majeſties good Subjects.*

Note, this *Samſon* is one of the Witneſſes that accuſes the Earl of *Tyrone.*

6. *He denies the firſt part,* prout *anſwer more particularly; he only heard by flying report they were preſent at Conſults in* Dublin, *and ſaid no more of them at the Lords Bar.*

7. *He ſaith, he was and is ſtill of opinion, that the Teſtimony of ſuch Witneſſes as were all their life time Papiſts, would bear more credit by not publiſhing the change of their Religion; but after that done, the Prieſts muſt conform, leſt they may be queſtioned on the penal Statutes here in* England.

8. *He denies that preſumption; but confeſſeth he did and will endeavour to remove him, he being a wicked Suborner,* &c.

Majeſties diſ-favour, and to caſt reproaches upon them; and that 3000 *l.* was collected for them in *London.*

4. That he endeavoured to take off the Witneſſes from giving their Evidence on his Majeſties behalf, particularly in the caſe of Sir *John Davis*; that he told them, his Majeſty was diſpleaſed with *Hetherington*'s proceedings; that he procured them to Petition his Majeſty, intimating they were informed his Majeſty did not look upon them, as coming to do him Service; and that if it were ſo, they would deſiſt appearing further. That he did uſe to hide the Witneſſes, when they were called upon by either of the Houſes of Parliament; that he laid violent hands on ſome of them; that he ſwore he would break *Shaftsbury*'s Knot; that for this Service he had 100 *l.* from the Duke of *Ormond*, * 500 *l.* from the King, a Commiſſion to be a Captain of Foot, and two blank Patents for Baronets.

5. That he informed ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons, that *Comyns* was a very Rogue; that he could produce many Records againſt him; that he was not fit to be credited; that he threatned to kill him: That he alſo abuſed Mr. *Thomas Samſon*, who came over upon his own accord to ſerve his Majeſty, who by his Teſtimony gave great ſatisfaction to both Houſes of Parliament.

6. That before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons he refuſed to give Evidence againſt Sir *John Fitz-Gerald*, unleſs the Committee would promiſe to intercede to the King for his Pardon: That at the Lords Bar he accuſed Col. *Fitz-Patrick* and Sir *Edward Scot*, and left their names out in his Narrative.

7. That he commended ſome of the Witneſſes for retaining the *Romiſh* Religion, for he ſaid, that the *Proteſtants* would make uſe of them for their own purpoſe, and hang them afterwards.

8. That he told ſome of the Witneſſes, that the King was ſatisfied of the Innocency of the Lord *Stafford*, and that his Majeſty was reſolved not to Try the Lords in the *Tower*; and ſaid, that after the Parliament was prorogued, he would remove the Witneſſes Neſts.

9. That

9. That he kept continual correſpondency and familiarity with the four Witneſſes that came lately from *Ireland*, contrary to the order of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons; That he reviled and abuſed a Perſon of Quality, that reprehended him for ſo doing; That he abuſed thoſe four Witneſſes, and asked them if they came to hang poor *Plunket*.

9. *He denies this; he refers himſelf to the four Witneſſes, namely* Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Mortagh Downing, George Coddan, *and* Paul Gormly; *if he means, by that Perſon of Quality,* Sir Henry Ingoldsby, *he refers himſelf to the Board as to that.*

10. That he ſaid, he was abuſed becauſe he would not accuſe the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of *Ireland*, which he knew to be as honeſt men as any in the three Kingdoms.

10. *He confeſſeth, as in his Anſwer to the ſecond Article, he was ſolicited to accuſe them, and alſo the Queen, and the Duke of* York; *he knoweth nothing againſt them; he ſaith,* Hetherington *abuſes him thus becauſe he would not comply with him to accuſe the ſaid perſons.*

Note, that he would make it a crime for a man to declare the honeſty of theſe two Great men.

Hereupon an Order was conceived by his Majeſty in Councel the 4th. of *February* inſtant, that a Copy of the ſaid Articles ſhould be delivered to Mr. *Fitz-Gerald*, to return his Anſwer in writing, and alſo that Mr. *Fitz-Gerald* ſhould exhibit his Charge againſt *Hetherington*; both which Mr. *Fitz-Gerald* performed, the ſubſtance of his Anſwer being briefed in the margin to each Article, as before; and his Articles againſt Mr. *Hetherington*, with the proof of each Article, is briefly as followeth. *Read the Articles at length.*

1. That he broke Priſon in *Dublin*; that he correſponded with the Outlaws and Tories in the North of *Ireland*; that he was for the ſame impriſoned at *Dundalk*; that after breaking Priſon in *Dublin*, he fled over into *England*; that he pretended to be a Juſtice of the Peace in *Ireland*, to gain himſelf reputation here; that he had no money in his purſe but 1 *s.* 6 *d.* and his Apparel not worth half a Crown; that he procured himſelf to be ſtiled, *the Manager of the* Iriſh *Evidence*; that he endeavoured to ſuborn Witneſſes to accuſe perſons of the higheſt Quality under the King, of Treaſon.

As to his breaking of Priſon, vide *his confeſſion to the* 5th *Interrog. on the Minutes; that he correſponded with the Tories,* vide *his confeſſion as to the* 5th *Interrog. that he was upon ſuſpicion of it committed to* Dundalk *Gaol then, call* Ja. Murphy, Owen Murphy, *read their Letters or Depoſitions, or examine them perſonally upon Oath; that he pretended to be, but was no Juſtice, I n i* vide *his confeſſion on the* 7th *Article; to prove his poverty, call Mr.* Bradly *and Mr* Roberts, vide *his Anſwer on the* 9th *Interrog.* Conſtat, *he is ſo called; ask him who made him a Manager: that he endeavoured to ſuborn Witneſſes againſt the Queen, the Duke of* York, &c. *call* Hugh Duffy, John Mac Cleve, John Moyre, George Murphy.

As to *Hetherington's* life and converſation, ſhew Serjeant *Osborn's* Certificate, who goes Judge in the North Circuit in *Ire*land ſometimes.

2. That *Hetherington* got 100 *l.* of the Kings money, that he kept all to himſelf, and did not diſtribute it according to Orders, only 10 *l.* he gave the four Prieſts; and that he received monies in *London* for the *Iriſh* Witneſſes.

To prove he received the 100 l. *call Mr.* Squib *an Officer of the Treaſury, and ſhew the Orders and Receipts; that he did not pay the money over as he ſhould, call* John Moyre, Edm. Murphy, Daniel Fynane, James Callahan, *theſe were to receive part, and did not: to prove the money collected and received in* London, *call Mr.* Roberts *on Oath,* &c.

Let Mr. Hetherington *prove what he did with the money, and bring Witneſſes* viva voce, *if he can.*

3. That

Let Mr. David Fitz-Gerald *have his Oath; let him declare the place at* Weſtminſter, *the place with the Parliament-man, the place in* London *before Capt.* Morley.

3. That he laboured to bring an *odium* upon the King; that he declared he brought a Bull or Brief out of *Ireland*, under the Popes Seal, *&c.* as in the Article.

Let John Mac Nemarra*'s Oath to this point, upon the laſt and* 10th. *of my Interrogatories, be read; and let* Mac Nemarra *be asked, if he did not confeſs it before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons: let* Burk *alſo be examined to this; though they both now, to prop up themſelves, ſide with* Hetherington: *ſo as I deſire to know whether there be good proof without them.* Fully proved.

This is proved on the firſt Article; but if you require it, call Hugh Duffy, John Mac Cleve, John Moyre, George Morphy; *all proved by the aforeſaid perſons.*

4. That the ſaid *Hetherington* intending to take away the lives of the Queen, and the Duke of *York*, and to weaken the Kings Intereſt in *Ireland*, *&c* did endeavour to ſuborn Witneſſes againſt the Queen, the Duke, *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of *Ireland.*

Firſt, that Hanlan *and his Confederates are proclaimed Rebels and Traytors, call the Right Honourable Lord* Conway, *one of the Councel in* Ireland.

5. To prove his correſpondence with *Hanlan*, and the reſt of the Tories in *Ireland*, and endeavoured to procure them to come in to diſcover the Plot, (though falſly.)

This appears on the firſt Article, Hetherington *being committed to* Dundalk *Gaol: and if your Majeſty be not ſatisfied, call* James Morphy *and* Owen Morphy, *and let Secretary* Jenkins *ſhew* James Morphy's *Letter. James Morphy* proved the ſame.

Call John Luker, Peter Linch, Michael Rely, *and* Keho; *fully proved.*

6. That he hath brought over Witneſſes out of *Ireland*, as he pretended, *&c.*

Let them declare if one Geoghan *a Frier did not go hence from* England, *and had his Majeſties Warrant, (which is the ſame that Mr.* Hetherington *procured) and that they were harraſſed upon this Warrant: that* John Power *Eſq; a Juſtice of the Peace, was on his relation impriſoned in* Waterford; *ſo was Mr.* Richard Fitz-Gerald, *a great Dealer and Trader; ſo was* Matthew Hore *Eſq;* John Nugent *Eſq; Mr.* Dalton *the Miniſter of* Dungarvan, *a Juſtice of Peace, threatned: he hath got a deal of Monies in ſeveral places; others he forced from their Houſes,* &c. *let him declare the miſery and trouble the Country is put in; and that this* Geoghan *is now for his great Villany committed in* Dublin *by the Lord Lieutenant.*

Now it is eaſie to make appear, that there was but one blank Warrant obtained, and hereupon theſe *Carrick* men were brought over. *The Charge proved to the full.*

ARTI-

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ARTICLES *of a moſt high and tranſcendent nature, preſented and exhibited to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, and to the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy-Councel, by* David Fitz-Gerald, *againſt* William Hetherington, *in obedience to his Majeſties Order in Councel bearing date the* 4th. *day of* February *inſtant.*

1. THE ſaid *David Fitz-Gerald*, praying the liberty at any time hereafter, as occaſion ſhall require, to explain the Articles hereafter following, and further to Impeach the ſaid *William Hetherington*, doth now moſt humbly ſay and propoſe, That the ſaid *William Hetherington*, having broken Priſon in *Dublin*, correſponded with *Hanlan*, and the reſt of the Outlaws and Tories in the North of *Ireland*, and having defrauded and cheated many of his Majeſties good Subjects in that Kingdom, repaired into *England*, and untruly pretended to ſome of his Majeſties good Subjects here, to gain himſelf reputation and credit in *England*, that he was ſometimes a Juſtice of the Peace in ſome County in *Ireland*, and had a conſiderable Eſtate there, though he had but eighteen pence in his Pocket when he came to *London*, and all his Apparel was not worth half a Crown; procured himſelf (but by what, or whoſe means or Authority, this Proponent doth not yet know) to be ſtiled, *the Manager of the* Iriſh *Evidence*, thereby to have the opportunity to relieve his diſtreſs, though by the ſhipwrack of his Conſcience, and utter ruine of his Soul; and alſo by ſuborning Witneſſes to accuſe Perſons of the higheſt Quality, next and under his Majeſty, of Treaſon, and to accuſe others of the like crime, thereby inſtead of ſerving his Majeſty, according to the duty of his pretended Office, to diſturb his Majeſties happy reign over his Subjects, and the peace and tranquility of his Kingdoms.

2. That the ſaid *Hetherington*, the better to effect his ſaid wicked deſigns, got into his hands One hundred pounds of his Majeſties money, to be diſtributed amongſt the *Iriſh* Witneſſes, who were all needy, and miſerably poor, which ſum he converted to his own uſe, but Ten pounds only he diſtributed amongſt four Prieſts, and others of the Witneſſes; and hath alſo received divers ſums collected in the City of *London*, for the *Iriſh* Witneſſes, wherein he hath not juſtly diſcharged his Truſt.

3. That the ſaid *Hetherington* laboured all ways and means he could, to render his Majeſties Royal Perſon and Government odious, as well to his Subjects of *England*, as of *Ireland*, and to induce them to a belief, that his Majeſty is a favourer of Papiſts and Popery, thereby to ſtir up the people to Rebellion, both in *England* and *Ireland*; for he the ſaid *Hetherington* did divers times, in open Companies and places in the City of *London*, and elſewhere, publiſh and declare in the hearing of his Majeſties Subjects, that he brought with him out of *Ireland* into *England*, a Bull or Brief under the Seal of the Pope, or Biſhop of *Rome*, diſcharging his Majeſties Popiſh Subjects of *Ireland* from their Natural Allegiance to his Majeſty; And that he himſelf in perſon, did ſhew and produce the aforeſaid Bull or Brief to his Majeſty, and acquainted his Majeſty with the tenour thereof; and that his Majeſty took no notice of it, but in and towards the favouring and countenancing of Papiſts, and for the introducing of Popery, did reject the ſame.

4. That the ſaid *Hetherington*, intending to bring the Queens Majeſty, and his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, into the hatred of his Majeſty and of all his Subjects, and to deprive them of their Lives, Eſtates, and Royal Dignities, and alſo intending to weaken his Majeſties Intereſt in *Ireland*, and draw away the affections of his Subjects there from him, hath by entreaties and other ways of perſwaſion, endeavoured to ſuborn Witneſſes to ſwear, that the Queens Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Ormond*, as alſo that the Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and others his Majeſties

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loyal and faithful Subjects, were privy to, and principally concerned in the Plots both in *England* and *Ireland*, againſt his Majeſties Perſon and Government.

5. That the ſaid *Hetherington*, the better to compaſs the enterprizes aforeſaid, and to ſtrengthen his proof againſt her Sacred Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and others as aforeſaid, as alſo to anticipate the ſaid Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, his endeavours to reduce *Hanlan*, and the reſt of the Tories in the North of *Ireland*, to their due obedience, hath for ſome time paſt held, and ſtill doth hold, private correſpondence with the ſaid *Hanlan*, and other Outlaws and Tories in the North of *Ireland*, though many of them are guilty of Murthers, and Outlawed or proclaimed Rebels, according to the courſe of the Laws there: And did by his Letters invite the ſaid *Hanlan* and his Confederates, to give out in ſpeeches, that he and his Confederates were privy to the Plot in *Ireland* againſt his Majeſty, and that he and they could prove that her Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, were principally concerned therein, ſo as ſuch Declaration might be made publick here in *England*: That then if *Hanlan* would but ſend him the ſaid *Hetherington* a competent ſum of money, and would really ſwear (though falſly) againſt the Queen, his Highneſs, and the reſt, he would under pretence of ſuch his diſcovery of the Plot, and giving Evidence as aforeſaid, obtain his Majeſties Pardon for the ſaid *Hanlan* and his Confederates, for all Treaſons, Murthers, Felonies, and all other offences whatſoever; thereby intending no good to his Majeſty and People, but confuſion and trouble, and to put a piece of *Hanlan*'s money into his own Pocket, and to ſuborn the ſaid Miſcreants to ſwear as he ſhould dictate to them, hoping to better his condition by the ruine of his Majeſties good Subjects, that he projected would enſue thereupon.

6. That he pretended to have a great many ſubſtantial and credible Witneſſes in *Ireland*, to prove the *Iriſh* Plot, whoſe Names he could not then remember, as he alledged, and therefore obtained a blank Warrant from his Majeſty, to fetch over the ſaid Witneſſes into *England*: That under colour thereof, he hath by his Emiſſaries there cauſed ſeveral Gentlemen, as well Papiſts as Proteſtants, and Juſtices of the Peace in many Counties, Towns, and places in *Ireland*, to be Impriſoned, forced other ignorant men to pay monies for not troubling or moleſting them, and at length brought over into *England* (amongſt others) ſix honeſt perſons, Inhabitants of *Carrick* and *Clonmell*, as Witneſſes, and on their arrival in *London*, imployed one *Euſtace Comyns* to perſwade them to ſwear againſt their knowledge, in Affirmance and Juſtification of what *Comyns* had already untruly ſworn; And this he did purpoſely to abuſe his Majeſties Warrant and Royal Authority, to put his Majeſty to great charges, to amuſe the Vulgar, to hinder the ſaid perſons in their own private concerns, becauſe they would give his Emiſſaries no monies, to diſcourage Trade and Dealing in *Ireland*, and to create an univerſal diſquiet, and terrible apprehenſions in the hearts and minds of his Majeſties Subjects there, of imminent and ſudden dangers and calamities, the ſaid *Hetherington* thereby labouring and wickedly deſigning to bring an *odium* and ſcandal upon his Majeſty, and his Royal Government.

All which Articles the ſaid David Fitz-Gerald *is ready to aver and prove, as his Majeſty and this moſt Honourable Board ſhall award: And humbly prayeth, that the ſaid* Hetherington *may be committed, or ſo ſecured, as that he may be compelled to Anſwer the ſame: For that the ſaid* David Fitz-Gerald *hath good reaſons to believe, that the ſaid* Hetherington *will not abide a Hearing in this cauſe, but will make his Eſcape with Impunity, to the Encouragement of ill men, and in contempt of his Majeſty and this Honourable Board; wherein the ſaid* David Fitz-Gerald *humbly ſubmitteth to his Majeſty, and your Lordſhips great wiſdom and direction.*

FINIS.